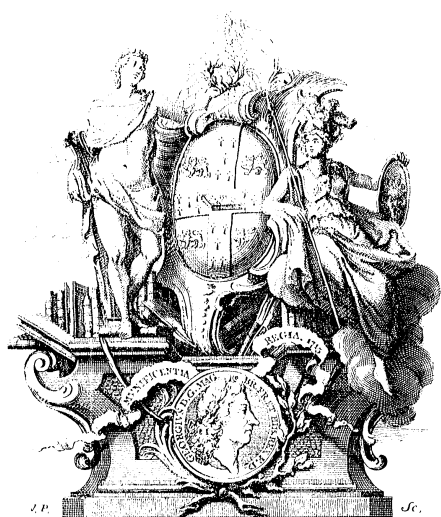


2.2.18







# TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, SIR

WILLIAM CAVENTDYSSHE, Knight  
of the BATH, Baron of HARDWICKE,  
and Earle of DEVONSHIRE.

*Right Honourable,*



Take confidence from your Lordships goodnesse, in the very entrance of this Epistle, to professe, with Simplicite, and according to the faith I owe my Master now in Heauen, That it is not vnto your selfe, but to your Lordships Father, that I Dedicate this my Labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a voluntary Oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an Account, to him, by whose Indulgence, I had both the time, and Ammunition to performe it: Nor if such Obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to Dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many yeeres I had the honour to serue him, I know this, There was not any, who more really, and lesse for Glories sake, fauoured those that studied the *Liberall Arts* liberally, then My Lord,

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*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

your Father did; nor in whole house a man should lesse need the Vniuersity, then in his. For his own studie, it was bestowed, for the most part, in that kind of Learning, which best deserueth the paines and houres of Great Persons, *History*, and *Ciuill knowledge*, and directed not to the Ostentation of his reading, but to the Gouvernment of his Life, and the Publike good. For he so read, that the Learning he tooke in by study, by iudgement he digested, and conuerted into *Wisdom*, and ability to benefithis Countrey; to which also hee applied himselfe with Zeale, but such as tooke no fire, either from *Faction* or *Ambition*. And as he was a most able man, for soundnesse of aduice, and cleere expression of himselfe, in matters of difficulty and consequence, both in publike and priuate; so also was he one whom no man was able either to draw, or iustle out of the straight path of Iustice: Of which vertue I know not whether hee deserued more, by his feuerity, in imposing it (as he did, to his last breath) on himselfe, or by his Magnanimity in not exacting it to himselfe from others. No man better discerned of *Men*; and therefore was he constant in his Friendships, because he regarded not the *Fortune*, nor *Adherence*, but the *Men*, with whom also he conuersed with an opennesse of heart, that had no other guard then his owne Integrity, and that *Nil Conscire*. To his *Equalles* hee carried himselfe equally; and to his inferiours familiarly; but maintaining his Respect fully, and onely, with the native splendour of his worth. In summe, hee was one in whom might plainly bee perceiued, that *Honour* and *Honesty* are but the same thing, in  
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*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

the different degrees of persons. To him therefore, and to the memory of his worth, be consecrated this, though vnworthy Offering.

And now, imitating in this *Ciuill Worship*, the *Religious worship* of the Gentiles, who when they Dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and presented the same to their Images; I bring & present this Guift of mine, *the History of THUCYDIDES* translated into English, with much more diligence then elegance, to your Lordship, who are the Image of your Father, (for neuer was a man more exactly coppied out, then he in you,) and who haue in you the seeds of his vertues already springing vp. Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteeme it amongst the Goods that descend vpon you, and in your due time to read it. I could recommend the Author vnto you, not impertinently, for that he had in his veynes the blood of Kings; but I chuse rather to recommend him for his writings, as hauing in them profitable instruction for Noblemen, and such as may come to haue the mannaging of great and waighty actions. For I may confidently say, that notwithstanding the excellent both Examples and Precepts of Heroique Vertue you haue at home, this Booke will conferre not a little to your institution; especially, when you come to the yeeres, to frame your life by your owne Observation. For in *History*, actions of *honour* and *dishonour* doe appeare plainly and distinctly, which are which; but in the present Age they are so disguised, that few there bee, and those very careful, that bee not grossely mistaken in them. But this, I doubt not, is superfluously spoken by mee to your Lordship: Therefore I end with  
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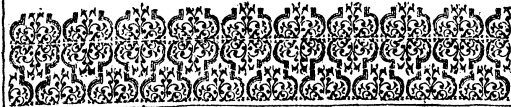


*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

this prayer, That it will please God to giue you  
Vertues futable to the faire dwelling he hath pre-  
pared for them, and the happineffe that fuch Ver-  
tues leade vnto, both in, and after this world,

*Your Lordships most  
humble Seruant,*

THO. HOBBS.



TO THE READERS.

**T**Hough this Translation haue already past the Cen-  
sure of some, whose Iudgements I very much esteeme;  
yet, because there is something, I know not what, in  
the censure of a Multitude, more terrible then any  
single Iudgement, how seuerer or exact soeuer, I  
haue thought it discretion in all men, that haue to doe  
with so many, and to me, in my want of perfection, necessary, to beseeke  
your Candor. Which that I may vpon the better reason hope for, I am  
willing to acquaint you briefly, vpon what grounds I undertooke this  
Worke at first, and haue since, by publishing it, put my selfe vpon the  
hazard of your censure, with so small hope of glory, as from a thing of  
this nature can be expected. For I know, that meere Translations, haue  
in them this property, that they may much disgrace, if not well done; but  
if well, not much commend the doer.

It hath bene noted by diuers, that Homer in Poesie, Aristotle  
in Philosophy, Demosthenes in Eloquence, and others of the An-  
cients, in other knowledge, doe still maintaine their Primacy, none of them  
exceeded, some not approached, by any, in these later Ages. And in the  
number of these, is iustly ranked also our Thucydides; a Workeman  
no lesse perfect in his worke, then any of the former; and in whom (I be-  
leeue with many others) the Faculty of writing History is at the highest.  
For the principall and proper worke of History, being to instruct,  
and enable men, by the knowledge of Actions past, to beare themselves  
prudently in the present, and providently towards the Future, there is  
not extant any other (meere humane) that doth more fully, and natural-  
ly performe it, then this of my Author. It is true, that there be many excellent  
and profitable Histories written since; and in some of them, there be in-  
serted very wise discourses, both of Manners and Policie. But being  
discourses inserted, and not of the contexture of the Narration, they in-  
deed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the History it selfe;  
the nature whereof, is meere narrative. In others, there bee subtile  
coniectures, at the secret ayms, and inward cogitations of such as fall vnder  
their Penne; which is also none of the least vertues in a History,  
where



## To the Readers.

where the coniecture is thoroughly grounded, not forced to serve the purpose of the Writer, in adorning his stile, or manifesting his subtilty in coniecturing. But these coniectures cannot often be certaine, conlesse withall so evident, that the narration it selfe may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the Reader. But Thucydides is one, who, though he neuer digresse to reade a Lecture, Morall or Politicall, upon his owne Text, nor enter into mens hearts, further then the actions themselves evidently guide him, is yet accounted the most Politique Historiographer that euer writ. The reason whereof I take to bee this: He fillth his Narrations with that choice of matter, and ordereth them with that Iudgement, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himselfe, that, as Plutarch saith, he maketh his Auditor a Spectator. For he setteth his Reader in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senates, at their debating; in the Streets, at their Seditions; and in the Field at their Battels. So that looke how much a man of understanding might haue added to his experience, if he had then liued, a beholder of their proceedings, and familiar with the men, and businesse of the time; so much almost may be profit now, by attentive reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himselfe, and of himselfe be able, to trace the drifts and counsailes of the Actors to their seate.

These Vertues of my Author did so take my affection, that they begat in me a desire to communicate him further; which was the first occasion that moued mee to translate him. For it is an error we easily fall into, to beleue, that whatsoeuer pleaseth vs, will be, in like manner and degree, acceptable to all; and to esteeme of one anothers Iudgement, as we agree in the liking, or dislike of the same things. And in this error peraduenture was I, when I thought, that as many of the more iudicious, as I should communicate him to, would affect him as much as I my selfe did. I considered also, that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their owne Tongues; notwithstanding that he bee not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speake no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kinde) I may say this, That whereas the Author himselfe, so carrieth with him his owne light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him, and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow, I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may bee this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errors, and he a Greeke Copie, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French hee was done into English, (for I neede not dissemble to haue seene him in English) in the time of King Edward the sixth; but so, as by multiplication of error, hee became at length

traduced,

## To the Readers.

traduced, rather then translated into our Language. Hereupon I resolved to take him immediately from the Greeke, according to the Edition of Emilius Porta; not refusing or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by. Knowing that when with Diligence and Leasure I should haue done it, though some error might remaine, yet they would be errors but of one descent, of which neuerthelesse I can discouer none, and hope they bee not many. After I had finished it, it lay long by mee, and other reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.

For I saw, that, for the greatest part, men came to the reading of History, with an affection much like that of the People, in Rome, who came to the spectacle of the Gladiators, with more delight to behold their blond, then their Skill in Fencing. For they be farre more in number, that loue to read of great Armies, bloody Battels, and many thousands slaine at once, then that minde the Art, by which, the Affaires, both of Armies, and Cities, be conducted to their ends. I obserued likewise, that there were not many, whose eares were well accustomed to the names of the places they shall meet with in this History; without the knowledge whereof, it can neither patiently be read ouer, perfectly understood, nor easily remembered; Especially being many, as heere it falleth out; because in that Age almost euery City, both in Greece and Sicily, the two maine scenes of this Warre, was a distinct Common wealth by it selfe, and a party in the Quarrrell.

Neuerthelesse I haue thought since, that the former of these considerations ought not to be of any weight at all, to him that can content himselfe with the Few and better sort of Readers; who, as they onely iudge, so is their approbation onely considerable. And for the difficulty arising from the ignorance of places, I thought it not so insuperable, but that with conuenient pictures of the Countries, it might be remoed. To which purpose, I saw there would be necessary, especially two; a Generall Mappe of Greece, and a Generall Mappe of Sicily. The latter of these, I found already extant, exactly done, by Philip Claucrius, which I haue caused to be cut, and you haue it at the beginning of the Sixth Booke. But for Mappes of Greece, sufficient for this purpose, I could light on none. For whether are the Tables of Euclomic, and descriptions of those that follow him, accommodate to the time of Thucydides, and therefore few of the Places by him mentioned, they well described: nor are those that bee, agreeing alwayes with the truth of History. Wherefore I was constrained to draw one (as well as I could) my selfe. Which to doe, I was to rely, for the maine Figure of the Country, on the moderne description now in reputation; and in that to set downe those Places especially (as many as the Volume was capable of) which occurre in the reading.







## Of the Life and History of *Thucydides*.

down by the *Lacedaemonians*. But this opinion, as it is not so well grounded, so neither is it so well received as the former.

Agreeable to his Nobility, was his institution in the study of *Eloquence*, and *Philosophy*. For in *Philosophy*, he was the scholar (as also was *Procles* and *Socrates*) of *Anaxagoras*, whose opinions, being of a frame about the apprehension of the vulgar, procured him the estimation of an *Atheist*, which name they bestowed upon all men that thought not as they did, of their ridiculous Religion, and in the end, cost him his life. And *Socrates* after him for the like causes, vnderwent the like fortune. It is not therefore much to be regarded, if this other disciple of his, were by some reputed an *Atheist* to. For though he were none, yet it is not improbable, but by the light of naturall reason, he might see enough in the Religion of these Heathen, to make him thinke it vaine, and superstitious; which was enough to make him an *Atheist*, in the opinion of the People. In some places of his History, hee noteth the equivocation of the Oracles; and yet hee confirmeth an assertion of his owne, touching the time this Warre lasted, by the Oracles prediction. He taxeth *Nicias* for being too punctuall in the obseruation of the Ceremonies of their Religion, when he ouerthrow himselfe and his Army, and indeed the whole Dominion and liberty of his Countrey by it. Yet he commendeth him in another place for his worshipping of the *Gods*, and faith in that respect, hee least of all men is censured to come to so great a degree of Calamity as hee did. So that in his writings our Authour appeareth to be, on the one side not superstitious, on the other side nor an *Atheist*.

In *Rhetorique* he was the Disciple of *Antiphon*, one (by his description in the eighth Booke of this History) for power of speech almost a miracle, and feared by the People, for his eloquence. In some of his latter dayes hee liued retired, but so as hee gaue counsell to, and writ Orations for other men that resorted vnto him, to that purpose. It was he that contriued the deposing of the People, and the setting vp of the government of the 400. For which also he was put to death, when the People againe recovered their authority; notwithstanding that hee pleaded his owne cause, the best of any man to that day.

It need not be doubted, but from such a Master, *Thucydides* was sufficiently qualified, to haue become a great Demagogue, and of great authority with the People. But it seemeth he had no desire at all to meddle in the government, because in those times it was impossible for any man to giue good and profitable counsell for the Common-wealth and not incur the displeasure of the People. For their opinion was such of their owne power, and of the facility of achieving whatsoeuer action they vnderooke, that such men onely swayd the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Common-wealths men, as did put them vpon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. Whereas he that gaue them temperate, and discreet aduice, was thought a Coward, or not to vnderstand, or else to maligne their power. And no maruell; for much prosperity (to which they had now for many yeeres been accustomed) maketh men in loue with themselves; and it is hard for any man to loue that counsell which maketh him loue himselfe the lesse. And it holdeth much more in a Multitude, then in one Man; For a man that reasoneth with himselfe, will not be ashamed to admit of timorous suggestions in his business, that he may the stronger prouide; but in publique deliberations before a Multitude, Feare (which for the most part aduiceth well, though it execute not so) seldom or neuer sheweth itselfe, or is admitted. By this means it came to passe amongst the *Athenians*, who thought they were able to doe any thing, that wicked men and flatterers draue them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them; and the good men either durst not oppose, or if they did, vndid themselves. *Thucydides* therefore, that he might not be either of them that committed, or of them that suffered euill, forbore to come into the Assemblies, and propounded to himselfe, a private life as farre as the eminency of so wealthy a person, and the writing of the History he had vndertaken, would permit.

For his opinion touching the government of the State, it is manifest that hee least of all liked the *Democracy*. And vpon diuers occasions, hee noteth the emulation and contention of the Demagogues, for reputation, and glory of wit; with their croising of each others counsels to the damage of the Publique; the inconstancy

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## Of the Life and History of *Thucydides*.

off resolutions, caused by the diuersity of ends, and power of Rhetorique in the Orators; and the desperate actions vnderaken vpon the flattering aduice of such as desired to attaine, or to hold what they had attained of authority and sway amongst the common people. Nor doth it appeare, that he magnified any where the authority of the Few; amongst whom hee saith euery one desireth to be chiefe, and they that are vnderualued, beare it with lesse patience then in a *Democracy*; whereupon sedition followeth, and dissolution of the government. Hee prayseth the government of *Athen*, when it was mixt of the Few and the Many; but more he commendeth it, both when *Pisistratus* reigned (saing that it was an vflurped power) and when in the beginning of this Warre, it was *Democraticall* in name, but in effect *Monarchicall* vnder *Pericles*. So that it seemeth that as he was of Regall descent, so hee best approued of the *Regall Government*. It is therefore no maruell, if he meddled as little as hee could in the business of the Common-wealth, but gaue himselfe rather to the obseruation and recording of what was done by those that had the manning thereof. Which also he was no lesse prompt diligent and faithfull by the disposition of his mind, then by his fortune, dignity, and wisdom, able to accomplish. How he was disposed to a worke of this nature, may be vnderstood by this, that when being a young man hee heard *Herodotus* the Historiographer reciting his History in Publique, (for such was the fashion both of that, and many Ages after) hee felt so great a sting of emulation, that it drew teares from him, in so much as *Herodotus* himselfe tooke notice how violently his mind was set on letters, and told his Father *Olorus*. When the *Peloponnesian* Warre began to breake out, hee coniectured truly, that it would proue an Argument worthy his labour; and no sooner it began, then hee began his History; pursuing the same, not in that perfect manner, in which we seeke now, but by way of Commentary, or plaine Register of the Actions and passages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledge. But such a Commentary it was, as might perhaps deserue to be preferred before a History written by another. For it is very probable that the eighth Booke is left the same it was when he first writ it, neither beautified with *Orations*, nor so well cemented at the *Transitions*, as the former seuen Bookes are. And though he began to write as soone as euer the Warre was on foot, yet began hee not to perfect and polish his History, till after hee was banished.

For notwithstanding his retired life vpon the Coast of *Thrace*, where his owne possessions lay, hee could not auoyd a seruice of the State, which proued to him afterwards very vnfortunate. For whilst he resided in the Ile *Thasus*, it fell out that *Brasidas* the *Lacedaemonian*, besieged *Amphipolis*, a Citie belonging to the *Athenians*, on the Confinnes of *Thrace*, and *Macedony*, distant from *Thasus*, about halfe a dayes sayle. To relieue which, the Capitaine thereof for the *Athenians*, sent to *Thucydides*, to lency a power and make haste vnto him, (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had authority to raise forces in those parts, for the seruice of the Common-wealth.) And hee did accordingly. But he came thither one night too late, and found the City already yielded vp. And for this hee was afterwards banished, as if hee had let slip his time through negligence, or purposely put it off, vpon feare of the Enemy. Neuerthelesse he put himselfe into the Citie of *Eion*, and prelerued it to the *Athenians*, with the repulse of *Brasidas*, which came downe from *Amphipolis*, the next morning, and assaulted it. The author of his banishment is supposed to haue been *Cleon*, a most violent Sycophant in those times, and thereby also a most acceptable Speaker amongst the people. For where affaires succeed amisse, though there want neither prouidence, nor courage in the Conduccion, yet with those that iudge onely vpon euents, the way to calumny is alwayes open, and *Envy*, in the likeness of *Zelus* to the Publique goodly easily findeth credit for an accusation.

After his Banishment, he liued in *Scapte-Hyle*, a Citie of *Thrace*, before mentioned, as *Plutarch* writeth; but yet so, as he went abroad, and was present at the Actions of the rest of the Warre, as appeareth by his owne words in his fifth Booke. Where he saith, that hee was present at the Actions of both parts, and no lesse at those of the *Peloponnesians*; by reason of his exile, then those of the *Athenians*. During this time also, hee perfected his History, so far as is now to be seene, nor doth

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## Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

it appeare that after his exile, he euer againe enioyed his Countrey. It is not cleere in any Author, where, or when, or in what yeere of his owne Age, he dyed. Most agree that he dyed in Banishment; yet there be that haue writtē, that after the defeat in Sicily, the Athenians decreed a generall reuocation of all banished persons, except those of the Family of *Pericles*; and that he then returned, and was afterwards put to death at Athens. But this is very vnlikely to be true, vnlesse by after the defeat in Sicily, he meant so long after, that it was also after the end of the Peloponnesian Warre, because Thucydides himselfe maketh no mention of such returne, though he out-lived the whole War, as is manifest by his words in the first Booke. For he saith he liued in banishment twenty yeeres after his charge at Amphipolis; which happened in the eighth yeere of this Warre, which in the whole, lasted but 27 yeeres compleat. And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the Long Wall betwene Peiræus, and the Citie; which was the last stroke of this Warre. They that say he dyed at Athens, take their coniecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a sufficient Argument; for he might bee buried there secretly, (as some haue written he was) though he dyed abroad; or his Monument might be there, and (as others haue affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of coniecture there is nothing more probable then that which is written by *Pausanias*, where he describeth the Monuments of the Athenian Citie, and saith thus. The worthy *Alcibiades* of Oenobius, in the behalfe of Thucydides, is not without honour (meaning that he had a Statue.) For Oenobius obtained to bene a *Democrite* passed for his returne; who returning was slaine by treachery, and his Sepulchre is nere the Gates called Melirides. He dyed, as saith *Marcellinus*, after the seuen and fiftieth yeere of his Age. And if it be true that is written by *A. Gellius*, of the Ages of *Hellanius*, *Herodotus*, and Thucydides; then died he not before the sixty eighth yeere. For if he were forty when the Warre began, and liued (as he did, certainly) to the end he might be more when he dyed, but not lesse then sixty eight yeeres of Age. What children be left, is not manifest. *Plato* in *Menone*, maketh mention of *Milias* and *Stephanus*, sonnes of a Thucydides; of a very Noble Family; but it is cleere that they were of Thucydides, the Riual of *Pericles*, both by the name *Milias*, and because this Thucydides also, was of the Family of *Miltiades*, as *Plutarch* testifieth in the Life of *Simon*. That he had a sonne, is affirmed by *Marcellinus*, out of the authority of *Pollux*, but of his name there is no mention, save that a learned man readeth there, in the place of *Simon* (which is in the imperfect Copie) *Timotheus*. Thus much of the person of Thucydides.

Now for his writings, two things are to be considered in them, *Truth*, and *Eloquation*. For in *Truth* consisteth the *Soule*, and in *Eloquation* the *Body* of History. The latter without the former, is but a picture of History; and the former without the latter, vnapt to instruct. But let vs see how our Author hath acquitted himselfe in both. For the Faith of this History, I shall haue the lesse to say, in respect that no man hath euer yet called it into question. Nor indeed could any man iustly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could haue caused him either voluntarily to lie, or ignorantly to deliuer an vntruth. He ouertasked not himselfe by vndertaking an History of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to informe himselfe. He was a man that had as much meanes, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needfull for a man to haue. He vsed as much diligence in search of the truth, (noting every thing while it was fresh in memory, and laying out his wealth vpon intelligence,) as was possible for a man to vie. He affected least of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditors, but wrote not his History to win present applause, as was the vie of that Age, but for a Monument to instruct the Ages to come. Which he professeth himselfe, and Entitleth his Booke ΚΤΗΜΑ ΕΣ ΑΕΙ, A Possession for euertasting. He was farre from the necessity of seruile Writers, either to feare or flatter. And whereas he may peraduenture be thought to haue bene malevolent towards his Countrey, because they deferred to haue him so, yet hath he not written any thing that discouereth any such passion. Nor is there any thing written of them that rendereth to their dishonour, as Athenians, but onely as People; and that by the necessity of the narration, not by any sought digression. So that no word of his, but

## Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

but their own actions do sometimes reprobate them. In summe, if the truth of a History did euer appeare by the manner of relating, it doth so in this History; So coherent, peripatetic, and perswasive is the whole Narration, and euerly part thereof.

In the *Eloquation* also; Two things are considerable, *Disposition* or *Method*, and *Stile*. Of the *Disposition* here vsed by Thucydides, it will be sufficient in this place, briefly to obserue onely this. That in his first Booke, first he hath by way of *Exordium*, deriued the State of Greece from the Cradle, to the vigorous stature it then was at, when he began to write; and next, declared the causes, both *real* and *pretended* of the Warre hee was to write of. In therof, in which hee handleth the Warre it selfe, he followeth distinctly and purely the order of time throughout; relating what came to passe from yeere to yeere, and subdiuiding each yeere into a Summer and Winter. The grounds and motives of euery action, he setteth down before the action it selfe, either Narratiuely, or else contriueing them into the forme of *Deliberative Orations*, in the persons of such as from time to time bare sway in the Common wealth. After the actions, when there is iust occasion, he giueth his iudgement of them, shewing by what meanes the success came either to be furthered or hindered. Digressions for instructions cause, and other such open conueyances of Precepts (which is the Philosophers part) he neuer vseth; as hauing so cleerly see before mens eyes, the wayes and euents, of good and euill counsels, that the Narration it selfe doth secretly instruct the Reader, and more effectually then possibly can be done by Precept.

For his *Stile*, I referre it to the iudgement of diuers auncient and competent Judges. *Plutarch* in his Booke, *De gloria Atheniensium*, saith of him thus. Thucydides was a most skilfull Auditor and Spectator, and to cast his Reader into the same passions that they were in, that were beholders. The manner how Democritus changed the Athenians on the rugged shore before Pylus. How Brasidas urged the Strepsian to runne his Gally a ground; how he went to the Ladder, or place in the Gally for descent, how he was hurt, and swounded, and fell downe on the ledges of the Gally; how the Spartans fought after the manner of a Land fight vpon the Sea, and the Athenians of a Sea fight vpon Land. Again, in the Sicilian Warre, how a battell was fought by Sea and Land, with equal fortune. These things, I say, are so described, and so evidently set before our eyes, that the mind of the Reader is no lesse affected therewith, then if hee had bene present in the Actions. There is for his perspicuity. Cicero in his Booke entituled *Orator*, speaking of the affection of diuers Greeke Rhetoricians, saith thus. And therefore Herodotus and Thucydides are the more admirable. For though they liued in the same Age with those I haue before named, (meaning *Thralymachus*, *Gorgias*, and *Theodorus*) yet were they farre from this kind of delicacy, or rather indeed of coarseness. For the one without rubb, gently like a Hill River, and the other (meaning Thucydides) like a running brooke, and in matter of Warre, as it were, showed a true picture of Warre. And in these two (as saith *Theophrastus*) *Aspasia* hath excelled her selfe, and aduentured to speake with more boldnes, and with more ornament then in those that were before them. This commendeth the grauity, and the dignity of his language. Again in his second Booke, *De Oratore*, thus. Thucydides in the Art of speaking, hath in my opinion far exceeded them all. For he is so full of matter, that the number of his sentences, doth almost reach to the number of his words; and in his words, he is so apt, and so close, that it is hard to say, whether his words do more illustrate his sentences, or his sentences his words. There is for the pithinesse and strength of his Stile. Lastly, for the purity and propriety, I cite, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, whose testimony is the stronger in this point, because he was a Greeke Rhetorician for his faculty, and for his affection; one that would no further commend him, then of necessity he must. His words are these. There is one vertue in Eloquence, he chief of all perfections, and without which there is no other goodnesse in speech. What is that? Purity. For it is pure and retaineth the propriety of the Greeke tongue. They both excellēt diuinely. For Herodotus is the best rule of the Ionique, and Thucydides of the Attique Dialect. These testimonies are not needfull to him that hath read the History; but for those that are ignorant at all, but that this *Dionysius* hath taken so much pains, and applied an such of his faculty in Rhetorique to the extenuating of the words that are in this History, I haue thought it necessary to take out the principall objections he maketh against him, and without many words of mine owne, to leaue them to the consideration



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deration of the Reader. And first Dionysius saith thus. The principall, and most necessary office of any man that intendeth to write a History, is to chuse a Noble Argument, and gratefull to such as shall read it. And this Herodotus, in my opinion, hath done better then Thucydides. For Herodotus hath written the story History, both of the Greekes and Barbarians, to save from oblivion, &c. But Thucydides writeth one only Warre, and that neither honourable, nor fortunate; which principally were to bee wished never to have beene; and next, never to have been remembred, nor knowne to posterity. And that he took an euill Argument in hand, he maketh it manifest in his proeme, saying, That many Cities were in that Warre made desolate, and utterly destroyed, partly by Barbarians, partly by the Greekes themselves; so many banishments, and so much slaughter of men as neuer was the like before, &c. So that the hearers will abhorre it, as the first propounding. Now by how much it is better to write of the wonderfull acts both of the Barbarians, and Grecians, then of the pittifull and horrible calamities of the Grecians, so much wiser is Herodotus in the choyce of his Argument, then Thucydides.

Now let any man consider whether it be not more reasonable to say. That the principall, & most necessary office of him that will write a History, is to take such an Argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to posterity that shall read it. Which Thucydides, in the opinion of all men, hath done better then Herodotus. For Herodotus undertooke to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth; and which delight more the ears with fabulous Narrations, then satisfy the mind with truth. But Thucydides writeth one Warre, which, how it was carried from the beginning to the end, he was able certainly to informe himselfe. And by propounding in his Proeme, the miseries that happened in the same, he sheweth that it was a great Warre, and worthy to be knowne, and not to be concealed from posterity, for the calamities that then fell vpon the Grecians, but the rather to be truly deliuered vnto them, for that men profit more by looking on aduerses euents, then on prosperity. Therefore by how much mens miseries doe better instruct, then their good success, by so much was Thucydides more happy in taking his Argument, then Herodotus was wise in chusing his.

Dionysius againe, saith thus. The next office of him that will write a History, is to know where to begin, and where to end. And in this point Herodotus seemeth to be farre more discreet then Thucydides. For in the first place he layeth downe the cause, for which the Barbarians began to inuade the Grecians; and going on, maketh an end at the punishment, and the reuenge taken on the Barbarians. But Thucydides begins at the good estate of the Grecians, which being a Grecian, and an Athenian, he ought not to haue done; nor ought he being of that dignity amongst the Athenians, so evidently to haue laid the fault of the Warre vpon his owne City, when there were other occasions enough to which he might haue imputed it. Nor ought he to haue begun with the businesse of the Corcyraians, but at the more Noble Acts of his Countrey, which they did immediately after the Persian Warre, (which afterward in convenient place he mentioneth, but it is but cursily, and not as he ought.) And when he had declared those, with much affection, as a lover of his Countrey, then he should haue brought in, how that the Lacedaemonians, through enuy and feare, then pretending other causes, began the Warre, and so haue descended to the Corcyraean businesse, and the Decree against the Megareans, or whatseuer else he had to put in. Then in the ending of his History, there be many errors committed. For though he professeth he was present in the whole warre, and that he would write it all, yet he ends with the Naval battell at Cynossema, which was fought in the 22 yeare of the warre; whereas it had bene better to haue gone through with it, and ended his History with that admirable, and gratefull returne of the banished Athenians from Phile, at which time the City recovered her liberty.

To this I say. That it was the duty of him that had undertaken to write the History of the Peloponnesian Warre, to begin his Narration no further of, then at the causes of the same; whether the Grecians were then in good, or in euill estate. And if the injury, vpon which the Warre arose, proceeded from the Athenians, then the writer, though an Athenian, and honoured in his Countrey, ought to declare the same, and not to seek, nor like though at hand, any other occasion to transferre the fault. And that the Acts done before the time comprehended in the Warre he writ of, ought to haue been touched but cursorily, and no more then may serue for the enlightning of the History to follow, how Noble

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saener those Acts haue bene. Which when he had thus touched, without affection to either side, not as a louer of his Countrey, but of truth, then to haue proceeded to the rest with the like indifferency. And to haue made an end of writing, where the Warre ended, which he undertooke to write, not producing his History beyond that period, though that which he followed were neuer so admirable and acceptable. All this Thucydides hath obserued.

These two criminations, I haue therefore set downe at large, translated almost verbatim, that the iudgement of Dionysius Halicarnassius, may the better appeare, concerning the mayne and principall vertues of a History. I thinke there was neuer written so much absurdity in so few lines. He is contrary to the opinion of all men that euer spake of this subiect besides himselfe, and to common sense. For he makes the scope of History not profit by writing truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a Song. And the Argument of History, he would not by any meanes haue to containe the calamities and misery of his Countrey, (these he would haue buried in silence) but only their glorious and splendid actions. Amongst the vertues of an Historiographer, he reckons affention to his Countrey; study to please the hearer; to write of more then his Argument leads him to; and to conceale all actions that were not to the honour of his Countrey. Most manifest vices. He was a Rhetorician, and it seemeth he would haue nothing written, but that which was most capable of Rhetoricall ornament. Yet Lucian, a Rhetorician also, in a Treatise entituled, How a History ought to be written, saith thus. That a writer of History, ought in his writings, to be a forraigner, without Countrey, liuing vnder his owne Law only, subiect to no King, nor caring what any man will like, or dislike, but laying out the matter as it is.

The third fault he finds, is this. That the method of his History is gouerned by the time, rather then the periods of seuerall actions. For he declares in order what came to passe each Summer, and Winter, and is thereby forced sometimes, to leaue the Narration of a siege, or sedition, or a Warre, or other action, in the middle, and enter into a Relation of somewhat else, done at the same time, in another place, and to come to the former againe when the time requires it. This, saith hee, causeth confusion in the mind of his hearer, so that he cannot comprehend distinctly the seuerall parts of the History.

Dionysius saymeth still at the delight of the present hearer; though Thucydides himselfe professeth that his scope is not that, but to leaue his worke for a perpetual possession to posterity. And then haue men leasure enough to comprehend him thoroughly. But indeed, whosoever shall read him once attentively, shall more distinctly conceiue of euery action this way, then the other; and the method is more natural; for as much as his purpose being to write of one Peloponnesian Warre, this way he hath incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, so that there is vniety in the whole, and the seuerall Narrations are conceiued onely as parts of that; Whereas the other way, he had but sowed together many little Histories, and left the Peloponnesian Warre (which heooke for his subiect) in a manner vnwritten; for neither any part, nor the whole, could iustly haue carryed such a Title.

Fourthly, he accuseth him for the method of his first Booke, in that he deriueth Greece, from the infancy thereof to his owne time, and in that he setteth downe the Narration of the quarrels about Corcyra, and Potidea, before he entreateth of the true cause of the Warre, which was the greatnesse of the Athenian dominion, feared and enuyed by the Lacedaemonians.

For answer to this, I say thus. For the mentioning of the ancient State of Greece, he doth it briefly, insinuing no longer vpon it then is necessary for the well understanding of the following History. For without some generall notions of these first times, many places of the History are, the lesse easie to be vnderstood, as depending vpon the knowledge of the originall of seuerall Cities and Customes, which could not be at all inserted into the History it selfe, but must be either supposed to be foreknowing by the reader, or else be deliuered to him in the beginning, as a necessary Preface. And for his putting first the Narration of the Publique, and auowed cause of this Warre, and after that, the true and inward moeue of the same, the reprehension is absurd. For it is plaine that a cause of Warre, diuulged and auowed, how slight soeuer it be, comes within the taske of the Historiographer, no lesse then the

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the Warre it selfe, for without a pretext, no Warre followes. This pretext is alwayes an injury received, or pretended to be received. Whereas the inward motive to hostility is but conjectural, and not of that evidence, that a Historiographer should be always bound to take notice of; as enuy to the greatness of another State, or feare of an injury to come. Now let any man iudge, whether a good writer of History, ought to handle, as the principall cause of Warre, proclaimed injury, or concealed enuy. In a word, the Image of the Method used by Thucydides in this point, is this. *The Quarrell about Corcyra, passed in this manner; and the Quarrell about Potidea, on this manner; ( relating both at large ) and in both, the Athenians were accused to have done the injury. Nevertheless the Lacedaemonians had not upon this injury entred into a Warre against them, but that they envied the greatness of their power, and feared the consequence of their ambition. I thinke a more cleare, and naturall order cannot possibly be devised.*

Again he sayes, that he maketh a Funerall Oration (which was solemnly done on all occasions through the Warre) for 15 Horsemen onely, that were slaine at the Brookes called *Rheis*; and that for this reason onely, that he might make it in the person of *Pericles*, who was then living, but before another the like occasion happened, was dead.

The manner of the *Athenians* was, that they that were slaine the first, in any Warre, should have a solemne Funerall, in the suburbs of the Citie. During this Warre, they had many occasions to put this custome in practise. Seeing therefore it was fit to haue that custome, & the forme of it knowne, and that once for all, the manner being euer the same, it was fitt to relate it on the first occasion, what number soever they were that were then buried; which neuertheless is not likely to haue been so few as *Dionysius* saith. For the Funerall was not celebrated till the Winter after they were slaine. so that many more were slaine before this solemnity, and may all be accounted amongst the first. And that *Pericles* performed the office of making their Funerall Oration, there is no reason alledged by him, why it should be doubted.

Another fault hee finds, is this; That he introduceth the *Athenian* Generals in a Dialogue, with the Inhabitants of the Ile of *Melos*, pretending openly, for the cause of their invasion of that Ile, the power and will of the State of *Athens*, and reiecting utterly, to enter into any disputation with them, concerning the equity of their cause; which he saith, was contrary to the dignity of the State.

To this may be answered; That the Proceeding of these Generals was not unlike to divers other Actions, that the people of *Athens* openly tooke vpon them; and therefore it is very likely they were allowed so to proceed. Howsoever, if the *Athenian* People gaue in charge to these their Captaines, to take in the Island, by all means whatsoever, without power to report backe vnto them first, the equity of the Islanders cause, as is most likely to be true, I see then no reason the Generals had to enter into disputation with them, whether they should performe their charge, or not; but onely whether they should do it by faire, or foule means; which is the point treated of in this Dialogue. Other Cautels he hath, touching the matter, and order of this History, but not needfull to be answered.

Then for his phrase, he carpeth at it in infinite places, both for obscure and licentious. He that will see the particular places, he reprehendeth, let him read *Dionysius* himselfe, if he will; for the matter is too tedious for this place. It is true, that there be some Sentences in him, somewhat long, not obscure to one that is attentive; and besides that, they are but few. Yet is this the most important fault he findeth. For the rest, the obscurity that is, proceedeth from the proleundness of the Sentences, containing contemplations of those humane passions, which either dissembled, or not commonly discoursed of, doe yet carry the greatest sway with men, in their publique conuersation. If then one cannot penetrate into them without much meditation, we are not to expect a man should vnderstand them at the first speaking. *Marcellinus* saith, he was obscure on purpose, that the Common people might not vnderstand him. And not vnlikely; for a wise man should so write (though in words vnderstood by all men) that wise men only should be able to commend him. But this obscurity is not to be in the Narrations of things done, nor in the descriptions of places, or of battels; in all which, *Thucydides* is most pispicious,

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as *Plutarch* in the words before cited, hath testified of him. But in the Characters of mens humours and manners, and applying them to affaires of consequence, it is impossible not to be obscure to ordinary capacities, in what words soever a man deliuer his mind; If therefore *Thucydides* in his Orations, or in the Description of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind, be not easily vnderstood, it is of those onely that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and proceedeth not from any intricacy of expression. *Dionysius* further findeth fault with his wing to set word against word, which the *Rhetoricians* call *Anitibetha*. Which, as it is in some kind of speech, a very great vice, so is it not vnproper in Characters; and of comparatiue discourses, it is almost the onely stile.

And whereas he further taxeth him for licentiousness: in turning *Nownes* into *Verbes*, and *Verbes* into *Nownes*, and altering of *Genders*, *Cases*, and *Numbers*, as hee doth sometimes for the more efficacy of his stile, & without *Solacisme*, I leaue him to the answer of *Marcellinus*; who sayes, That *Dionysius* findeth fault with this, as being ignorant (yet he was a professed *Rhetorician*) that this was the most excellent, and perfect kind of speaking.

Some man may peradventure desire to know, what motive *Dionysius* might haue, to extenuate the worth of him, whom he himselfe acknowledgeth to haue bene esteemed by all men, for the best by farre of all Historians that euer writ, and to haue been taken by all the Ancient Orators, and *Philosophers*, for the measure and rule of writing History. What motive he had to it, I know not; but what glory he might expect by it, is easily knowne. For hauing first preferred *Herodotus*, his Countryman, a *Halicarnassian*, before *Thucydides*, who was accounted the best, and then conceiuing that his owne History might perhaps be thought not inferior to that of *Herodotus*, by this computation he saw the honour of the best Historiographer falling on himselfe; wherein (in the opinion of all men) he hath misreckoned; And thus much for the objections of *Denis* of *Halicarnassus*.

It is written of *Demosthenes*, the famous Orator, that he wrote ouer the History of *Thucydides* with his owne hand, eight times. So much was this Worke esteemed, euen for the eloquence. But yet was this his eloquence not at all fit for the barre, but proper for History, and rather to be read, than heard. For words that passe away (as in publique Orations they must) without pause, ought to be vnderstood with ease, and are lost else, though words that remaine in writing for the Reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy, and full. *Cicero* therefore doth iustly set him a part, from the ranke of Pleaders, but withall, he continually giueth him his due for History. *Lib. 2. De Oratore*. What great *Rhetorician* euer borrowed any thing of *Thucydides*? yet all men praise him, I confesse it, as a wise, seuer, graue Relator of things done. Not for a Pleader of Causes at the Barre, but a Reporter of Warre in History. So that he was neuer reckoned an Orator, nor if he had neuer written a History, had his name therefore not been extant, being a man of Honour and Nobility. Yet, none of them imitate the gravity of his Words and Sentences; but when they haue uttered a kinde of lame and disfigured stuffe, they presently thinke themselves brothers of *Thucydides*. Again, in his Booke, *De optimo Oratore*, he saith thus. But here will stand up *Thucydides*; For his eloquence is by some admired; and iustly. But this is nothing to the Orator wee seeke; for it is one thing to unfold a matter by way of Narration; another thing to accuse a man, or cleere him by Arguments. And in Narrations, one thing to stay the hearer; another to stirre him. *Lucian* in his Booke entituled, *How a History ought to be written*, doth continually exemplifie the vertues which he requires in an Historiographer, by *Thucydides*. And if a man consider well that whole Discourse of his, he shall plainly perceiue, that the Image of this present History, praconciued in *Lucians* minde, suggested vnto him all the Precepts he there deliuereth. Lastly, heare the most true and proper commendation of him, from *Iustus Lipsius*, in his Notes to his Booke, *De Doctrina Civilis*, in these words. *Thucydides*, who hath written, not many, nor very great matters, hath perhaps yet won the Garland from all that haue written of matters, both many and great. Eueny where for Eloquation graue; short and thicke with sense; found in his iudgements; senery where secretly instructing; and directing a mans life and actions. In his Orations and Excessions, almost Divine. Whom the oftner you read, the more you shall carry away; yet neuer be dismissed without appetite. Next to him is *Polybius*, &c. And thus much concerning the Life and History of *Thucydides*.

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The names of the places of Greece occurring in *Thucydides*, or in the *Mappe of Greece*, briefly noted out of diuers Authors, for the better manifesting of their situation, and enlightning of the History.



**A** *Aegae*, a City of the *Laerians* of *Opus*, confining on *Himantia*, which is a City of *Phocis*. *Pausanias* in *Phocis*.

*Aedra*, a City situate next beyond the River *Nessus*, towards the East. *Strabo*. *Epitome* lib. 7. *Nessus* a River of the territory of *Aedra*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

*Aegyptus*, a City on the entrance of *Hellespont*, between *Lampyrion* and *Ilium*, equally distant from both. In sight of *Ilium*, and is distant from the mouth of the River *Aegaeus* by Sea 700 furlongs. *Strabo*, lib. 13.

*Aetolus*, a City neere to the *Illyrians* of Mount *Athos*, and (as in the *Epitome* of *Strabo* seventh Booke) in the Bay of *Singus*. But it appeareth by *Herodotus* in his seventh Booke, that it lyeth on the other side, in the Bay of *Syrmon*; where he saith, that the *Illyrians* of Mount *Athos* is of twelue furlongs length, and reacheth from *Aetolus* to the Sea that lyeth before *Torone*. And in another place of the same Booke he saith, that the Fleet of *Xerxes* layed through the Ditch (which *Xerxes* had caused to be made through the said *Illyrians*) from *Aetolus*, into the Bay, in which are these Cities, *Singus*, &c.

*Aetolia*, a region in Greece, diuided from *Epirus* by the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Pol.* lib. 4. it reacheth from *Ambracia* to the River *Achelous*; and is diuided from the *Aetolians* by *Achelous*. *Strabo*, lib. 10.

*Aetolus*, a City of *Thessaly*, opposite to the Ile *Tenarus*. *Strabo*, lib. 12.

*Achaia*, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Ellis*, *Arcadia*, and *Sicyonia*, bounded on one side with *Ellis*, at the Promontory of *Stratus*, and on the other side with the Territory of *Sicyon*. *Strabo*, lib. 8. It hath in it 12 Cities in this order, beginning at that part which confineth on *Sicyonia*. *Pelopon.* *Agae*, *Boea*, *Holice*, *Regium*, *Illyps*, *Petio*, *Phote*, *Olenus*, *Cyme*, *Trinea*. *Herodotus* lib. 1. *Strabo*, lib. 9. It is also a part of *Thessaly*, in which are the *Phthia*. *Herod.* lib. 7. *Strabo*, lib. 9.

*Acheron*, a Towne of *Attica*, distant from *Athens* about 60. Furlongs; *Thucyd.* lib. 2. and lyeth toward the North off it, as may be collected out of the narration of the journey of *Achilles* with his Armie, in the same Booke.

*Achelous*, a river that riseth in the Mountaine *Pindus*, and running through the Territories of *Agrie* 1, and *Amphibolus*, and by the City of *Stratus*, deuideth the maritime parts of *Aetolia* from *Boeotia*. *Strabo* lib. 10. *Achelous* riseth in *Pindus*, and runneth through *Dolopia*, *Agrie*, *Amphibolus*, by the City of *Stratus*, and by the City *Oenias* into the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. in the later end.

*Acheron*, — *Acherusia* is a Lake which *Acherusia*, 3 furlith into the Sea, neere unto *Chelmonium*, a Promontory of *Thesprotia*, and into this Lake falleth the River *Acheron*. *Thuc.* lib. 1. *Acheron* commeth out of the Lake *Acherusia*, into the Haven *Glycy*. *Strabo*, lib. 7. *Acheron* commeth out of *Melissa*, and falleth into the Lake *Acherusia*, which *Livy* calleth the Bay of *Thesprotia*: *Livy*, lib. 8.

*Aetia*, a Cite of *Laconia*, betweene it and *Gydim* the river *Eurotas* goeth out into the Sea. *Strabo* lib. 8. From *Helis*, which is at the mouth of *Eurotas*, it is 30 furlongs distant, and from the Promontory of *Tanarus* 230 furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Laconia*.

*Aetia*, a Promontory loyning to the Territory of *Methone*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Meftis*. *Strabo*, lib. 8.

*Acrothi*, — *Acrothi* are the People *Acrothos* prom. } of a City in the Territory of *Attica*, in which *Attica* is the Mountaine *Athos*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4. *Acrothos* is a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Syrmon*. And *Acrothos* a City in the same. *Herodotus* lib. 7. In stead of this *Acrothos* and *Acrothos*, *Ptolemy* hath *Atrofo*, a Cite and Promontory. *Arcton*, a Towne on the top of Mount *Athos*. *Pliny*, lib. 4.

*Atle* is that Territory wherein standeth the Mountaine *Athos*, disioyned from the Continent by a Ditch made by the King of *Perse*, and hath in it these Cities, *Sane*, *Dion*, *Tholis*, *Cleone*, *Acrothos*, *Diaphysus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

*Atium*, a Temple of *Apollo*, vpon the shore. It is situate where the Bay of *Ambracia* is narrowest. *Polybius* lib. 4. In the mouth of the Bay of *Ambracia*, not farre from *Anatholium*. *Strabo*, lib. 10.

*Adramyctium* — The Bay of *Adramyctium* is *Busa*. A. S. (taken in the greatest *Adramyctium* extent) beginneth at the

Promontory of *Leftus*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Came*, which is opposite to *Malus* of *Leboi*. And the Bay of *Adramyctium* (properly so called) beginneth at the Promontory of *Gargara*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Pyrrha*. And the Cite of *Adramyctium* is within the Promontory of *Pyrrha*. *Strabo* lib. 13.

*Adespa*, a City of *Enodia*, ouer against *Opus*, a City of the *Laerians*. *Strabo*, lib. 9. *Adespa*, a City of *Macedonia*, in the way called by *Strabo*, *Ignatia*, from *Ignatia* and *Pyrrhachium* (or *Epilamnus*) to *Thessalonica* (or *Therma*), and lyeth betweene *Thessalonica* and the *Eordians*. *Strabo*, lib. 7.

*Agae*, a City of *Enodia*, opposite to the mouth of the River *Cephissus*. *Strabo*, lib. 9. It is also the name of a Cite of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, betweene *Helice* and *Aegae*. *Herodotus*, lib. 1. *Pausan.* in *Achaia*. It is the name also of another City in *Boeotia*, lying 40 from the Sea behind the Territory of *Cyme*. *Strabo*, lib. 12.

*Aegina*, an Island ouer against *Epidaurum*, in the *Saronian* Bay. *Strabo*, lib. 8. *Pausan.* in *Cor.*

*Aegira*, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Pellene* and *Aegae*. *Herod.* lib. 1. *Strabo*, lib. 9. Opposite to *Panajissi*. *Polyb.* lib. 4. Also a City of *Leibes*, where the Island is narrowest betweene the Bay of *Pyrrha*, and the other Sea. *Strabo*, lib. 13.

*Aegium*, a Towne in *Aetolia*, amongst the Hills, 80 furlongs distant from the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

*Aegium*, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Helice* and *Hyperi*. *Herodot.* lib. 1. *Strabo*, lib. 9. distant from *Paina* 160 Furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Achaia*.

*Aegypotamus*, a River in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, distant from *Seslin* 1 furlong. *Xenophon*. *Grecorum*.

*Amathia*, a Region of *Macedonia*, placed by *Ptolemy* betweene *Thesaly* and the River *Assius*.

*Emus*, a Mountaine of *Thrace*, which diuideth it almost in the middle, and reacheth from the *Pontus* in Mountains, to *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strabo*, lib. 7.

*Enia*, a City in the Bay of *Therma*, last in order from *Peliden* towards *Therma*. *Herodotus* lib. 7. It is distant from *Thessalonica* (which is the same with *Therma*) 120 Furlongs, and opposite to *Pyrrha*. *Livy*, lib. 44. in the beginning.







longs, and as much from *Nile*, a Promontory of *Libya*, to which it is opposite. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Cephæna*, a Promontory of *Pellene*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. Epi. lib. 7. Lycop. lib. 4.*

*Cephæna*, a Haven of *Libania*, on the out side, not farre from *Cephæna*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Cephæna*, a City of *Arachia*, not farre from *Oreocometis*. *Strab. lib. 4.* the River *Lados* runneth betweene it and *Phlogia*. *Tay. in Arachia.*

*Cephæna*, a City of *Laconia*, betweene *Phlogia* and *Leidra*, by the Sea side, in the *At. Isonus* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from the Promontory of *Teramini* 400. Furlongs. *Paul. in Laconic.* It is also a City in the Island *Chios*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

*Cephæna*, a City in the Isthmus of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, upon the Sea-side in the black Bay [or Bay of *Nelus*]. *Herod. lib. 6.*

*Cephæna*, an Island in that Sea, which is called, in *Mare Capharnum*, hath to the North, the Sea called *Isonus*, to the South, the *Ægean Sea*, to the West, the *Crete* and *African Sea*. *Strab. in the end of the tenth Book.*

*Cephæna*, a Towne in *Arachia*, betweene *Oreocometis* and *Phlogia*, in the confines of both, distant from *Thracian* threecore Furlongs. *Paul. in Arachia.*

*Cephæna*, a City of *Libania*, at the foot of the Mountain *Chios*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Mareotis* a City of *Asia*, is equally distant from it and *Athens*. *Paul. in Arachia.*

*Cephæna*, an Island in the *Carpathian Sea*, from *Carpathus* 80 furlongs, and from *Samothracia* a Promontory of *Crete*, 850 in quantity 80 furlongs about. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Cephæna*, a Haven in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræa*, at the foot of the Mountain *Cape Cephæna*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Cephæna*, a maritime City of *Lydia*, subject to the *Rhodiens*, by the River *Galus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Cephæna*, a River of *Asia*, falling into the Sea at *Ephesus*, 60. as the mouth of it is the Haven of the *Ephesians*. *Strab. lib. 14.* When the *Jouans* made a journey against *Sardis*, they left their Fleet at *Cephæna*, and then went up by the River *Cephæna*, and then over the Mountain *Tmolus*, and to *Sardis*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Cephæna*, a Region of *Asia*, betweene the Hills *Parnassus* and *Briffius*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Cephæna*, a place mentioned in the first Booke of *Thucydides*, being hath the Island *Cephæna*, opposite to *Epidauros*, and distant from it 6 miles. The *Scholiast*, and *Strab.* put it in the West parts of *Peloponnesus*, falsely.

*Cephæna*, a Promontory of *Euboea*, opposite to the Promontory of *Cavendish* of the *Isonus*, and to *Therapleia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Cephæna*, a Haven of the *Cavendish*, on the side of the Isthmus that lyeth towards *Asia*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* *Cephæna* on one side, and *Lebeon* on the other, containe the *Isonus*. *Paul. in Carthagini.*

*Cephæna*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, the nearest to the Island *Helos*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Cephæna*, an Island over against *Acanthis*, distant from *Leucadia* tenne furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and hath in it a City, *Pala*, *Sium*, *Protes*, *Crany*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Cephæna*, a River, which rising about *Livra*, a City of *Phlogia*, and going by *Elates*, *Daulia* and *Thonotis*, Cities of *Bautis*, falleth into *Coronea*, and filleth the Lake called *Capas*. Afterwards, an Earthquake opening the way, it went on to the Sea, and entered at *Larynia*, a Towne of *Naum*, opposite to *Agis* of *Euboea*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a River of *Attica*, rising in the Territory of *Eliofis*, and falling into the Sea by *Pireus*. *Paul. in Attica.*

*Cephæna*, Mountains of *Epirus*, on the Sea-side, in the entrance of the *Junian Gulf*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

*Cephæna*, a Towne betweene *Andus* and *Halicarnassus*, from whence also the Bay there is called the *Carmanian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Cephæna*, a Hill of the *Argivians*, beyond *Sisyron*, near *dephlogia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Cephæna*, a Mountain betweene *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, the same divideth the *Peloponnesus* from the *Sinianus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Cephæna*, a Region of *Epirus*, divided from *Thessalia* by the River *Thyris*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* The *Choniens* and *Thyrisians* have all the Sea coast from the mountains called *Cephæna*, to the *Ambracian Bay*, (therefore *Cephæna* stretcheth part of the *Isonus*) *Strab. lib. 7.* called *Cephæna* from *Cephæna* the sonne of *Helenus*. *Paul. in Carthagini.*

*Cephæna*, a City of *Bautis*, confining on *Phlogia*, twenty furlongs distant from *Panopolis* or *Phanotis*, and situate upon the River *Cephæna*. *Paul. in Phlogia.* *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Chalea*, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, distant from *Teli* 80 Furlongs, and from *Caprius* 400 Furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

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*Chalea*, a City of *Bautis*, at the *Euripus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a City of *Asia*, upon the River *Eurus*, on the East side of it. *Strab. lib. 10.* beneath *Calydon*. *Idem. lib. 9.*

*Chalea*, a Region adjoining to *Thrace*, containing most of the Townes upon or neere the Sea, from the mouth of the River *Strymon*, to *Tricaria* in *Pellene*. This may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. It was named, for that they were Colonies of *Chalcid* in *Euboea*, either immediate or derived.

*Chalcid*, the people of a City of the *Lauri Opide*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Chalcid*, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, beginning at the Mountains called *Cephæna*, and together with *Thyris* reaching as farre as the *Ambracian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 7.* It is divided from *Thessalia* by the River *Thyris*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Chalcid*, a small River of *Macedonia*, which rising in *Gresonia*, runneth into the River *Axis*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Chalcid*, a Promontory of *Epirus*, betweene the Islands called *Syote*, and the mouth of the River *Arberon*. *Strab. lib. 7.* side *Arberon*.

*Chalcid*, a Promontory of *Arachia*, towards *Therapleia*, 50 Furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Chalcid*, a City of the *Dorian* in *Asia*, by the Sea called *Cephæna* Bay. *Herod. lib. 1.* On the North it hath the *Cephæna* Bay. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Chalcid*, an island City of *Thracis*, in the Territory of *Lampias*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a maritime City of *Troas*, 140 furlongs from *Ilum*, betweene *Hamaxus* and *Lanassa*. *Id. lib. 13.*

*Chalcid*, a maritime City of *Messina*, betweene *Apollonia* and the mouth of the River *Arberon*. *Strab. lib. 7.* side *Arberon*.

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which were numbered, the inhabitants of the Islands Rhodus and Cos, and the Cities Caridos and Hiacinthos. Strab. lib. 14. Daulian Camp, a large Campaigne by the side of the River Thermodon, where Xerxes pulling on towards Greece, mustered his mighty Armies. Herodot. lib. 7. Drosopolis, a City of Adania, beyond the River Styx. Thucyd. lib. 1. Dronum a Promontory of the Island Cos, distant from the City Cos, 200 furlongs. Strab. lib. 14. Dinnipolis, an Island lying before Crete. Thucyd. lib. 8. Livy, lib. 38. vide Crete. Dros, a people of Phrygia. Dyme, a City of Achaia, the nearest to the confines of Elis. Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Achaia.

# E

Echinades, Islands lying in and out before the mouth of the River Achelous. Thucyd. lib. 3. Strab. lib. 10. Edonia, a Region of Thracia, lying to the River Styx. Strab. lib. 1. Edonum a Promontory of the Island Cos, by which the Isthmus thereof may be sufficiently understood. Edonensis, a City of Macedonia, not far from Delorus. Thucyd. lib. 1. Paus. lib. 4. Elys, a City of Thrac, on the River Styx. Herodot. lib. 9. In the mouth of Styx, 25 furlongs from Amphipolis. Thucyd. lib. 4. Elys, a Sea-town in Asia, belonging to the City of Pergamus, distant from the mouth of the River Caicus towards Ionia, 15 furlongs: and from Cene 100 furlongs. Strab. lib. 13. Elaeus, a City of Phocia, by the River Cephalus, confining on the Locris. Strab. lib. 9. Pausanias in Phocia, it standeth in the straits of the Phocian Mountains. Strab. lib. 9. Eleuthera, a Towne of Attica, between Eleus and Plata, on the border of Attica. Paus. in Attica. lib. 1. in Ionia. Eleus, a City of Chersonesus to the North of Lemnos. Herodot. lib. 6. Eleus, a Sea-town of Attica, Strab. lib. 8. on the confines of Megaris. Pausanias in Attica. Elis, Elis and Messenia are two Regions, that take the West part of Peloponnesus, Elis is bounded on the North by the Promontory Arcadia, and divided from Messenia the parts towards the Sea, by the River Neda. Strab. lib. 8. Elis the principall City thereof is distant from the Sea 120 furlongs, and from Olympia almost three hundred. Pausan. in fine secunda Eliae. Elencium, a Towne in Neritum of the Territory of Ionia. Thucyd. lib. 3. Elmyra, a Nation of Macedonia, which Elmyra, a Promontory place on the Sea-side upon the Ionian Gulfe. Livy hath the City Elmyra as the foot of the Mountains Caninus, and by the River Alacum. Liv. lib. 42. Embathia, a Towne of Phrygia. Thucyd. lib. 3. on the part toward Ionia, as may be probably conjectured by the History.

Enipis, a River of Thessaly, which falleth into the River Peneus. Herodot. lib. 7. But first it recueth into it the water of Apudamus, that passeth by Phalaris. Strab. lib. 8. It falleth in the Mountains Olympus. Id. lib. 8. Eorda, a Region of Macedonia, between the Peneus and Thessalonica (or Thrac) in the way called Ignatia, that leadeth from Epidaurum to Thessalonica. Strab. lib. 7. Ephefus, an Isthmus City in Lydia. Herodot. lib. 1. at the mouth of the River Caystrus on the side towards Mysia. Strab. lib. 13. Epipis, a City of Thessaly, upon the River Peneus. Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1. Also a City of Aegaei. Strab. lib. 7. 6. lib. 10. Epidaurum, a City afterwards called Pyrrachum, now Danagis, situate on the Isthmus Gulfe, amongst the Taurini. Thucyd. lib. 1. next without the Bay called Rhagaei. Strab. lib. 7. Epidaurum, a City of Argia by the Sea-side, in the inmost part of the Saronic Bay. Strab. lib. 8. Epidaurum Lincea, a maritime City of Lacedaem, in the Bay of Argis, 200 furlongs from the Promontory of Malea. Pausan. in Lacedaem. Eres, a City in Erythrae, between Teos and Cassius. Strab. lib. 13. Eressus, a City in the Ile Lesbos, between Pyrrha and the Promontory Siginum. Strab. lib. 13. Eretia, a City of Euboea, between Chalcis and Geraeus. Strab. lib. 10. opposite to Oropus in Attica. Strab. lib. 9. Eryon, a River of Macedonia, arising in Thrac, and falling into the River Axius. Livy lib. 33. Strab. lib. 7. Erivon, a City of Thrac. Thucyd. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9. Also a Haven in the Territory of Nigrop, in Achaia. Thucyd. lib. 7. Pausan. in Achaia. Erythra, an Isthmus City. Herodot. lib. 1. It standeth in the middle of the Chersonesus, between the Promontory Argemum and the Mountain Mimar, and before it lie certain Islands called Hippis. Strab. lib. 13. Also a Towne in the confines of Attica, not far from Plata. Thucyd. lib. 6. Herodot. lib. 9. Erythra, a Region of Thessaly, confining on the Mountains Olympus and Ossa. Herodot. lib. 1. It is the West part of Thessaly, and lyeth between Mount Pimius and the upper Macedonia. Strab. lib. 7. Euboea, an Island lying opposite to the Continent of Attica, and Egeia, and Leontis, extending from Sinium, as far as Thessaly. The length of it is reckoned from the Promontory Caeum, to the Promontory Gerfus. Coenaea Euboea is all that shore that is from the Euripus to Gerfus. Strab. lib. 10. Herodotus maketh it to be on the other side of the land. Herodot. lib. 7. It seems therefore that Coenaea Euboea is not the proper name of a place, but an appellation signifying any hollow between the shores. Eucania, a River, which rising amongst the Boi, a Nation of Aetolia, runneth by Chelici and Cylindus, and then breuing toward the West, by Placen into the Sea. Strab. lib. 10.

Eucetis, a River of Lacedaem, rising in the Territory of Megalopolis, and passing by the City of Lacedaem, on the East side of it, falleth into the Sea neere Hides, between Ophium and Thessalonica. Strab. lib. 8. Also a River of Thessaly, rising out of the Hill Clarius, and falling into the River Peneus. Strab. lib. 7. Epi, Eurytanes, a Nation of Aetolia, one of the three, Apodoli being those that dwelt toward the Sea; Ophium, their toward the Aeolus, Thymis, lib. 3. Eurytanes therefore must be those toward Argis and Attica. Euphrates, a City not farre from Tarentum, the Port of Xerxes coasting the Promontory of Amphipolis, passed by Isthmus City, Tarentum, Galepsus, Scymnus, &c. Herodot. lib. 7. Euphrates, a City of Thrac, not far from Amphipolis. Thucyd. lib. 4. Oritus thinketh it the same with Galepsus, but it is more probable by the History to be another. Gargara, a Promontory in Asia, 260 furlongs within the Promontory of Lesbos, and is the beginning of the Bay of Adramyttium, properly so called. Strab. lib. 13. Gerfus, a Promontory of Euboea, Gerfus and Petala are opposite to Sinium, a Promontory of Attica. Strab. lib. 10. Gerfus is between the City Syra, and Eretia. Idem. lib. 10. Gerasa, a Hill in Aegina, neere the entrance of the Isthmus. Thucyd. lib. 1. Paus. in Attica. Glauce, a City in Ionia, neere the Mountain Myale. Thucyd. lib. 8. Gignus, a Promontory not farre from Peridea. Thucyd. lib. 1. Herodot. lib. 7. Gnapus, a City of Thessaly, in the Regi- on called Ephyris. Strab. lib. 9. neere to the Springs of Peneus. Paus. lib. 4. The neere of the Thessalian Cities to Epirus. Livy, lib. 33. Gonnus, a City of the Peribolium in Thessaly, at the foot of Olympus. Strab. lib. 9. In the entrance to Tempe. Polyb. lib. 17. Livy, lib. 44. twenty miles distant from Larissa. Livy lib. 36. Gonnus, is in the entrance out of Macedonia through the Peribolium into Thessaly. Herodot. lib. 7. Gortynia, a City of Macedonia, not farre from the Hill Cerine. Thucyd. lib. 1. Gortyn, a River in Thessaly, rising in Mount Ili, neere unto Scipis, and falling into Propontis between the City Priapus, and the mouth of the River Aegis. Strab. lib. 13. Gressina, a Region of Macedonia, lying toward the Aeolus, in which ritheth the River Chedoni. Herodot. lib. 7. Gyana, a small land, one of the Cyclades. Gyra, a City of Peribolus, at the foot of Olympus. Strab. lib. 9. before Gortyn to such as come out of Macedonia, by the Mountains called Canabys. Livy, lib. 44. Gylhim, a City of Lacedaem, the Harbour of the Lacedaemonian Shipping between

Apia

Apia and Acia. Strab. lib. 8. distant 230 furlongs from the Promontory of Tarentum. Paus. in Lacedaem. H. Halia Thucydidi, a Maritime Towne of Argis, in the way Halis Strabon, of Argis. Strab. lib. 10. Halis Paganis, of Argis. Strab. lib. 10. Halis, a City of Argis, not farre from the Promontory Caeum. Strab. lib. 10. The Territory of Argis is called Hestatis, and is out against Thessaly, as may appear out of Herodot. lib. 7. Hely, The people of a City of the Laci Ogle. Thucyd. lib. 3. Hely, a City of Euboea, not farre from the Promontory Caeum. Strab. lib. 10. The Territory of Hely is called Hestatis, and is out against Thessaly, as may appear out of Herodot. lib. 7. Hely, The people of a City of the Laci Ogle. Thucyd. lib. 3. Helyopolis, a City of Phocis, confining on Abas, a City of the Locris of Opus. Paus. in Phocis. Hely, a Towne of Attica, on the confines of Phocis. Herodot. lib. 9. Thucyd. lib. 3. Paus. Ossa. Also a Towne of Argis, on the confines of Tegyra, in the way between Tegyra and Argis. Pausanias in Corinthia. I. Iassus, a maritime City of Asia, situate in an Island, neere to the Continent. Strab. lib. 14. In that Bay which on the side towards Adria hath Pissidum for bound, and on the other side, the City Mindus. Polyb. lib. 16. The Bay is called Sium Argitica, Iassus. Iassus, or Iassus, an Island on the West side of the Ile Sema, Promontory of Asia, distant from Iassus. Idem. lib. 14. It 80 furlongs. Idem. lib. 14. Iassus, a Promontory of Elis, neere the City of Phia. Thucyd. lib. 2. Vide Phia. Iassus, an Island lying before Megastis. Strab. lib. 9. Iassus, a Mountain of Asia, extending from Lesbos and the places on the Adriaticum Bay, to the City Zelia by Propontis. Strab. lib. 12. Iassus, a place in the Thracian Chersonesus, opposite to Argis and Dardanus. Thucyd. lib. 8. Iassus, two Hill toppes so called, between Andania and Argis Amphileicorum. Thucyd. lib. 3. Iassus, a City in the Island of Rhodes, between Camirus and the City of Rhodes. Strab. lib. 14. Iassus, a famous City in Asia, 170 furlongs from Abydos, standing from the Sea towards the Mountain Ida. Strab. lib. 13. Iassus, an Island not farre from the Thracian Chersonesus. Thucyd. lib. 8. Iassus, a City in the Bay of Lacedaem, and from Lemnos 200 and twenty miles, between Mysia and Erythra, distant from Syra 100 furlongs. Strab. lib. 14. Also from the City of Sinus, a people of Macedonia, called Iassus Sinus. Livy lib. 45. Iassus, a maritime City in Argis, between Argis and Tegyra. Strab. lib. 8. Iassus, a City in the Bay of Lacedaem, which hath in it in order three Cities, Argis, Hermionis, Tegyra. Strab. lib. 9. Pausanias in Corinthia, but Strabo seemeth to make the Bay of

Hermion to begin at the Promontory Sot- leum, and to end at Epidaurum. Sygea, Hermion, a River dividing Rhodi from Asia. Strab. lib. 14. It runneth through the Plains that lie before the Citie Sardis, and entrench the Sea by Phocis. Herodot. lib. 10. Hestis, the people of a City of the Laci Ogle. Thucyd. lib. 3. Hestis, a City of Euboea, not farre from the Promontory Caeum. Strab. lib. 10. The Territory of Hestis is called Hestatis, and is out against Thessaly, as may appear out of Herodot. lib. 7. Hestis, The people of a City of the Laci Ogle. Thucyd. lib. 3. Hestisopolis, a City of Phocis, confining on Abas, a City of the Locris of Opus. Paus. in Phocis. Hestis, a Towne of Attica, on the confines of Phocis. Herodot. lib. 9. Thucyd. lib. 3. Paus. Ossa. Also a Towne of Argis, on the confines of Tegyra, in the way between Tegyra and Argis. Pausanias in Corinthia. I. Iassus, a maritime City of Asia, situate in an Island, neere to the Continent. Strab. lib. 14. In that Bay which on the side towards Adria hath Pissidum for bound, and on the other side, the City Mindus. Polyb. lib. 16. The Bay is called Sium Argitica, Iassus. Iassus, or Iassus, an Island on the West side of the Ile Sema, Promontory of Asia, distant from Iassus. Idem. lib. 14. It 80 furlongs. Idem. lib. 14. Iassus, a Promontory of Elis, neere the City of Phia. Thucyd. lib. 2. Vide Phia. Iassus, an Island lying before Megastis. Strab. lib. 9. Iassus, a Mountain of Asia, extending from Lesbos and the places on the Adriaticum Bay, to the City Zelia by Propontis. Strab. lib. 12. Iassus, a place in the Thracian Chersonesus, opposite to Argis and Dardanus. Thucyd. lib. 8. Iassus, two Hill toppes so called, between Andania and Argis Amphileicorum. Thucyd. lib. 3. Iassus, a City in the Island of Rhodes, between Camirus and the City of Rhodes. Strab. lib. 14. Iassus, a famous City in Asia, 170 furlongs from Abydos, standing from the Sea towards the Mountain Ida. Strab. lib. 13. Iassus, an Island not farre from the Thracian Chersonesus. Thucyd. lib. 8. Iassus, a City in the Bay of Lacedaem, and from Lemnos 200 and twenty miles, between Mysia and Erythra, distant from Syra 100 furlongs. Strab. lib. 14. Also from the City of Sinus, a people of Macedonia, called Iassus Sinus. Livy lib. 45. Iassus, a maritime City in Argis, between Argis and Tegyra. Strab. lib. 8. Iassus, a City in the Bay of Lacedaem, which hath in it in order three Cities, Argis, Hermionis, Tegyra. Strab. lib. 9. Pausanias in Corinthia, but Strabo seemeth to make the Bay of

the River Hermus, on the North. Strab. lib. 14. Iassus Gulf, The Ionian Gulfe, or the Ionian Sea, is the utmost part of the Adriatic Sea, beginning at the Ceranias Mountains. Strab. lib. 7. Iassus, an Island on the Coast of Crete, equally distant from Therafa Anaple. Strab. lib. 10. Iassus, The people of a City of the Laci Ogle. Thucyd. lib. 3. Iassus, a Lake in Thrac, between Strima and Maronea. Herodot. lib. 7. Iassus, a Hill in the Ile Cos. Thucyd. lib. 3. Ithaca, an Island over against Cephalonia, and neere to it. Strab. lib. 10. Ithaca, a Hill in Messenia, neere the Sea, and on it a City, which was afterward the Cittadel of the City Messene, that was built after the Peloponnesus Warre, by Epaminondas. Paus. in Messenia. I. Iassus, a Region of Peloponnesus, confining on Messia, Argis, and Arcadia. Strab. lib. 8. divided from the Territory of Megalopolis of Arcadia, by the River Alpheus. Paus. in Arcadia. Iassus, the most Southerne Promontorie of the Ile Cos. Strab. lib. 14. Iassus, the head City of Lacedaem, on the West side of the River Eurates, remote from the Sea, beneath the Mountain Tegyris. Strab. lib. 8. Polyb. lib. 5. Iassus, a small Island, lying before the City Mytilus. Herodot. lib. 6. Thucyd. lib. 8. Paus. in Attica. Iassus, a River rising in the Territory of Chios in Arcadia, passing by the border of Heros, and falling into the River Peneus in Elis, neere to Pylas. Paus. in Arcadia, & Eleusium secunda. Iassus, an Island on the West of the Island Ias. Strab. lib. 10. Iassus, a maritime City in Hellestus, from Abydos, toward Propontis, distant 170 furlongs. Strab. lib. 14. Iassus, a Towne of the Territory of Oressis in Arcadia. Thucyd. lib. 4. Iassus, a City of Thessaly, on the River Peneus. Strab. lib. 9. Also a City of Thrac, between Achaia and Colos. Strab. lib. 13. Iassus, a City of Lacedaem, a Mountain at the Bay of Lacedaem, which Bay be- ginneth at Pissidum in the Territory of Messia, and endeth at the Promontorie of Erythra, between which places by the shore, it is two hundred furlongs, and stretch out, but thirty. Strab. lib. 4. Iassus is also an Island in those parts, as appeareth by Thucydides, lib. 2. but I can finde no mention of it in any other Author. Iassus, a Mountain and Towne in Attica, not far from Sinium, between Sinium and

(c)





















THE  
FIRST BOOKE  
OF  
THE HISTORY OF  
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The estate of Greece, derived from the remotest knowne Antiquity  
thence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre. The Oc-  
casion and Pretects of this Warre, arising from the Controversies  
of the Athenians with the Corinthians, concerning Corcyra  
and Potidaea. The Lacedaemonians, instigated by the Confe-  
derates, undertake the Warre, not so much at their instigation,  
as of amde to the greatness of the Athenian Dominion. The  
degrees by which that Dominion was acquired. The Warre ge-  
nerally decreed by the Confederates at Sparta. The Demands of  
the Lacedaemonians. The obstinacy of the Athenians; and  
their Answer, by the advice of Pericles.

THUCYDIDES an Athenian, wrote  
the Warre of the Peloponnesians and  
the Athenians, as they warred a-  
gainst each other. Beginning to  
write, as soon as the Warre was  
on foot, with expectation it should  
prove a great one, and most wor-  
thy the relation of all that had  
before beene before it. Collecting to  
much, Notwithstanding, that they nourished on both sides



\* Before that time, he was called the Caring God.



A Disposition, touching  
the Piracie & Robberies  
of old time; with other  
Notes of Sauvagencies.

Robbing had in honour.

\* To distinction to the other  
Locrians, called Opuntii.

Continuall wearing of  
 Armour in fashion.

The Athenians grew first  
civill.

\* The Athenians, holding  
themselves to be sprung from  
the ground they lived on,  
wore the Grasshopper for  
a kinde of Cognizance, because  
that Beast is thought to be ge-  
nerated of the Earth.

for the better, comming in (as is likely) of his owne Re- A  
venue.

For the *Grecians* in old time, and such *Barbarians* as, in  
the Continent, liued neere vnto the Sea; or else inhabited  
the Ilands, after once they beganne to crosse ouer one  
to another in Ships, became *Theeues*, and went a-  
broad vnder the conduct of their most puissant men, both  
to enrich themselves, and to fetch in maintenance for the  
weake: and falling vpon Towns vnfortified, and scattering-  
ly inhabited, rifled them, and made this the best meanes  
of their liuing. Being a matter at that time no where in B  
disgrace; but rather carrying with it something of glory.  
This is manifest by some that dwell on the Continent, a-  
mongst whom, so it be performed Nobly, it is still esteem-  
ed as an Ornament. The same also is proued by some  
of the ancient Poets; who introduce men questioning of  
such as sail by, on all Coasts alike, whether they bee  
*Theeues*, or not; as a thing néither scorned by such as  
were asked, nor vbraided by those that were desirous to  
know. They also robbed one another within the maine  
Land. And much of *Greece* vseth that old custome, as the  
*Locrians* called *Ozols*, the *Acarnanians*, and those of the C  
Continent in that quarter; vnto this day. Moreouer, the  
fashion of wearing Iron, remaineth yet with the people  
of that Continent, from their old Trade of Theeting.

For once they were wont throughout all *Greece*, to goe  
armed, because their Houses were vnfenced, and trauailing  
was vn safe, and accustomed themselves, like the *Barba-  
rians*, to the ordinary wearing of their Armour. And the  
Nations of *Greece* that liue so yet, doe testifie, that the  
same manner of life was anciently vniuersall to all the rest. D  
Amongst whom, the *Athenians* were the first that laid by  
their Armour, and growing ciuill, passed into a more ten-  
der kinde of life. And such of the Rich as were any thing  
stepped into yeeres, layd away, vpon the same delicacie,  
not long after, the fashion of wearing linnen Coates, and  
\* golden Grasshoppers, which they were wont to binde  
vp in the lockes of their haire: from whence also the same  
Fashion, by reason of their affinity, remained a long time  
in vse amongst the ancient *Ionians*. But the moderate kind  
of Garment, and conformable to the wearing of these E  
times, was first taken vp by the *Lacedamonians*; amongst  
whom

A whom also, both in other things, and especially in the cul-  
ture of their bodies, the Nobility obserued the most equali-  
ty, with the Commons. The same were also the first,  
that when they were to contend in the \* *Olympicke Games*,  
stript themselves \* naked, and anoynted their bodies with  
oynment: whereas in ancient times, the Champions did  
also in the *Olympicke Games* vse Breeces; nor is it many  
yeeres since this custome ceased. Also there are to this  
day amongst the *Barbarians*, especially those of *Asia*, Princes  
propounded of fighting with Fists, and of Wrestling; and  
B the Combattants, about their priuie parts, weare Breeces  
in the Exercises. It may likewise by many other things  
bee demonstrated, that the old *Greekes* vset the same forme  
of life, that is now in force amongst the *Barbarians* of the  
present Age.

As for Cities, such as are of late foundations, and since  
the increase of Navigation, in as much as they haue had  
since, moraplenty of riches, haue beene walled about, and  
built vpon the Shore; and haue taken vp *Isthmi*, (that is  
to say, neckes of Land between Sea and Sea) both for Mer-  
chandise, and for the better strength against Confiners. C  
But the old Cities, men having bene in those times, for  
the most part, infested by *Theeues*, are built farther vp,  
as well in the Ilands, as in the Continent. For others al-  
so that dwell on the Sea side, though not Sea-men, yet  
they molested one another with Robberies, and euen to  
these times, those people are planted vp high in the  
Country.

But these Robberies were the extreme especially of the  
Ilanders, namely, the *Carians*, and the *Phenicians*: for by  
D them were the greatest part of the \* Ilands inhabited. A  
testimony whereof, is this: The *Athenians*, when in this  
present \* Warre they hallowed the Ile of *Delos*, and had  
dugged vp the Sepulchers of the Dead, found that more  
then halfe of them were *Carians*, \* knowne so to bee, both  
by the armour buried with them, and also by their manner  
of buriall at this day. And when *Minas* his Navy was  
once afloat, Navigators had the Sea more free. For hee  
expelled the Malefactors out of the Ilands, and in the most  
of them, planted Colonies of his owne. By which means,  
E they who inhabited the Sea-coasts, becoming more ad-  
dicted to Riches, grew more constant to their dwellings;

\* Exercise of diuers kinds  
affiliated to honour of Iupiter,  
at Olympia in Pelopon-  
nesus, to which referred  
such out of Greece, as con-  
tended for Prizes.

\* This was perhaps the cause,  
why it was a capital crime  
for women to be Spectators  
of the Olympick Games.

The Cities of *Greece* now  
walled, and for what  
causes.

The *Carians* and *Phenicians*,  
were those that com-  
mited the most robbe-  
ries.

\* The Cyclades.

\* Vide Lib. 4. in the Begin-  
ning.

\* The *Carians* being in-  
vented the Circle of the Helio-  
met, and the handle of the  
Target, and also the drawing  
of Images on their Targets,  
had therefore a Helmet and  
a Backer buried with them,  
and had their heads laid to-  
wards the West.



of whom, some growne now rich, compassed their Townes about with Walls. For out of desire of gaine, the meaner sort vnderwent servitude with the mighty; and the mighty with their wealth, brought the lesser Cities into subiection. And so it came to passe, that rising to power, they proceeded afterward to the Warre against Troy.

And to mee it seemeth, that *Agamemnon* got together that Fleet, not so much for that hee had with him the *Suters of Helena*, bound thereto by oath to *Tyndareus*, as for this, that hee exceeded the rest in power. For they that by tradition of their Ancestours, know the most certainty of the Acts of the *Peloponnesians*, say, That first, *Pelops*, by the abundance of wealth which he brought with him out of *Asia*, to men in want, obtained such power amongst them, as, though hee were a Stranger, yet the Countrey was called after his name. And that this power was also increased by his Posterity: For, *Euristheus* being slaine in *Attica*, by the *Heracleides*, *Atreus*, that was his Uncle by the Mother, (and was then abiding with him as an exiled person, for feare of his Father, for the death of *Chrysippus*) and to whom *Euristheus*, when he vndertooke the Expedition, had committed *Mycene*, and the government thereof, for that he was his Kinsman; when as *Euristheus* came not backe, (the *Mycenians* being willing to it, for feare of the *Heracleides*, and because he was an able man, and made much of the Common people) obtained the Kingdome of *Mycene*, and of whatsoever else was vnder *Euristheus*, for himselfe: And the power of the *Pelopides* became greater then that of the *Perseides*. To which greatnesse *Agamemnon* succeeding, and also farre excelling the rest in Shipping, tooke that Warre in hand, as I conceiue it, and assembled the said Forces, not so much vpon fauour, as by feare. For it is cleere, that he himselfe both conferred most Ships to that Action, and that some also hee lent to the *Arcadians*. And this is likewise declared by *Homer* (if any thinke his testimony sufficient) who, at the deliuey of the Scepter vnto him, calleth him, *Of many Iles, and of all Argos King*. Now he could not, liuing in the Continent, haue bene Lord of the Ilands, other then such as were adjacent, which cannot bee many, vnlesse hee had also had a Nauy. And by this Expedition, we are to estimate what were those of the Ages before it.

Now

The Adion of Troy.  
\* The Sonne of Atreus, the Sonne of Pelops.  
\* The opinion was, that *Tyndareus*, the Father of *Helena*, took an Oath of all his Daughters Suters, that if violence were done to him that obtained her, all the rest should helpe to revenge it, and that *Menelaus* having married her, and *Paris* the Sonne of *Prison*, King of *Troy* taking her away, *Agamemnon*, in the behalfe of his Brother *Menelaus*, drew them by this Oath to the Siege of *Tium*.  
*Peloponnesus*, so called from *Pelops*.  
The increase of the power of the *Pelopians*.  
\* A hundred and race of men, whereof was *Hercules*.  
\* This Family was persecuted by *Euristheus*, who was of the House of *Perseus*, and driven into *Attica*, thither he following them, was slaine by the *Athenians*.  
\* *Attilania*, the Mother of *Euristheus*, was *Arcus* his Sister.  
\* *Arcus* and *Thyestes*, Suters of *Pelops*, at the Impulsion of their Mother, slew this *Chrysippus*, who was their halfe Brother, viz. by the Father, and for this fault, *Arcus* fled to *Euristheus*.  
\* *Atreus* King of *Mycene*, after the death of *Pelops*.  
\* The House of *Pelops*.  
\* The House of *Perseus*.  
\* The Sonne of *Atreus*, by the power of his House, both of the *Pelopides*, and of the *Perseides*.

A Now seeing *Mycene* was but a small Citie, or if any other of that Age seeme but of light regard, let not any man for that cause, on so weak an Argument, thinke that Fleet to haue bene lesse then the Poets haue said, and Fame reported it to bee. For, if the City of *Lacedemon* were now desolate, and nothing of it left, but the Temples, and floores of the buildings, I thinke it would breed much vnbeliefe in posterity long hence, of their power, in comparison of the Fame. For although of \* fine parts of *Peloponnesus*, it possesse \* two, and hath the leading of the rest, and also of many Confederates without; yet the Citie being not close built, and the Temples and other Edifices not costly, and because it is but scatteringly inhabited, after the ancient manner of *Greece*, their power would seeme inferior to the report. Again, the same things happening to *Athens*, one would coniecture by the sight of their Citie, that their power were double to what it is. Wee ought not therefore to bee incredulous, [concerning the Forces that went to *Troy*], nor haue in regard so much the externall shew of a Citie, as the power: but we are to thinke, that that Expedition was indeed greater then those that went before it, but yet inferior to those of the present Age; in this also we may credit the Poetry of *Homer*, who being a Poet, was like to set it forth to the utmost. And yet euen thus it commeth short. For hee maketh it to consist of 1200. Vessels: those that were of *Boeotians*, carrying 120. men apiece, and those which came with *Philoctetes*, 50. Setting forth, as I suppose, both the greatest fort, and the least, and therefore of the bignesse of any of the rest, hee maketh in his Catalogue, no mention at all: but declareth, that they who were in the Vessels of *Philoctetes*, serued both as Mariners and Souldiers: for he writes, that they who were at the Oare, were all of them Archers. And for such as wrought not, it is not likely that many went along, except \* Kings, and such as were in chiefe authority, especially being to passe the Sea with Munition of Warre, and in Bottomes without Deckes, built after the old and Peiraticall fashion. So then, if by the greatest and least, one estimate the meane of their Shipping, it will appeare, that the whole number of men considered, as sent ioyntly from all *Greece*, were not very many. And the cause heereof was not so much

*Mycene*, though no great Citie, yet was of great power.

\* i. *Laconia*. 2. *Arcadia*. 3. *Argolis*. 4. *Messenia*. 5. *Elis*. *Morea*.  
\* *Laconia*, *Messenia*.

The City of *Sparta* lesse, and the City of *Athens*, greater, then for the proportion of their power.

A Survey of the Fleet sent to *Troy*.

\* *Achilles*, *Vlysses*, *Ajax*, *Dionides*, *Patroclus*, and the like.

\* The whole number of men, estimating the Ships at a cuculus to carry 85. men apiece, which is the meane betwixt 120. and 50. came to 105000. men, carried in these 1200. Ships. Yet the Author makes it a little matter in respect of the present warre.

want



want of men, as of wealth. For, for want of victuall, they A carried the lesser Army, and no greater then they hoped might both follow the Warre, and also maintaine it selfe. When vpon their arrivall, they had gotten the vpper hand in fight, (which is manifest, for else they could not have fortified their Campe) it appeares, that from that time forward, they employed not there their whole power, but that for want of victuall, they betooke themselves, part of them to the tillage of *Chersonesus*, and part to fetch in Booties: whereby diuided, the *Trojans* the more easily made that tenne yeeres resistance; as being euer a Match B for so many as remained at the Siege. Whereas, if they had gone furnished with store of prouision, and with all their Forces, eased of Boothaling and Tillage, since they were Masters of the Field, they had also easily taken the Citie. But they stroue not with their whole power, but onely with such a portion of their Army, as at the feuerall occasions chanced to bee present: when as, if they had pressed the Siege, they had wonne the place, both in lesse time, and with lesse labour. But through want of money, not onely they were weake matters all that preceded this C Enterprize; but also this, (which is of greater name then any before it) appeareth to bee in fact beneath the Fame, and report, which, by meanes of the Poets, now goeth of it.

For also after the Trojan Warre, the *Grecians* continued still their shiftings, and transplantations; insomuch as neuer resting, they improved not their power. For the late returne of the *Greekes* from *Ilium*, caused not a little innovation; and in most of the Cities there arose seditions; and those which were driven out, built Cities for themselves in other places. For those that are now called *Beotians*, in the sixtieth yeere after the taking of *Troy*, expelled *Arne* by the *Thesalians*, seated themselves in that Country, which now *Beotia*, was then called *Cadmeis*. (But there was in the same, a certaine portion of that Nation before, of whom also were they, that went to the Warfare of *Troy*.) And in the eightieth yeere, the *Dorians*, together with the *Heracleides*, seized on *Peloponnesus*. And with much adoe, after long time, *Greece* had constant rest; and shifting their seates no longer, at length sent Colonies: and E brood. And the *Athenians* planted *Ionia*, and most of the Islands,

The poverty of the  
Greekes was the cause  
why the *Trojans* could  
so long hold out.

The state of Greece, after  
the Trojan Warre.

*Beotia*, more anciently  
*Cadmeis*.

The *Ioniens* were the Co-  
lonies of the *Athenians*.

Islands; and the *Peloponnesians*, most of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and also certaine parts of the rest of *Greece*. But these Colonies were all planted after the Trojan Warre.

But when the power of *Greece* was now improoved, and the desire of money withall; their reuenues being enlarged, in most of the Cities there were erected Tyrannies: (for before that time, Kingdomes with honours limited, were hereditary.) And the *Grecians* built Nauies, and became more seriously addicted to the affaires of the Sea. The *Corinthians* are said to haue been the first that changed the forme of shipping; into the nearest to that which is now in vse; and at *Corinth* are reported to haue beene made the first Gallies of all *Greece*. Now it is well knowne, that *Aminocles* the Ship-wright of *Corinth*, built 4. Ships at *Samos*; And from the time that *Aminocles* went to *Samos*, untill the end of this present Warre, are at the most but 300. yeeres. And the most ancient small Battaille that we know of, was fought betwene the *Corinthians* and the *Coryraens*, and from that Battaille to the same time, are but 260. yeeres. For *Corinth* seated on an *Isthmus*, had beene alwaies a place of Traffique; because the *Grecians* of old, from within and without *peloponnesus*, trading by Land more then by Sea, had no other intercourse one to another, but thow the *Corinthians* Territory. And was also wealthy in money, as appeares by the Poets, who haue surnamed this Towne the *Rish*. And after the *Grecians* had commerce also by Sea, then likewise hauing furnished themselves with a Nauy; they scoured the Sea of Pirates, and affording Traffique both by Sea and Land, mightily increased their City in reuenue of money. After D this, the *Ionians* in the times of *Cyrus* first King of the *Persians*, and of his Sonne *Cambyses*, got together a great Nauie, and making warre on *Cyrus*, obtained for a time the dominion of that part of the Sea. that lyeth on their owne Coast. Also *Polycrates*, who in the time of *Cambyses*, Tyrannized in *Samos*, had a strong Nauy; wherewith he subdued diuers of the Islands; and amongst the rest, hauing wonne *Rhenea*, hee consecrated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The \* *Phocaeans*, likewise, when they were building the City of *Marseilles*, overcame the *Carsibugians* in a fight E at Sea.

These were the greatest Nauies extant; and yet euen these

The difference betweene  
Tyranny, and regall  
Authority.

At *Corinth* were made the  
first Triremes, or Gallies  
of three score of Oares,  
one aboue another.

\* By this it appeares, that  
Thucydides out-lived the  
whole time.

\* By Pericles, the Tyrant  
of *Corinth*, for the slaughter  
of his Sonne *Lycophron*,  
Hierodorus Thalia.

The meanes of the  
wealth of *Corinth*.

*Corinth* but named the *Rish*.

The *Ionians* had a Nauy  
in *Cyrus* his time.

*Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*,  
had a Nauy in the time  
of *Cambyses*.

\* The *Phocaeans* in the time  
of *Pericles*, came into  
the Mouth of *Tiber*, entered  
into amity with the Ro-  
mans, and thence went  
and built *Marseilles* amongst the  
Savage Nations, of the *Liga-*  
*tians*, and *Gauls*, *Iustin*.  
l. 42.



these, though many Ages after the time of *Troy*, consisted A  
as it seemes, but of a few Gallies, and were made vp with  
Vessels of fiftie Oares, and with long Boates, as well as  
those of former times. And it was but a little before the  
\* *Median Warre*, and death of *Darius*, successor of *Cambyles*  
in the Kingdome of *Persia*, that the Tyrants of *Sicily*, and  
the *Corcyraens* had of Gallies any number. For these \* last,  
were the onely Nauies worth speaking of, in all *Greece*,  
before the invasion of the *Medes*. And the People of  
*Aegina*, and the *Athenians*, had but small ones, and the most  
of them consisting but of fifty Oares apiece; and that so  
lately, as but from the time, that the *Athenians* making  
Warre on *Aegina*, and withall expecting the comming of  
the *Barbarian*, at the perswasion of *Themistocles*, built those  
Ships, which they vied in that Warre; and these also,  
not all had Decks.

Such were then the Nauies of the *Greekes*, both ancient  
and moderne. Neuerthelesse, such as applied themselves  
to navall businesse, gained by them no small power, both  
in reueneue of money, and in dominion ouer other people.  
For with their Nauies (especially those men that had not  
sufficient Land, where they inhabited, to maintaine them-  
selves) they subdued the *Ilands*. But as for Warre by  
Land, such as any State might acquire power by, there  
was none at all. And such as were, were onely betwene  
Borderer and Borderer. For the *Grecians* had neuer yet  
gone out with any Army to conquer any Nation far from  
home; because the lesser Cities, neither brought in their  
Forces to the great ones, as Subjects, nor concurred as E-  
quals, in any common Enterprize; but such as were neigh-  
bours, warred against each other, hand to hand. For the  
Warre of old, betwene the *Chaldeans* and the *Eretrians*,  
was it, wherein the rest of *Greece* was most divided, and in  
league with either partie.

As others by other meanes were kept backe from grow-  
ing great, so also the *Ionians* by this, That the *Persian* Af-  
fares prospering, *Cyrus* and the *Persian* Kingdome, after the  
defeat of *Croesus*, made warre vpon all that lyeth from the  
*Riuer Halys*, to the Sea side, and so subdued all the Citties  
which they possessed in the Continent & *Darius* afterward,  
when he had overcome the *Phanissian* Fleet, did the like E  
vnto them in the *Ilands*.

And

\* *Medes and Persians*; see  
here from the *Medes*, being trans-  
lated in the *Persians*.  
\* Of the *Corinthians*, *To-  
nians*, and *Phocians*.

Egina.

The shipping of *Greece*  
very many before this  
Warre.

The causes why the *Gre-  
cians* neuer toynd their  
forces in any great  
action.

The *Ionians* kept downe  
by the *Persian*.

A And as for the Tyrants that were in the *Grecian* Cities,  
who forecalt onely for themselves, how, with as much  
safety as was possible; to looke to their owne persons, and  
their owne Families, they resided for the most part in the  
Cities, and did no Action worthy of memory, vntill it  
were against their neighbours: for, as for the Tyrants of  
*Sicily*, they were already arrived at greater power. Thus  
was *Greece* for a long time hindred, that neither ioyntly it  
could doe any thing remarkable; nor the Cities singly be  
adventurous.

B But after that the \* Tyrants both of *Athens*, and of the rest  
of *Greece*, where Tyrannies were, were the most, and last  
of them (excepting those of *Sicily*, put downe by the *Lacedae-  
monians*, (for *Lacedaemon*, after it was built by the *Doreans*,  
that inhabited the same, though it hath bin longer troubled  
with seditions, then any other Citie we know, yet hath it  
had for the longest time, good Laws; and bin also alwaies  
free from Tyrants. For it is vnto the end of this Warre,  
400. yeeres, and somewhat more, that the *Lacedaemonians*  
haue vsed one and the same government: and thereby be-  
C ing of power themselves, they also ordered the Affaires  
in the other Cities). [I say] after the dissolution of Ty-  
rannies in *Greece*, it was not long before the Battaille was  
fought by the *Medes*, against the *Athenians*, in the Fields  
of *Marathon*. And in the tenth yeere againe after that,  
came the \* *Barbarian*, with the \* great Fleet into *Greece*,  
to subdue it. And *Greece* being now in great danger, the  
leading of the *Grecians* that leagued in that Warre, was  
giuen to the *Lacedaemonians*; as to the most potent State.  
And the *Athenians*, who had purposed so much before, and  
D already stowed their necessities, at the comming in of  
the *Medes*, went to a ship-boord, and became Sea-men.  
When they had ioyntly beaten backe the *Barbarian*; then  
did the *Grecians*, both such as were revolted from the  
King; and such as had in common made Warre vpon  
him, not long after, deuide themselves into Leagues,  
one part with the *Athenians*; and the other with the *La-  
cedaemonians*; these two Cities appearing to bee the  
mightiest, for this had the power by Land, and the other  
by Sea. But this Confederation lasted but a while: for af-  
E terwards the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Athenians*, being at va-  
riance, warred each on other, togethers with their severall

\* *Pisistratus* and his sonnes.

The *Lacedaemonians* put  
downe the Tyrants  
through all *Greece*.

\* *Xerxes*.

\* A Fleet of 1200. Gal-  
lies, and 3000. Halls of  
the bound manner of  
building. *Corn. Nepos* in  
vite *Themistocles*.

\* The *Athenians* being ad-  
mired by the *Oracles*, for  
their safety against the  
*Medes*, to put themselves  
within walls of wood: *Themi-  
stocles* interpreting the  
*Oracle*, they went into their  
Gallies.

All *Greece* deuided into  
two Leagues, the *Lacedae-  
monians* and their League  
with the *Athenians* and  
their League.

\* *Pisistratus* began vpon  
this, that *Cleisthenes* being  
sent for to settle the *La-  
cedaemonians* in the  
cities, they put him to death  
for the liberty of the  
cities. The *Lacedaemonians*  
had of their forward spirit  
while the *Athenians* stood  
for a difference.

C 2

Confederates.



Confederates. And the rest of Greece, where any discord A  
chanced to arise, had recourse presently to one of these. In  
so much, that from the Warre of the Medes to this present  
Warre, being continually [exercised,] sometimes in peace,  
sometimes in Warre, either one against the other, or against  
revolted Confederates, they arrived at this Warre, both  
well furnished with Military provisions, and also expert,  
because their practice was with danger.

The Lacedemonians governed not their Confederates so,  
as to make them Tributaries, but onely drew them by  
faire meanes to embrace the \* Oligarchy, convenient to their B  
owne Policy. But the Athenians, having with time, taken  
into their hands the Gallies of all those that stood out,  
(except the Cbians and Lesbians) \* reigned over them, and  
ordained euery of them to pay a certaine tribute of money.  
By which meanes, their \* owne particular provision was  
greater in the beginning of this Warre, then when in their  
flourishing time, the League betwene them and the rest  
of Greece remaining whole, it was at the most.

Such then I finde to haue beene the state of things past,  
hard to be beleueed, though one produce prooffe for euery C  
particular thereof. For Men receive the report of things,  
though of their owne Countrey, if done before their owne time, all  
alike, from one as from another, without examination.

For the vulgar sort of Athenians thinke, that Hipparchus  
was the Tyrant, and slaine by Harmodius and Aristogeiton;  
and know not that Hippias had the gouernment, as being  
the eldest sonne of Pisistratus, and that Hipparchus and Thesalus  
were his brethren; and that Harmodius and Aristogeiton,  
suspecting that some of their Complices had that day, and  
at that instant, discouered vnto Hippias somewhat of their D  
treason, did forbear Hippias, as a man forewarned, and desirous  
to effect somewhat, though with danger, before  
they should be apprehended, lighting on Hipparchus, slew  
him, neere the Temple called Leocorium, whilest he was  
setting forth the \* Panathenaeicall Show. And likewise  
diuers other things now extant, and which Time hath not  
yet involved in oblivion, haue beene conceiued amisse by  
other Grecians; as that the Kings of Lacedamon, in gi-  
uing their suffrages, had not \* single, but double Votes.  
And that \* Pisistratus was a band of Souldiers, so called E  
there, whereas there was neuer any such. So impatient of  
labour

The manner how the Lacedemonians dealt with their Confederates.

\* The government of the Few, that is to say, of the Nobility. The manner how the Athenians handled their Confederates.

\* Hence it is, that through all this History, Subjects and Confederates are taken for the same thing, especially with the Athenians. \* Of the People of Athens in this, excluding their Confederates.

Digression, to shew how negligently men receive the same of things past, by the example of their error touching the Story of Hippias the sonne of Pisistratus, which it seemes he willingly mentions, both heere and hereafter, on light occasion.

\* Panathenaea, were Solemnities instituted by Theseus, in memory of that he had drawn together all the Athenians that lived dispersed in Attica, into the citie of Athens Paul, in Arcad.

\* Lacedaemones to retain the same word, in Harmonia.

\* A Tribe of the Lacedaemonians.

A labour are the most men, in the search of truth, and embrace soon-  
est, the things that are next to hand.

Now he, that by the Arguments heere adduced, shall  
frame a Iudgement of the things past, and not beleuee ra-  
ther, that they were such as the Poets haue sung, or Prose-  
writers haue composd, more delightfully to the eare, then  
conformably to the truth, as being things not to bee dis-  
prooued, and by length of time, turned for the most  
part into the nature of Fables without credit; but shall  
thinke them heere searched out, by the most euident signes  
B that can be, and sufficiently too, considering their antiquity,  
hee, I lay, shall not erre. And though men alwaies iudge  
the present Warre wherein they liue, to be greatest; and  
when it is past, admire more those that were before it; yet  
if they consider of this Warre, by the Acts done in the  
same, it will manifest it selfe to bee greater, then any of  
those before mentioned.

What particular persons haue spoken, when they were  
about to enter into the Warre, or when they were in it,  
were hard for mee to remember exactly; whether they C  
were speeches which I haue heard my selfe, or haue recei-  
ued at the second hand. But as any man seemed, to mee,  
that knew what was neere to the \* summe of the truth,  
of all that hath beene vttered, to speake most agreeably to  
the matter still in hand, so haue I made it spoken heere.  
But of the Acts themselves done in the Warre, I thought  
not fit to write all that I heard from all Authors, nor  
such as I my selfe did but thinke to bee true; but onely  
those whereat I was my selfe present; and those of which  
with all diligence I had made particular enquire. And  
D yet euen of those things, it was hard to know the certainty,  
because such as were present at every Action, spake not  
all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the  
Parts, or as they could remember.

To heare this History rehearsed, for that there bee in-  
serted in it no Fables, shall bee perhaps not delightfull:  
But hee that desires to looke into the truth of things done,  
and which (according to the condition of humanity) may  
bee done againe, or at least, their like, hee shall finde e-  
nough heerein, to make him thinke it profitable: And it E  
is compiled rather for an \* EVERLASTING POSSESS-  
ION, then to be \* rehearsed for a Prize:

The diligence of the Author in the enquire of the truth of what he wrote: both touching the Orations, and the Actions.

\* To the analogy and similitude of what was to be said: so that though he used not their words, yet he used the arguments that best might serve to the purpose, which at any time was in hand.

The use of this History.

\* Which hee did. \* Both Poets and Historians, when of old, related their Histories to captivate glory. This emulation of glory in their writings, hee collecteth ex-pressly.



The greatness of the present Warre.  
\* When *Nectus* invaded them.  
\* A Watch by Sea, viz. ere at Salamis, and the other at Mycale in Ionia, and 2. by Land, one at Therapolye, and the other at Platæa.

Earthquakes, Eclipses, Famine, Pestilence, concomitants of this Warre.

Negroponte.  
\* By the Athenians.

The causes of the Warre. Feare necessitates the Warre in the Lacedæmonians.

The first pretext.  
\* *Dyrhchii*, *Durazæ*. Now the Gulf of Venice, called so from an Illyrian, *Illyrij*, now *Slavonia*, and *Dalmatia*.  
\* Inhabitants of *Corecyra*, now *Corfu*.  
\* *Corecyra* was a Colony of *Corinth*, and *Epidamnus* of *Corecyra*.

The greatest Action before this, was that against the *A Medes*, and yet that by \* two Battels by Sea, and as many by Land, was soone decided. But, as for this Warre, it both lasted long, and the harme it did to *Greece*, was such, as the like, in the like space, had never beene seene before. For neither had there euer bin so many Cities expugned, and made desolate, what by the *Barbarians*, and what by the *Greekes* warring on one another, (and some Cities there were, that when they were taken, changed their inhabitants;) nor so much banishing and slaughter, some by the Warre, some by sedition, as was in this. And those things which concerning former time, there went a fame of, but in fact rarely confirmed, were now made credible: As Earthquakes, generall to the greatest part of the World, and most violent withall; Eclipses of the Sunne, oftner then is reported of any former time; Great droughts in some places, and thereby Famine; and that which did none of the least hurt, but destroyed also its part, the Plague. All these Evils entred together with this Warre, which began from the time that the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* brake the League, which immediately after the Conquest of \* *Eubœa*, had bene concluded betwene them for thirty yeeres. The Causes why they brake the same, and their Quarrels, I have therefore set downe first, because no man should bee to seecke, from what ground so great a Warre amongst the *Greekes* could arise. And the truest Quarrell, though least in speech, I conceive to bee the growth of the *Athenian* power, which putting the *Lacedæmonians* into feare, necessitated the Warre. But the Causes of the breach of the League, publicly voyced, were these.

**E**PIDAMNUS is a Citie situate on the right hand to such as enter into the *Ionian* Gulfe; bordering upon it, are the *Taulantijs*, *Barbarians*; a people of *Illyria*. This was plauted by the \* *Corecyans*; but Captaine of the Colony, was one *Phalins*, the sonne of *Heracleidas* a *Corinthian*, of the linage of *Heroules*; and according to an ancient Custome, called to this charge out of the \* *Metropolitan* Citie; besides that the Colony in it selfe, consisted in part, of *Corinthians*, and others of the *Dorigne* Nation. In processe of time, the Citie of *Epidamnus*, became great and populous;

A populous; and hauing for many yeeres together bene annoyed with sedition, was by a Warre, as is reported, made vpon them by the confining *Barbarians*, brought low, and deprived of the greatest part of their power. But that which was the last accident before this Warre, was, that the Nobility, forced by the Commons to fly the Citie, went and ioyned with the *Barbarians*, and both by Land and Sea, robbed those that remained within. The *Epidamnians* that were in the Towne, oppressed in this manner, sent their Ambassadors to \* *Corecyra*, as being their Mother Citie, praying the *Corecyans* not to see them perish, but to reconcile vnto them, those whom they had driven forth, and to put an end to the *Barbarian* Warre. And this they intreated in the forme of \* *Suppliants*, sitting downe in the Temple of *Iuno*. But the *Corecyans*, not admitting their supplication, sent them away againe, without effect. The *Epidamnians* now despairing of reliefe from the *Corecyans*, and at a stand how to proceed in their present affaires, sending to *Delphi*, enquired at the Oracle, whether it were not best to deliuer vp their Citie into the hands of the *Corinthians*, as of their Founders, and make tryall what ayde they should obtaine from thence. And when the Oracle had answered, That they should deliuer it, and take the *Corinthians* for their Leaders, they went to *Corinth*, and according to the advice of the Oracle, gaue their Citie to them, and declared how the first Founder of it was a *Corinthian*, and what answer the Oracle had giuen them, intreating their helpe; and that they would not stand by, beholding their destruction. And the *Corinthians* undertooke their defence, not onely for the equity of the cause, (as thinking them no lesse their owne, then the *Corecyans* Colonie) but also for hatred of the *Corecyans*, who being their Colony, yet contemned them, and allowed them not their due honour in publique meetings, nor in the distribution of the Sacrifice, began at a *Corinthian*, as was the custome of other Colonies; but being equall to the richest *Graecians* of their time, for store of money, and strongly furnished with ammunition of Warre, had them in contempt. Also they stuck not sometimes to boast how much they excelled in shipping; and that *Corecyra* had bene once inhabited by the \* *Phæacijs*, who flourished in glory of nauall affaires; which was al-

\* *Corfu*.

\* Either the *Epidamnians*, had offended the *Corecyans*, or the manner was in those times, to take Sanctuary, not only for crimes, but for obtaining aid in extremities, tacitly imploring all other helpe, save that of the Gods, and those to whom they made supplication. The *Epidamnians* neglected by their Mother Citie, *Corecyra*, procure the protection of the *Corinthians*.

\* Homer thus calls it *Iazolis*.



The *Corinthians* send inhabitants to *Epidamnus*.

The *Coreyrians* angry at the aydes sent by the *Corinthians*, make Warre on *Epidamnus*.

\* *quædæ*, Divers occasions force men from their Country. Sentence of Law which is commonly called Banishment. Proscriptions, when the Sentence is death, for which cause they fly into Banishment: But those that are here meant, are such as in Seditions being the weaker Faction, fly for feare of being murdered, which I call here, banished men; or might call them persons, better Outlaws or Exiles, but neither of them properly. The *Florentines*, and other places of Italy, that were or are Democratically, where in such Banishment can only happen, call the properly *Fuorusciti*.

The *Coreyrians* besiege *Epidamnus*.

The *Corinthians* send an Armie to relieve it.

to the cause, why they the rather provided themselves of a Nautie; and they were indeed not without power that way; for when they began this Warre, they had 120. Gallies. The *Corinthians* therefore having all these criminalities, against them, relieved *Epidamnus* willingly, not only giving leaue to whosoever would, to goe and dwell there, but also sent thither a Garrison of *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and of their owne Citizens; which succours, for feare the *Coreyrians* should haue hindered their passage by Sea, marched by Land to *Apollonia*. The *Coreyrians* vnderstanding that new inhabitants, and a Garrison were gone to *Epidamnus*, and that the Colonie was deliuered to the *Corinthians*, were vexed extremely at the same; and saying presently thither, with 25. Gallies, and afterwards with another Fleet, in an insolent manner commanded them, both to recall those whom they had banished, (for these \* banished men of *Epidamnus*, had beene now at *Coreyra*, and pointing to the Sepulchers of their Ancestors, and claiming kindred, had intreated the *Coreyrians* to restore them) and to send away the Garrison and Inhabitants sent thither by the *Corinthians*. But the *Epidamnians* gaue no care to their commandements. Whereupon, the *Coreyrians* with forty Gallies, together with the banished men, (whom they pretended to reduce) and with the *Illyrians*, whom they had ioyned to their part, warred vpon them; and hauing laid Siege to the City, made Proclamation, that such of the *Epidamnians* as would, and all strangers, might depart safely, or otherwise, were to bee proceeded against as Enemies. But when this prevailed not, the place being an *Isthmus*, they enlozed the City in on euery side. The *Corinthians*, when newes was brought from *Epidamnus*, how it was besieged, presently made ready their Armie, and at the same time caused a Proclamation to bee made, for the sending thither of a Colony, and that such as would goe, should haue equall and like priuiledges, with those that were there before: and that such as desired to bee sharers in the same, and yet were vnwilling to goe along in person, at that present, if they would contribute 50. *Corinthian* Drachmaes, might stay behind. And they were very many, both that went, and that laid downe their siluer. Moreouer, they sent to the *Megareans*, for feare of being stopped in their passage by the *Coreyrians*, to ayde them

A them with some Gallies, who accordingly furnished out 8. the Citizens of *Pale* in *Cephalonia*, 4. They also required Gallies of the *Epidaurians*, who sent them 5, the Citizens of *Hermione*, 1. the *Træxenians*, 2. the *Leucadians*, 10. the *Ambraciotes*, 8. Of the *Thebans* and *Phliasiens* they required money; of the *Eleans*, both money, & empty Gallies; and of the *Corinthians* themselves, there were ready 30. Gallies, and 3000. \* men of Armes. The *Coreyrians*, aduertised of this preparation, went to *Corynth*, in company of the Ambassadors of the *Lacedæmonians*, & of the *Sycionians*, whom they took with them, and required the *Corinthians* to recall the Garrison and Inhabitants, which they had sent to *Epidamnus*, as being a City, they said, wherwith they had nothing to do; or if they had any thing to alledge, they were content to haue the cause iudicially tried, in such Cities of *Peloponnesus*; as they should both agree on, and they then should hold the Colonie, to whom the same should be adiudged. They said also, That they were content to referre their cause to the Oracle at *Delphi*: that Warre they would make none, but if they must needs haue it, they should by the violence of them, be forced in their owne defence, to seeke out \* better friends then those whom they already had. To this the *Corinthians* answered, that if they would put off with their Fleet, and dismisse the *Barbarians* from before *Epidamnus*, they would then consult of the matter: for before they could not honestly doe it: Because whilest they should bee pleading the case, the *Epidamnians* should be suffering the misery of a Siege. The *Coreyrians* replied to this, That if they would call backe those men of theirs already in *Epidamnus*, that then they also would doe, as the *Corinthians* had required them; or otherwise, they were content to let the men on both sides stay, where they were, and to suspend the Warre, till the cause should be decided. The *Corinthians* not assenting to any of these propositions, since their Gallies were manned, and their Confederates present, hauing defyed them first by a Herald, put to Sea with 75. Gallies, and \* 2000. men of Armes, and set sayle for *Epidamnus*, against the *Coreyrians*. Their Fleet was commanded by *Ariftæus*, the sonne of *Pellicæ*, *Callierates*, the sonne of *Calpas*, and *Timarchus*, the sonne of *Eurytimus*; and the Land Forces by *Arche-timu*, the sonne of *Eurytimus*, and *Isarchidas*, the sonne of

*Cephalonia*.

\* *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*, Men in armes.

The *Coreyrians* offer to stand to arbitrement.

\* *καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, meaning the Athenians.

The *Corinthians* vnwilling to accept it, and not without cause.

The *Corinthian* Fleet.

\* *ἢ πρὶν ἢ μετὰ*, either before or after, it is likely the number hath bene mis-written: for a little before he says they had made ready 3000.



\* A Roman famous afterwards, for the Battle between Augustus Caesar, and Marcus Antonius.

The *Corcyraean* Fleet.  
\* It is said, that the *Corcyraeans* had in all 120 Gallies, which number agrees with this 80, that fought, and the 40, that maintained the Siege.  
The *Corcyraeans* have the victory at Sea, and on the same day take the City.

\* *Agamemnon* turning particularly turning the backs, Trophies, Advancements, in remembrance of having made the Enemy turne their backs. These were usuall in those times, now out of date.

*Santa Maura*, now an Island, then a Peninsular.

The *Corcyraean* Masters of the Sea.

The *Thesprotis*, part of *Albania*.

The *Corinthians* prepare a greater Naute.

*Marchus*. After they were come as farre as \* *Aethium*, in the A Territory of *Anaethorium*, (which is a Temple of *Apollo*, and ground consecrated vnto him in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*) the *Corcyraeans* sent a Herald to them, at *Aethium*, to forbid their comming on, and in the meane time manned out their Fleet, and hauing repaired, and made fit for seruice their old Gallies, and furnished the rest with things necessary, shipped their Munition, and went aboard. The Herald was no sooner returned from the *Corinthians*, with an answer not inclining to peace, but hauing their Gallies already manned and furnished, to the B number of 80. Sayle, (for \* forty attended alwayes the Siege of *Epidamnus*) they put to Sea, and arranging themselves, came to a Battell: In which the *Corcyraeans* were cleerely Victors; and on the part of the *Corinthians*, there perished 15. Gallies. And the same day it happened likewise, that they that besieged *Epidamnus*, had the same rendred vnto them, with Conditions, That the Strangers therein found, should be ransomed, and the *Corinthians* kept in bonds, till such time as they should be otherwise disposed of. The Battell being ended, the *Corcyraeans*, after they had set vp C their \* Trophie in *Leucimna*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, slew their other prisoners, but kept the *Corinthians* still in bonds. After this, when the *Corinthians* with their vanquished Fleet, were gone home to *Corinth*, the *Corcyraeans*, Masters now of the whole Sea in those parts, went first, and watted the Territory of *Leucas*, a *Corinthian* Colonie, and then sayled to *Cyllene*, which is the Arsenall of the *Eleans*, and burnt it; because they had, both with money and shipping, given ayde to the *Corinthians*.

And they were Masters of those Seas, and infested the D Confederates of *Corinth*, for the most part of that yeere; till such time as in the beginning of the Summer following, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet and Souldiers vnto *Aethium*, the which for the more safe keeping of *Leucas*, and of other Citties their friends, encamped about *Chimerium* in *Thesprotis*: and the *Corcyraeans*, both with their Fleet and Land Souldiers, lay ouer against them in *Leucimna*. But neither part stirred against the other, but after they had lye quietly opposite all the Summer, they retired in Winter, both the one side and the other to their Cities. E

All this yeere, as well before as after the Battaille, the *Corinthians*

A *Corinthians* being vexed at the Warre with the *Corcyraeans*, applied themselves to the building of Gallies, and to the preparing of a Fleet, the strongest they were able to make, and to procure Mariners out of *Peloponnesus*, and all other parts of *Greece*. The *Corcyraeans* hauing intelligence of their preparations, beganne to feare, and (because they had neuer beene in League with any *Grecian* City, nor were in the Roll of the Confederates, either of the *Athenians*, or *Lacedaemonians*) thought it best now, to send to *Athens*, to see if they could procure any ayde from thence. B This being perceiued by the *Corinthians*, they also sent their Ambassadors to *Athens*, lest the addition of the *Athenian* Nauy, to that of the *Corcyraeans*, might hinder them from carrying the Warre as they desired. And the Assembly at *Athens* being met, they came to. pleade against each other; and the *Corcyraeans* spake to this effect.

Both *Corcyraeans* and *Corinthians* send their Ambassadors to *Athens*.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORCYRA.

C MEN of *Athens*, It is but *Justice*, that such as come to im-  
plore the ayde of their neighbours, (as now doe wee) and cannot  
pretend by any great benefit or League, (some precedent merits,  
should before they goe any further, make it appeare; principally, that  
what they seeke, conferreth profit, or if not so, yet is not prejudiciall  
at least, to those that are to grant it: and next, that they will bee  
constantly thankfull for the same. And if they cannot doe this,  
then not to take it ill, though their suite bee rejected. And the  
*Corcyraeans* being fully perswaded that they can make all this appeare  
on their owne parts, haue therefore sent vs hither, desiring you to a-  
D scribe them to the number of your Confederates. Now so it is, that we  
haue had a Custome, both vnreasonable in respect of our Suite to you,  
and also for the present vnprofitable to our owne estate. For, hauing  
euer till now, beene vnwilling to admit others into League with vs,  
we are now not onely suiters for League to others, but also left destitute  
by that meane, of friends in this our Warre with the *Corinthians*.  
And that which before we thought wisdom, namely, not to enter  
with others into League, because we would not at the discretion of o-  
thers enter into danger, we now finde to haue beene our weaknesse  
and imprudence. Wherefore though alone we repulsed the *Corin-*  
E thians, in the late Battell by Sea, yet since they are set to invade vs  
with greater preparation, out of *Peloponnesus*, and the rest of  
D 2 Greece;



Greece; and seeing with our owne single power we are not able to goe **A** through; and since also the danger, in case they subdue vs, would bee very great to all Greece, it is both necessary that wee seeke the succours, both of you, and of whomsoever else wee can; and we are also to be pardoned, though we make bold to crosse our former custome of not hauing to doe with other men, proceeding not from malice, but error of iudgement. Now if you yeeld vnto vs, in what wee request, this coincidence (on our part) of need, will on your part bee honourable, for many reasons. First, in this respect, that you lend your helpe to such as haue suffered, and not to such as haue committed the iniustice. And next, considering that you receiue into League, such as haue at **B** stake their whole fortune, you shall so place your benefit, as to haue a testimony of it, if euer any can be so indeleble. Besides this, the greatest Naue but your owne, is ours: Consider then, what rarer hap, and of greater grieve to your enemies, can befall you, then that that power, which you would haue prized aboue any money, or other requittall, should come voluntarily, and without all danger or cost, present *it selfe to your hands, bringing with it reputation amongst most men,* a grauefull mende from those you defend; and strength to your selues. All which haue not happened at once to many. And few there bee of those that sue for League, that come not rather to receive strength, **C** and reputation, then to conserue it. If any heere thinke, that the Warre wherein wee may doe you seruice, will not at all bee, bee is in an error, and seeth not, how the Lacedaemonians, through feare of you, are already in labour of the Warre; and that the Corinthians, gracious with them; and enemies to you, making way for their Enterprize, assault vs now, in the way to the invasion of you hereafter, that wee may not stand amongst the rest of their common Enemies; but that they may be sure before hand, either to weaken vs, or to strengthen their owne estate. It must therefore be your part; we offering, and you accepting the League, to beginne with them, and to **D** anticipate plotting, rather then to counterplot against them. If they object iniustice, in that you receiue their Colonie, henceforth let them learne, that all Colonies, so long as they receiue no wrong from their Mother Citie, so long they honour her, but when they suffer iniurie from her, they then become alienate: for they are not sent out to be the Slaues of them that stay, but to be their equals. That they haue done vs the iniurie, is manifest; for when wee offered them a iudiciall tryall of the Controverisie, touching Epidamnus, they chose to prosecute their quarrell, rather by Armes then Iudgement. Now let that which they haue done vnto vs, who are their kindred, serue you for some **E** Argument, not to bee seduced by their demands, and made their instruments

**A** ments before you bee aware. For bee liues most secure, that hath fewest benefits bestowed by him vpon his Enemies, to repent of. As for the Articles betweene you and the Lacedaemonians, they are not broken by receiuing vs into your League, because wee are in League with neither partie. For there, it is said, That whosoeuer is Confederate of neither party, may haue access lawfully to either. And sure it were very vnreasonable, that the Corinthians should haue the libertie to man their Fleet out of the Cities comprised in the League, and out of any other parts of Greece, and not the least out of \* places in your Dominion; and wee bee denied both the League now proponded, and also, all other **B** helpe from whence soeuer. And if they impite it to you as a fault, that you grant our request; wee shall take it for a greater, that you grant it not. For therein you shall reject vs, that are invaded, and bee none of your Enemies; and them, who are your Enemies, and make the invasion; you shall not onely not oppose, but also suffer to raise vnlawfull Forces in your Dominions; Whereas you ought in truth, either not to suffer them to take up Mercenaries in your States, or else to send vs succours also; in such manner as you shall thinke good your selues, but especially by taking vs into your League, and so aiding vs: Many commodities, as wee said in the beginning, wee owe vnto you, but the **C** for the greatest, that where as they are your Enemies, (which is manifest enough) and not weak ones, but able to hurt those that stand up against them, wee offer you a small, not a Terrestriall League; and the want of one of these, is not as the want of the other: May rather your principall aime, if it could be done, should bee, to let none at all haue shipping but your selues; or at least, if that cannot bee, to make such your friends, as are best furnished therewith. If any man now thinke thus, that what we haue spoken, is indeed profitable, but feares if it were admitted, the League were thereby broken: let that man consider, that his feare ioynd with strength, will make his Enemies **D** feare, and his confidence, hauing (if hee reject vs) so much the lesse strength, will so much the lesse be feared. Let him also remember, that hee is now in consultation, no lesse concerning Athens, then Corcyra; wherein hee forecasteth none of the best, (considering the present estate of affaires) that makes a question, whether against a Warre at hand, and onely not already on foot, hee should ioyne vnto it, or not, that City which with most important advantages, or disadvantages, will be friend or enemy. For it lyeth so conveniently for sayling into Italy, and Sicily, that it can both prohibit any Fleet to come to Peloponnesus from thence; and convoy any coming from Peloponnesus, thither; and is also for diuers other uses most commodious. **E** And to comprehend all in briefe; consider whether wee bee to bee abandoned.



done, or not, by this. For Greece having but three Navies of any Account, yours, ours, and that of Corinth, if you suffer the other two to joine in one, by letting the Corinthians first seize vs, you shall have to fight by Sea at one time, both against the Corcyraens and the Peloponnesians; whereas by making League with vs, you shall with your Fleet augmented, have to deale against the Peloponnesians alone.

Thus spake the Corcyraens, and after them, the Corinthians, thus.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

THE Corcyraens in their Oration having made mention not onely of your taking them into League, but also, that they are wronged, and unjustly warred on; it is also necessarie for vs first to answer concerning both those points, and then afterwards to proceed to the rest of what we have to say, to the end you may fore-know, that ours are the safest demands for you to embrace, and that you may upon reason reject the needy estate of those others. Whereas they alledge in defence of their refusing to enter League with other Cities, that the same hath proceeded from modesty, the truth is, that they took up that Custome, not from any vertue, but meer wickednesse; as being unwilling to call any Confederate for a witness of their euill actions, and to bee put to blush by calling them. Besides, their City being by the situation sufficient within it selfe, giueth them this point, that when they doe any man a wrong, they themselves are the Iudges of the same, and not men appointed by consent. For going seldome forth against other Nations, they intercept such, as by necessity are driven into their Harbour. And in this consisteth their goodly pretext, for not admitting Confederates, not because they would not bee content to accompany others in doing euill, but because they had rather doe it alone, that where they were too strong, they might oppresse; and when there should bee none to obserue them, the lesse of the profit might be shared from them, and that they might escape the shame when they took any thing. But if they had beene honest men, (as they themselves say they are) by how much the lesse they are obnoxious to accusation, so much the more meanes they haue, by giuing, and taking what is due, to make their honesty appeare. But they are not such, neither towards others; nor towards vs. For being our Colony, they haue not onely beene euer in reuol, but now they also make warre vpon vs; and say they were not sent out to be injured by vs; but we say againe, that wee did not send them

A them forth to bee scorned by them, but to haue the leading of them, and to bee regarded by them, as is fit. For our other Colonies both honour and loue vs much, which is an argument, seeing therest are pleased with our actions, that these haue no iust cause to bee offended alone; and that without some manifest wrong, wee should not haue had colour to warre against them. But say wee had beene in an error, it had beene well done in them, to haue giuen way to our passion, as it had beene also dishonourable in vs, to haue insulted ouer their modesty. But through pride and wealth, they haue done vs wrong, both in many other things; and also in this, that Epidamnus being ours, which whilest it was vexed with Warres, they neuer claimed, as soone as wee came to relieue it, was forcibly seized by them, and so holden. They say now, that before they tooke it, they offered to put the cause to tryall of Iudgement: But you are not to thinke, that such a one will stand to Iudgement, as hath advantage, and is sure already of what hee offereth to pleade for; but rather hee that before the tryall, will admit equality in the matter it selfe, as well as in the pleading: whereas contrarily these men, offered not this specious pretence of a Iudiciall tryall, before they had besieged the City, but after, when they saw wee meant not to put it up. And now hither they bee come; not content to haue beene faulty in that businesse themselves, but to get in you, into their confederacy: no; but into their conspiracy; and to receiue them in this name, that they are enemies to vs. But they should haue come to you then, when they were most in safety; not now, when we haue the wrong, and they the danger; and when you, that neuer partaked of their power, must impart vnto them of your ayde; and hauing beene free from their faults, must haue an equal share from vs of the blame. They should communicate their power before-hand, that meane to make common the issue of the same; and they that share not in the crimes, ought also to haue no part in the sequels of them. Thus it appeares that wee come for our right, with arguments of equity and right; whereas the proceedings of these others, are nothing else but violence and rapine. And now we shall shew you likewise, that you cannot receiue them in point of Iustice. For although it bee in the Articles, that the Cities written with neither of the parties, may come in, to whether of them they please; yet it holds not for such as doe so, to the detriment of cyther; but onely for those that hauing reuolted from neither party, want protection, and bring not a Warre with them in stead of peace to those (if they bee wise) that receiue them. For you shall not onely be Auxiliaries vnto these, but to vs, in stead of Confederates, Enemies. For if you goe with them,



it followes, they must defend themselves, not without you. You should A  
doe most vprightly, to stand out of both our wayes; and if not that,  
then to take our parts against the Corcyreans, (for betwene the  
Corinthians and you, there are Articles of peace, but with the Cor-  
cyreans you neuer had so much as a Truce) and not to constitute a  
new Law of receiuing one anothers Rebels. For neither did we giue  
our votes against you, when the Samians revolted, though the rest of  
Peloponnesus was diuided in opinion: But plainly alledged, That  
it was reason, that euery one should haue liberty to proceed against their  
owne revolting Confederates. And if you shall once receiue and ayde  
the doers of wrong, it will bee seene, that they will come ouer as fast B  
from you to vs; and you shall set vp a Law, not so much against vs,  
as against your selues. These are the points of Iustice wee had to shew  
you, conformable to the Law of the Grecians. And now wee come to  
matter of aduice, and claime of fauour; which (being not so much your  
enemies as to hurt you, nor such friends as to surcharge you) wee say,  
ought in the present occasion, to bee granted vs by way of requitall: For  
when you had want of Long Barques against the Aeginetæ, a little  
before the Medan War, you had 20. lent vnto you by the Corinthi-  
ans; which benefit of ours, and that other against the Samians, when  
by vs it was, that the Peloponnesians did not ayd them, was the cause C  
both of your victory against the Aeginetæ, and of the punishment of  
the Samians. And these things were done for you in a season, when  
men going to fight against their enemies, neglect all respects; but of  
victory. For euen a mans Domesticke affaires are ordered the worse,  
through eagerneesse of present contention. Which benefits considering,  
and the younger sort taking notice of them from the elder, be you pleased  
to defend vs now in the like manner. And haue not this thought, that  
though in what wee haue spoken there bee equity; yet, if the Warre  
should arise, the profit would be found in the contrary. For vility fol-  
loweth those actions most, wherein we doe the least wrong; besides D  
that the likelihood of the Warre, wherewith the Corcyreans frighting  
you, goe about to draw you to iniustice, is yet obscure, and not worthy  
to moue you to a manifest and present hostility with the Corinthians,  
but it were rather fit for you indeed, to take away our former jealousies  
concerning the Megareans. For the last good turne done in sea-  
son, though but small, is able to cancell an accusation of much greater  
moment. Neither suffer your selues to be drawne on, by the greatneesse  
of the Navy which now shall bee at your service by this League; for to  
doe no iniurie to our equals, is a stronger power, then that addition of  
strength, which (putt vp with present shewes) men are to acquire with E  
danger. And since wee bee come to this, which once before wee said at  
Lacedæmon,

\* This which was done against  
the Corinthians, by the A-  
thenians that ayded Mega-  
ra, is related afterwards  
in this first Booke.

A Lacedæmon, that euery one ought to proceed, as hee shall thinke  
good, against his owne Confederates, wee claime that liberty now of  
you; and that you that haue bene helped by our votes, will not hurt  
vs now by yours, but render like for like; remembre, that now is  
that occasion, wherein hee that aydeth vs, is our greatest friend; and  
hee that opposeth vs, our greatest enemy. And that you will not re-  
ceiue these Corcyreans into League against our wills, nor defend  
them in their iniuries. These things if you grant vs, you shall both  
doe as is fit, and also aduise the best for the good of your owne af-  
faires.

B This was the effect of what was spoken by the Corin-  
thians.

Both sides hauing bene heard, and the Athenian people  
twice assembled; in the former Assembly, they approued  
no lesse of the reasons of the Corinthians, then of the Corcy-  
reans; but in the latter, they changed their mindes, not so  
as to make a League with the Corcyreans, both offensive  
and defensive, that the Friends and Enemies of the one,  
should be so of the other, (for then, if the Corcyreans should  
haue required them to goe against Corinth, the Peace had  
bene broken with the Peloponnesians) but made it onely

C defensive, that: if any one should inuade Corcyra or Athens,  
or any of their Confederates, they were then mutually to  
assist one another. For they expected, that euen thus,  
they should grow to Warre with the Peloponnesians, and  
were therefore vnwilling to let Corcyra, that had so great  
a Natie, to fall into the hands of the Corinthians; but ra-  
ther, as much as in them lay; desired to breake them one a-  
gainst another; that if need required, they might haue to  
doe with the Corinthians, and others that had Shipping,

D when they should be weakned to their hands. And the  
Iland seemed also to lye conveniently for passing into Italy,  
and Sicily. With this minde the people of Athens receiued  
the Corcyreans into League; and when the Corinthians were  
gone, sent count Gallies not long after to their ayde. The  
Commanders of them were Lacedæmonius the sonne of Cri-  
mon, Diotimus, the sonne of Strombichus, and Proteas, the  
sonne of Epicles; and had order not to fight with the Co-  
rinthians, vlesse they inuaded Corcyra, or offered to land  
there, or in some other place of theirs. Which if they  
E did, then with all their might to oppose them. This  
they forbade, because they would not breake the Peace

A League defensive made  
betwene the Athenians  
and Corcyreans.

They ayde Corcyra with  
count Gallies.

E con-



The Corinthian Fleet.

\* Ceftrine the Territory of  
Ceftria, part of Chaonia.

The Corcyrae Fleet.

The Corinthians set for-  
ward.\* Above, The Gallies stood all  
in a row, in a row, and the  
right wing were those that  
were on the right hand from  
the middle, and the left  
wing, those on the left hand.

concluded with the *Peloponnesians*. So these Gallies ar-  
rived at *Coreyra*.

The *Corinthians*, when they were ready, made towards  
*Coreyra* with 150. Saile; (πῆξ.) of the *Eleans*, 10. of the  
*Megareans*, 12. of the *Leucadians*, 10. of the *Ambraciotes*, 27.  
of the *Anactorians*, 1. and 90. of their owne. The Com-  
manders of these, were men chosen out of the said severall  
Cities, for the feveral parts of the Fleet which they sent in;  
& ouer those of *Corinth*, was *Xenocleides*, the son of *Euticles*,  
with 4. others. After they were all come together, vpon  
the Coast of the Continent ouer against *Coreyra*, they lay-  
led from *Leucas*, and came to *Cheimmerium*, in the Countrey  
of *Theprotia*. In this place is a Hauen, and aboue it, further  
from the Sea, the Cittie of *Ephyre*, in that part of *Thepro-  
tia*, which is called *Eleatis*; and neere vnto it, disbogueth  
into the Sea the Lake *Acherusia*, and into that (hauing  
first passed through *Theprotia*) the Riuer *Acheron*, from  
which it taketh the Name. Also the Riuer *Thyanis* run-  
neth heere, which divideth *Theprotia* from \* *Ceftrine*, be-  
twixt which two Riuers, riseth this Promontory of *Chei-  
merium*. To this part of the Continent came the *Corinthi-  
ans*, and encamped. The *Corcyraeans* vnderstanding that they  
made against them, hauing ready 110. Gallies vnder the  
conduct of *Micidas*, *Aesimides*, and *Eurybatu*, came and in-  
camped in one of the Ilands called *Sybota*. And the tenne  
Gallies of *Athens* were also with them. But their Land-  
forces layed in the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and with  
them 1000. men of Armes of the \* *Zacynthians* that came  
to ayde them. The *Corinthians* also had in the Continent  
the aydes of many *Barbarians*, which in those quarters haue  
beene euermore their friends. The *Corinthians*, after they  
were ready, and had taken aboard three dayes prouision of  
viſtuall, put off by night from *Cheimmerium*, with purpose  
to fight; and about breake of day, as they were sayling,  
descried the Gallies of the *Corcyraeans*, which were also  
put off from *Sybota*, and comming on to fight with the *Co-  
rinthians*. Asſoone as they had sight one of another, they  
put themselves into order of Battaille. In the right \* wing  
of the *Corcyraeans* were placed the Gallies of *Athens*; and  
the rest being their owne, were diuided into three Com-  
mands, vnder the three Commanders, one vnder one. This  
was the order of the *Corcyraeans*. The *Corinthians* had in  
their

A their right wing the Gallies of *Megara*, and of *Ambracia*;  
in the middle, other their Confederates in order, and oppo-  
ſite to the *Athenians*, and right wing of the *Corcyraeans*, they  
were themselves placed with such Gallies as were best of  
Sayle; in the left. The \* Standard being on either side lift  
vp, they ioyned Battell, hauing on both parts, both many  
men of Armes, and many Archers and Slingers, but after  
the old fashion, as yet somewhat unskilfully appointed.  
The Battell was not so artificially as cruelly fought;  
neere vnto the manner of a fight at Land. For after they had  
once runne their Gallies vp close aboard one of another,  
they could not for the number and throng, becaſily gotten  
aſunder againe, but relyed for the victory, especially vpon  
their men of Armes, who fought where they stood, whilst  
the Gallies remained altogether without motion. Passa-  
ges through each other, they made none, but fought it out  
with courage and strength, rather then with skill: inſo-  
much as the Battell was in euery part, not without much  
tumult and disorder. In which the *Athenian* Gallies, being  
alwaies, where the *Corcyraeans* were oppressed, at hand, kept  
the enemies in feare, but yet began no assault, becauſe their  
Commanders stood in awe of the prohibition of the *Athe-  
nian* people. The right wing of the *Corinthians* was in  
the greatest distresse; for the *Corcyraeans* with twenty Gal-  
lies, had made them turne their backes, and chased them  
diſperſed, to the Continent; and sayling to their very  
Campe, went aland, burnt their abandoned Tents, and  
rooke away their Baggage; so that in this part the *Corin-  
thians* and their Confederates were vanquished, and the  
*Corcyraeans* had the victory. But in the left wing, where  
the *Corinthians* were themselves, they were farre ſuperiour;  
becauſe the *Corcyraeans* had twenty Gallies of their num-  
ber, which was at first leſſe then that of the *Corin-  
thians*, absent in the chase of the Enemy. And the *Athe-  
nians*, when they ſaw the *Corcyraeans* were in distresse, now  
ayded them manifeſtly, whereas before, they had abſtain-  
ed from making assault vpon any. But when once they  
ſled out, right, and that the *Corinthians* lay ſore vpon them,  
then euery one ſell to the buſineſſe, without making dif-  
ference any longer: and it came at laſt to this neceſſity,  
E that they vnderooke one another, *Corinthians*, and *Athe-  
nians*.

Megara.

\* vnto, A ſtore or I-  
mage held vp, as the Eagle  
among the Romans.

The Battell.

The *Corinthians* haue the  
better.The *Athenians* and *Corin-  
thians* fight.

E 2

The



The *Corinthians*, when their enemies fled, staid not to A  
 fallen the Hilles of the Gallies they had sinke, into  
 their owne Gallies, that so they might tow them after;  
 but made after the men, rowing up and downe, to kill; ra-  
 ther then to take alive; and through ignorance (not know-  
 ing that their right wing had bene discomfited) slew al-  
 so some of their owne friends. For the Gallies of eyther  
 side being many, and taking vp a large space of Sea, after  
 they were once in the medly, they could not easily dis-  
 cern who were of the Victors; and who of the vanquish-  
 ed party. For this was the greatest Nauall Battell, for B  
 number of Ships, that ever had bene before; of *Grecians*  
 against *Grecians*. When the *Corinthians* had chased the *Cor-  
 cyraians* to the shore, they returned to take up the broken  
 Gallies, and bodies of their dead; which for the greatest  
 part they recovered; and brought to *Syboia*, where also lay  
 the Land-forces of the *Barbarians*, that were come to ayde  
 them. This *Syboia* is a desert Hauen of *Theproia*. When  
 they had done, they re-visited themselves, and made againe  
 to the *Coreyraians*; and they likewise, with such Gallies  
 as they had fit for the Sea, remaining of the former Bat- C  
 tell, together with those of *Athens*, put forth to meete  
 them, fearing lest they should attempt to land vpon their  
 Territory. By this time the day was farre spent, and the  
 \*Song which they vsed to sing when they came to charge,  
 was ended, when suddenly the *Corinthians* beganne to row  
 a Sterne: for they had descryed twenty *Athenian* Gallies,  
 sent from *Athens* to second the former tenn; for feare lest  
 the *Coreyraians* (as it also fell out) should bee overcome,  
 and those tenne Gallies of theirs bee too few to defend  
 them. When the *Corinthians* therefore had sight of these D  
 Gallies, suspecting that they were of *Athens*, and more in  
 number then they were, by little and little they fell off.  
 But the *Coreyraians* (because the course of these Gallies  
 was vnto them more \*out of sight) descryed them not,  
 but wouderd why the *Corinthians* rowed a Sterne; till at  
 last some that saw them; said they were Enemies, and  
 then retired also the *Coreyraians*. For by this time it was  
 darke, and the *Corinthians* had turned about the heads of  
 their Gallies; and dissolued themselves. And thus were  
 they parted, and the Battell ended in night. E

The *Coreyraians* lying at *Leucimna*, these twenty *Athenian*  
 Gallies,

*Syboia* of the Continent,  
 a Hauen.

\* *Paeon*, a Hymne, so Maie  
 to the beginning of hisse, to  
 Apollo after the cullage.

A supply of 20. Sayle  
 from *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* fall off.

\* (viz.) more behind their  
 backs.

A Gallies, vnder the command of *Glauco*, the sonne of *Lea-  
 grus*, and *Androides*, the sonne of *Leagorus*; pasing through  
 the middelt of the floating *Carkasses*, and wrecke, soone  
 after they were descryed a Battell at the Campe of the *Cor-  
 cyraians* in *Leucimna*. The *Coreyraians* at first, (being night)  
 were afraid they had bene *Blucimies*; but knew them af-  
 terwards, so they anchored there.

The next day, both the thirty Gallies of *Athens*, and  
 as many of *Coreyra* as were fit for service, went to the Ha-  
 uen in *Syboia*, where the *Corinthians* lay at Anchor, to see  
 if they would fight. But the *Corinthians*, when they had  
 put off from the Land, and arranged themselves in the  
 wide Sea, stood quiet, not meaning of their owne accord  
 to beginne the Battell: both for that they saw the supply  
 of fresh Gallies from *Athens*, and for many difficulties that  
 happened to them; both about the safe custody of their  
 Prisoners aboard; and also for that being in a desert place,  
 their Gallies were not yet repaired; but tooke thought  
 rather how to goe home; for feare lest the *Athenians*, ha-  
 uing the Peace for already broken, in that they had fought  
 against each other, should not suffer them to depart. C  
 They therefore thought good to send afore vnto the *Athe-  
 nians*, certaine men, without priuiledge of Heralds; for to  
 sound them; and to say in this manner.

Men of *Athens*, You doe vniustly to beginne the Warre; and vi-  
 olate the Articles: For whereas wee goe about to right vs on our  
 Enemies, you stand in our way; and beare Armes against vs. If  
 therefore you bee resolved to hinder our going against *Coreyra*, or  
 what soeuer place else wee please; dissolve the Peace, and laying hands  
 first vpon vs that are heere; use vs as Enemies.

D Thus said they: and the *Coreyraians*, as many of the  
 Armie as heard them, cryed out immediately, to take and  
 kill them. But the *Athenians* made answer thus.

Men of *Peloponnesus*, Neither doe wee beginne the Warre,  
 nor breake the Peace: but wee bring ayde to these our Confederates,  
 the *Coreyraians*: if you please therefore, to goe any whither else,  
 wee hinder you not; but if against *Coreyra*, or any place belonging  
 vnto it, we will not suffer you.

When the *Athenians* had giuen them this answer, the  
*Corinthians* made ready to goe home, and set vp a Trophie  
 E in *Syboia* of the Continent. And the *Coreyraians* also, both  
 tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of the dead, which carried

E 3 every

The *Coreyraians* offer Bat-  
 tell againe.

The *Corinthians* expostu-  
 late with the *Athenians*, to  
 sound their purpose.

The answer of the *Athe-  
 nians*.

The *Corinthians* goe home.  
 Both the *Coreyraians* and  
*Corinthians* challenge the  
 victory, and both set  
 up Trophies.



every way by the Waues, and the Wind that arose the A night before, came driuing to their hands; and, as if they had had the victory, set vp a Trophie likewise in Sybota the Ilands. The victory was thus, challenged on both sides, vpon these grounds: The *Corinthians* did set vp a Trophie, because in the Battell they had the better all day, hauing gotten more of the wrecke and dead bodies, then the other, and taken no lesse then 1000. Prisoners, and sunke about 70. of the Enemies Gallies. And the *Coreyrians* set vp a Trophie, because they had sunke 30. Gallies of the *Corinthians*, and had, after the arriuall of the *Athenians*, recovered the wrecke and dead bodies, that droue to them, by reason of the Wind; and because the day before, vpon sight of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* had rowed a Sterne, and went away from them: and lastly, for that when they went to Sybota, the *Corinthians* came not out to encounter them. Thus each side claimed victory.

The *Corinthians* in their way homeward, tooke in *Anactorium*, a Towne seated in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, by deceit; (this Towne was common to them, and to the *Coreyrians*) and hauing put into it *Corinthians* onely, departed, and went home. Of the *Coreyrians* 800. that were seruants, they sold; and kept prisoners 230. whom they vsed with very much fauour, that they might bee a meanes, at their returne, to bring *Coreyra* into the power of the *Corinthians*; the greatest part of these, being principall men of the Citie. And thus was *Coreyra* deliuered of the Warre of *Corinth*, and the *Athenian* Gallies went from them. This was the first Cause, that the *Corinthians* had of Warre against the *Athenians*; namely, because they had taken part with the *Coreyrians* in a Battell by Sea, against the *Corinthians*, with whom they were comprized in the same Articles of Peace.

**P**RESENTLY after this, it came to passe, that other differences arose betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*, to induce the Warre. For whilest the *Corinthians* studied to bee reuenged, the *Athenians*, who had their hatred in ialousie, commanded the Citizens of *Potidea*, a Citie seated in the *Isthmus* of *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but confederate and tributary to the *Athenians*, to pull downe that part of the Wall of their Citie, that stood

The *Corinthians* in their way home, take *Anactorium*, and keepe 250. of the best men prisoners, being *Coreyrians*, and vse them well.

The second pretext of the Warre.

*Potidea* suspected.

*Potidea* commanded to giue Hostages, and to pull downe part of their Wall.

A stood towards *Pallene*, and to giue them Hostages, and also to send away, and no more receiue the *Epidemurgis*, (Magistrates so called) which were sent vnto them yeere by yeere, from *Corinth*; fearing lest through the perswasion of \* *Perdiccas*, and of the *Corinthians*, they should reuolt, and draw to reuolt with them their other Confederates in *Thrace*. These things against the *Potideaans*, the *Aoeneians* had precontriued, presently after the Nauall Battell fought at *Coreyra*. For the *Corinthians* and they were now manifestly at difference; and *Perdiccas*, who before had B beene their Confederate and friend, now warred vpon them. And the cause why hee did so, was, that when his Brother *Philip* and *Dardas* ioyned in Armes against him, the *Athenians* had made a League with them. And therefore being afraid, hee both sent to *Lacedemon*, to negotiate the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and also reconciled himselfe to the *Corinthians*, the better to procure the reuolt of *Potidea*; and likewise he practised with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and with the *Botticeans*, to reuolt with them. For if hee could make these confining Cities his C Confederates, with the helpe of them, hee thought his Warre would bee the easier. Which the *Athenians* perceiuing, and intending to preuent the reuolt of these Cities, gaue order to the Commanders of the Fleet, (for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Armes, vnder the command of *Archestratus*, the sonne of *Lycomedes*, and tenne others into the Territories of *Perdiccas*) both to receiue Hostages of the *Potideaans*, and to demolish their Wallles; and also to haue an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they reuolted not. The *Potideaans* hauing sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, to try if they could perswade the people not to make any alteration amongst them; by other Ambassadors, whom they sent along with the Ambassadors of *Corinth* to *Lacedemon*, dealt with the *Lacedemonians* at the same time, if need required, to be ready to reuenge their quarrell. When after long sollicitation at *Athens*, and no good done, the Fleet was sent away against them, nolesse then against *Macedonia*; and when the Magistrates of *Lacedemon* had promised them, if the *Athenians* went to *Potidea*, to invade *Attica*, then E at last they reuolted; and together with them, the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*; all mutually sworne in the same Conspiracy.

\* King of Macedonia.

The *Athenians* giue order to the Generals they were sending against *Perdiccas*, to secure their Cities in those parts.

The *Potideaans* seeke the protection of the *Lacedemonians*.

The reuolt of *Potidea*, *Bottica*, and *Chalcidica*, from the *Athenians*.



piracy. For *Perdiccas* had also perswaded the *Chalcideans*, A  
to abandon and pull downe their maritime Townes, and  
to goe vp and dwell at *Olynthus*, and that one City to make  
strong: And vnto those that remoued, gaue part of his  
owne, and part of the Territorie of *Mydonia*, about the  
Lake *Bolbe*, to liue on, so long as the Warre against the  
*Athenians* should continue. So when they had demolished  
their Cities, and were gone vp higher into the Countrey,  
they prepared themselves to the Warre.

The Athenian Fleet, find-  
ing *Potidea* and other  
Cities already lost, goe  
into *Macedonia*.

The *Athenian* Gallies, when they arrived in *Thrace*,  
found *Potidea* and the other Cities, already reuolted. B  
And the Commanders of the Fleet conceiuing it to be impos-  
sible, with their present forces, to make Warre both against  
*Perdiccas* and the Townes reuolted, set saile againe for *Ma-  
cedonia*, against which they had bene at first sent out, and  
there staying, ioyned with *Philip*, and the brothers of *Der-  
das*, that had invaded the Countrey from aboue.

The Corinthians send their  
Forces to *Potidea* to de-  
fend it.

In the meane time, after *Potidea* was reuolted, and  
whilest the *Athenian* Fleet lay on the Coast of *Macedonia*,  
the *Corinthians*, fearing what might become of the Citie,  
and making the danger their owne, sent vnto it, both of  
their owne Citie, and of other *Peloponnesians*, which they  
hired, to the number of 1600. men of Armes, and 400.  
C  
\* light armed. The charge of these was given to *Aristeus*,  
the sonne of *Adimantus*, for whose sake most of the Volun-  
taries of *Corinth* went the Voyage: (for hee had bene euer  
a great fauourer of the *Potideaans*.) And they arrived in  
*Thrace*, after the reuolt of *Potidea*, forty dayes.

\* Archers, darters, and the  
like, & at some were Armour  
on their bodies, and some  
called *Hydriai*, naked.

The Athenians send forces  
against *Potidea*.

*Therme*, after called  
*Thessalonica*, now *Sa-  
loumbi*.

\* of force honourable.

*Veria*.

The newes of the reuolt of these Cities, was likewise  
quickly brought to the *Athenian* people; who hearing  
withall of the Forces sent vnto them, vnder *Aristeus*, sent  
D  
forth against the places reuolted, 2000. men of Armes,  
and 40. Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Callias*, the Sonne of  
*Calliades*. These comming first into *Macedonia*, found there  
the former thousand, (who by this time had taken *Therme*,  
and were now besieging the City of *Pydna*;) and staying,  
helped for a while to besiege it with the rest. But short-  
ly after, they tooke composition; and hauing made a \* ne-  
cessary League with *Perdiccas*, (vrge thereto by the af-  
faires of *Potidea*, and the arriuall there of *Aristeus*) departed  
E  
from *Macedonia*. Thence comming to *Berrhae*, they at-  
tempted to take it: but when they could not doe it, they  
turned

A turned backe, and marched towards *Potidea* by Land,  
They were of their owne number 3000. men of Armes,  
besides many of their Confederates; and of *Macedonians*  
that had serued with *Philip* and *Pausanias* 600. Horse-men.  
And their Gallies, 70. in number, sayling by them along  
the Coast, by moderate Iournies, came in three dayes to  
*Gigonus*, and there encamped.

The *Potideaans* and the *Peloponnesians* vnder *Aristeus*, in  
expectation of the comming of the *Athenians*, lay now en-  
camped in the *Isthmus*, neere vnto *Olynthus*, and had the  
B Market kept for them without the Citie: and the leading  
of the Foot, the Confederates had assigned to *Aristeus*, and  
of the Horse, to *Perdiccas*: (for hee fell off againe pre-  
sently from the *Athenians*, and hauing left *Isolau* Gouver-  
nour in his place, tooke part with the *Potideaans*.) The  
purpose of *Aristeus* was, to haue the body of the Armie  
with himselfe within the \* *Isthmus*, and therewith to at-  
tend the comming on of the *Athenians*, and to haue the *Chal-  
cideans* and their Confederates without the *Isthmus*, and also  
C when the *Athenians* were past by, to come on their backs,  
and to encloze the Enemie betwixt them. But *Callias* the  
*Athenian* Generall, and the rest that were in Commission  
with him, sent out before them their *Macedonian* Horse-  
men, and some few of their Confederates to *Olynthus*, to stop  
those within from making any sally from the Towne, and  
then dislodging, marched on towards *Potidea*. When they  
were come on as far to as the *Isthmus*, and saw the Enemie  
make ready to fight, they also did the like, and not long af-  
ter, they ioyned Battell. That wing wherein was *Aristeus*  
D himselfe, with the chosen men of the *Corinthians* and o-  
thers, put to flight that part of their Enemies that stood  
opposite vnto them, and followed execution a great way.  
But the rest of the Army of the *Potideaans* and *Peloponnesi-  
ans* were by the *Athenians* defeated, and fled into the Citie.  
And *Aristeus*, when hee came backe from the Execution,  
was in doubt what way to take, to *Olynthus*, or to *Potidea*.  
In the end, hee resolued of the shortest way, and with his  
Souldiers about him, ranne as hard as hee was able, vnto  
E *Potidea*; and with much adoe got in at the Peere, through  
the Sea, cruelly shott at, and with the losse of a few, but  
safely of the greatest part of his company. As soon as  
F the

The Athenians and those  
with *Aristeus*, prepare  
themselves for Battell.

\* The *Isthmus* of *Pallene*,  
where they were.

The Victory falleth to  
the *Athenians*.



the Battell began, they that should haue seconded the *A Potideans* from *Olympus*, (for it is at most but 60. Furlongs off, and in sight) advanced a little way to haue ayded them; and the *Macedonian* Horse opposed themselves likewise in order of Battell, to keepe them backe. But the *Athenians* having quickly gotten the Victory, and the Standards being taken downe; they retired againe, they of *Olympus*, into that Citie; and the *Macedonian* Horsemen, into the Armie of the *Athenians*. So that neither side had their Caualery at the Battell. After the Battell, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and gaue truce to the *Potideans*, B for the taking vp of the bodies of their dead. Of the *Potideans* and their friends, there dyed somewhat lesse then 300. and of the *Athenians* themselves 150. with *Callias*, one of their Commanders.

The *Athenians* beginne to besiege *Potidea*.

Presently vpon this, the *Athenians* raised a Wall before the Citie, on the part towards the *Isthmus*, which they kept with a Garrison, but the part to *Pallene*-ward, they left vnwalld. For they thought themselves too small a number, both to keepe a guard in the *Isthmus*, and withall to goe ouer and fortifie in *Pallene*, fearing lest the *Potideans* C and their Confederates should assault them when they were deuided. When the people of *Athens* vnderstood that *Potidea* was vnwalld on the part toward *Pallene*, not long after they sent thither 1600. men of Armes, vnder the Conduet of *Phormio*, the Sonne of *Asopius*: who arriving in *Pallene*, left his Gallies at *Aphytis*, and marching easily to *Potidea*, wasted the Territory as hee passed through. And when notice came out to bid him Battell, hee raised a Wall before the Citie, on that part also that looketh towards *Pallene*. Thus was *Potidea* on both sides D strongly besieged, and also from the Sea, by the *Athenian* Gallies, that came vp and rode before it.

*Aristeus*, seeing the Citie enclosed on euery side, and without hope of safety, saue what might come from *Peloponnesus*, or some other vnexpected way, gaue aduice to all but 500. taking the opportunity of a Wind, to goe out by Sea, that the prouision might the longer hold out for the rest; and of them that should remaine within, offered himselfe to bee one. But when his counsell tooke not place, being desirous to settle their businesse, and make E the best of their affaires abroad, hee got out by Sea, vnto

scene

The *Athenians* send *Phormio* with 6000. men of Armes, to *Potidea*.

*Potidea* mightily besieged on all sides,

The aduice of *Aristeus*, to carry all the people but 500. men out of the Citie, that their victuall might the better hold out, refused.

*Aristeus* getteth out of the Citie, vntoene of the *Athenians*.

A scene of the *Athenian* Guard, and staying amongst the *Chalcidians*, amongst other actions of the Warre, laid an Ambush before *Sermylius*, and slew many of that Citie, and sollicitated the sending of ayd from *Peloponnesus*. And *Phormio*, after the Siege laid to *Potidea*, hauing with him his 1600. men of Armes, wasted the Territories of the *Chalcidians* and *Bottians*, and some small Townes he tooke in.

These were the Quarrels betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*. The *Corinthians* quarrelled the *Athenians*, for besieging *Potidea*, and in it, the men of *Corinth* and B *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* quarrelled the *Peloponnesians*, for causing their confederate and tributary Citie to revolt; and for that they had come thither, and openly fought against them in the behalfe of *Potidea*. Neuerthelesse the Warre brake not openly forth as yet, and they yet abstained from Armes; for this was but a particular action of the *Corinthians*.

B V T when *Potidea* was once besieged, both for their mens sakes that were within, and also for feare to lose the place, they could no longer hold. But out C of hand, they procured of their Confederates to goe to *Lacedaemon*; and thither also they went themselves, with clamours and accusations, against the *Athenians*, that they had broken the League, and wronged the *Peloponnesians*. The *Aeginetes*, though not openly by Ambassadors, for feare of the *Athenians*, yet priuily instigated them to the Warre as much as any; alledging that they were not permitted to gouerne themselves according to their owne Laws, as by the Articles they ought to haue bene. So the D *Lacedaemonians* hauing called together the Confederates, and whosoever else had any iniustice to lay to the charge of the *Athenians*, in the ordinary \* Councell of their owne State commanded them to speake. Then presented euery one his accusation; and amongst the rest, the *Megareans*, besides many other their great differences, laid open this especially, That contrary to the Articles, they were forbidden the *Athenian* Markers and Hapens. Last of all, the *Corinthians*, when they had suffered the *Lacedaemonians* to be incensed first by the rest, came in, and said as followeth.

And staying in *Chalcidice*, slew certaine of the Citie of *Sermylius*, by ambusement.

*Phormio* wasted the Territories of the *Chalcidians* and *Bottians*.

The sollicitation of the Warre by the *Corinthians*, and other Confederates of the *Lacedaemonians*.

Complaints exhibited against the *Athenians* in the Councell of *Sparta*.

\* Of the Ephors, &c. those that had the Souerainety, that u to say, before the Aristocratie.

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THE



# THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

**M**en of Lacedæmon, your own fidelity, both in matter of estate & conversation, maketh you the lesse apt to beleue vs, when we accuse others of the contrary. And heereby you gaine indeed a reputation of equity, but you haue lesse experience in the affaires of Forraigne States. For although we haue oftentimes foretold you, that the Athenians would doe vs a mischiefe; yet from time to time when we told it you, you neuer would take informatiō of it; but haue suspected rather, that what we spake, hath proceeded from our owne private differences. And you haue therefore called bither these Confederates, not before wee had suffered, but now, when the euill is already vpon vs. Before whom, our speech must bee so much the longer, by how much our obiections are the greater, in that wee haue both by the Athenians beene inured, and by you neglected. If the Athenians lurking in some obscure place, had done these wrongs vnto the Grecians, wee should then haue needed to proue the same before you, as to men that knew it not. But now what cause haue wee to vse long discourse, when you see already that some are brought into seruitude, and that they are contrining the like against others, and especially against our Confederates, and are themselves, in case Warre should be made against them, long since prepared for it? For else they would neuer haue taken Corceyra, and bolden it from vs by force, nor haue besieged Potidea, whereof the one was most commodious for any action against Thrace; and the other had brought vnto the Peloponnesians a most faire Nauie. And of all this, you are your selues the authors, in that you suffered them, vpon the end of the Persian Warre, to fortifie their Citie, and againe afterwards to raise their Long Wall, whereby you haue hitherto deprived of their liberty, not only the States by them already subdued, but also your owne Confederates. For not he that bringeth into slavery, but he that being able to hinder it, neglects the same, is most truly said to doe it; especially if they assume the honoior to be the esteemed Deliuerers of Greece, (as you doe.) And for all that, we are hardly yet come together, and indeed not yet, with any certaine resolution what to doe. For the question should no haue beene put, Whether, or not, wee haue received iniurie, but rather, in what manner we are to repaire it. For they that doe the wrong, hauing consulted vpon it before-hand, vse no delay at all, but come vpon them whom they meane to oppresse, whilest they be yet irresolute. And we know, not onely that the Athenians haue incroached

vpon

**A**vpon their neighbours; but also by what wayes they haue done it. And as long as they thinke they carry it closely, through your blindnesse, they are the lesse bold. But when they shall perceiue that you see, and will not see, they will then presse vs strongly indeed. For (Lacedæmonians) you are the onely men of all Greece, that sitting still, defend others, not with your Forces; but with promises; and you are also the onely men, that loue to pull downe the power of the Enemy, not when it beginneth, but when it is doubled. You haue indeede a report to bee sure; but yet it is more in fame that, then in fact. For we our selues know, that the Persian came against Peloponnesus, from the utmost parts of the Earth, before you encountred him, as became your State. And also now you coninue at the Athenians, who are not as the Medes, farre off, but hard at hand; choosing rather to defend your selues from their inuasion, then to inuade them; and by hauing to doe with them when their strength is greater, to put your selues vpon the chance of Fortune. And yet wee know, that the Barbarians own error, and (in our Warre against the Athenians) their owne oversights, more then your assistance, was the thing that gaue vs victory. For the hope of your ayde, hath beene the destruction of some, that relying on you, made no preparation for themselves by other meanes. **Let** not any man thinke that we speak this out of malice, but only by way of expostulation: for expostulation is with friends that erre, but accusation, against enemies that haue done an iniurie. Besides, if there bee any that may challenge to exprobrate his neighbour, we thinke our selues may best doe it, especially on so great quarrels as these, whereof you neither seeme to haue any feeling, nor to consider what manner of men, and how different from you in every kinde the Athenians bee, that you are to contend withall. For they loue innovation, and are swift to devise, and also to execute what they resolue on. But you on the contrary are onely apt to saue your owne; not devise any thing new, nor scarce to attaine what is necessary. They againe are bold beyond their strength, adventurous aboue their owne reason, and in danger hope still the best: Whereas your actions are ever beneath your power, and you distrust even what your iudgement assures; and being in a danger, neuer thinke to bee deliuered. They are stirrers, you studiers: they loue to bee abroad, and you at home the most of any. For they make account by being abroad to adde to their estate; you, if you should goe forth against the State of another, would thinke to impayre your owne. They, when they ouercome their enemies, aduance the farthest, and when they are overtonie by their enemies, fall off the least; and as for their Bodies, they vse them in the seruice of the Common wealth, as if they were none of their owne, but

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but their minds, when they would serve the State, are right their owne. **A** Unless they take in hand what they have once advised on, they account so much lost of their owne. And when they take it in hand, if they obtaine any thing, they thinke lightly of it, in respect of what they looke to winne by their prosecution. If they faile in any attempt, they doe what is necessary for the present, and enter presently into other hopes. For they alone, both haue and hope for at once, whatsoever they conceiue, through their celerity in execution of what they once resolute on. And in this manner they labour and toyle, all the dayes of their lines. What they haue, they haue no leasure to enioy, for continuall getting of more. Nor Holiday esteeme they any, but whereon they effect some **B** matter profitable; nor thinke they ease with nothing to doe, a lesse torment, than laborious businesse. So that, in a word, to say they are men, borne neither to rest themselves, nor suffer others, is to say the truth. Now notwithstanding, (men of Lacedæmon) that this Citie, your Aduersary, bee such, as wee haue said; yet you still delay time, not knowing, that those onely are they, to whom it may suffice for the most part of their time to sit still, who (though they vse not their power to doe iniustice) yet bewray a minde vnlikely to swallow injuries; but placing equity belike in this, that you neither doe any harme to others, nor receiue it, in defending of your selues. But this **C** is a thing, you hardly could attaine, though the States about you were of the same condition. But (as we haue before declared) your Customes are in respect of theirs antiquated, and of necessity (as it happeneth in Artes) the new ones will preuaile. True it is, that for a City lining for the most part in peace, vnchanged customes are the best; but for such as bee constrained to vndergoe many matters, many denices will be needfull. Which is also the reason, why the Athenian Customes, through much experience, are more new to you, then yours are to them. Heere therefore giue a Period to your slacknesse, and by a speedy invasion of Attica, as you promised, relieue both Potidæa, and the rest **D** left otherwise you betray your friends and kindred to their cruellest enemies; and left wee and others, be driuen through despair, to seeke out some other League. Which to doe, were no iniustice, neither against the Gods, Iudges of mens Oathes, nor against Men, the bearers of them. For not they breake the League, who being abandoned, haue recourse to others; but they that yeld not their assistance, to whom they haue sworne it. But if you meane to follow the businesse seriously, wee will stay; for else, wee should doe irreligiously, neither should wee finde any other, more conformable to our manners, then your selues. Therefore deliberate well of these points, and take **E** such a course, that Peloponnesus may not by your leading, fall

**A** fall into worse estate, then it was left vnto you by your Progenitors.

Thus spake the Corinthians.

The Athenian Ambassadors (who chanced to bee residing in Lacedæmon, vpon their businesse) when they heard of this Oration, thought it fit to present themselves before the Lacedæmonians, not to make Apologie for what they were charged with by the other Citties, but to shew in generall, that it was not fit for them in this case to take any sudden resolution, but further time to consider. Also **B** they desired to lay open the power of their City; to the elder sort, for a remembrance of what they knew already, and to the younger, for an information of what they knew not: supposing, that when they should haue spoken, they would encline to quietnesse, rather then to Warre. And therefore they presented themselves before the Lacedæmonians, saying, That they also, if they might haue leaue, desired to speake in the Assembly; who willed them to come in: And the Athenians went into the Assembly, and spake to this effect.

### **C** THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of A T H E N S.

**T**Hough our Ambassage was not to this end, that wee should argue against your Confederates; but about such other Affaires as the Citie was pleased to employ vs in; yet hauing heard of the great exclamation against vs, wee came into the Court, not to make answer to the criminations of the Citties (for to pleade before you here, were not to pleade before the Iudges either of them **D** or vs) but to the end you may worke draune away, to take the worst resolution, at the perswasion of the Confederates, in matters of so great importance. And without touching the substance of the Oration made against vs, to informe you, what wee possesse, wee haue it iustly, and that our Citie deserueth reputation. But what needs wee now to speake of matters long past, confirmed more by hearsay, then by the eyes of those that were so beholders to relate them? But our actions against the Persians, and such as you your selues know as well as we, those, though it bee indigne to heare them out objected, wee must of necessity recite. For when wee did them, we **E** hazarded our selues for some benefit of which you as had your parts in the substance; so must wee haue ours (if that be any benefit) in the

The Athenian Ambassadors, residing in Lacedæmon, vpon their businesse, desired to make answer to the Oration of the Corinthians.



commemoration. And wee shall make recitall of them, not by way of deprecation, but of protestation, and declaration of what a City (in case you take ill advice) you have to enter the list withall. Wee therefore say, that wee not onely first and alone, hazarded Battell against the Barbarian in the Fields of Marathon, but also afterwards, when hee came againe, beinge unable to resist him by Land, imbarqued our selues, every man that was able to beare Armes, and gaue him Battell amongst the rest, by Sea, at Salamis; which was the cause that kept him backe from sailing to Peloponnesus, and laying it waste Cittie after Cittie: for against so many Gallies, you were not able to giue each other mutuall succour. And the greatest prooffe of this is the Persian himselfe, who when his Fleet was overcome, and that hee had no more such Forces, went away in haste, with the greatest part of his Armie. Which beinge so, and evident, that the whole State of the Grecians, was imbarqued in their Fleet, we conferred to the same, the three things of most aduantage; namely, the greatest number of Gallies, the most prudent Commander, and the most lively courage. (For of 400. Gallies in the whole, our owne were few lesse then two thirds) and for Commander, Themistocles, who was the principall cause that the Battell was fought in the \* streight, whereby he cleerly saved the whole businesse, and whom, though a Stranger, you your selues haue honoured for it, more then any man that came vnto you; and a forwardnesse wee shewed, more aduenturous then any other, in this, that when none of them had ayded vs by Land before, and the rest of the Cities, as farre as to our owne, were brought into seruitude, we were neuerthelesse content, both to quit our Citie, and lose our goods, and even in that estate, not to betray the Common Cause of the Confederates, or diuided from them, to bee conuysfull, but to put our selues into our Nautie, and vndergoe the danger with them, and that without passion against you, for not hauing formerly defended vs in the like manner. So that we may say, that wee haue no lesse conferred a benefite vpon you, then wee received it from you. You came indeed to ayde vs, but it was from Cities inhabited, and to the end you might still keepe them so; and when you were afraid, not of our danger, but your owne: whereas wee, coming from a City no more in \* being, and putting our selues into danger, for a City, hopelesse euer to bee againe; saved both you (in part) and our selues. But if wee had ioynd with the Persian, fearing (as others did) to haue our territories wasted; or afterwards, as men lost, durst not haue put our selues into our Gallies; you must not haue fought with him by Sea; because your Fleet had bene too small, but his affaires had succeeded as hee would himselfe. Therefore (men of Lacedæmon) we deserue

not

A not so great enuie of the Grecians, for our courage at that time, and for our prudence, and for the dominion wee hold, as wee now vndergoe. Which dominion wee obtained not by violence, but because the Confederates, when your selues would not stay out the reliques of the Warre against the Barbarian, came in, and intreated vs to take the command, of their owne accord. So that at first wee were forced to aduance our Dominion to what it is, out of the nature of the thing it selfe; as chiefly for feare, next for honour, and lastly for profit. For when wee had the enuie of many, and had reconquered some that had already revolted, and seeing you were no more our friends, as you had beene, but suspected and quarrelled vs, wee held it no longer a safe course, laying by our power, to put our selues into your danger. For the reuolts from vs, would all haue bene made to you. Now it is no fault for men in danger, to order their affaires to the best. For you also (men of Lacedæmon) haue command ouer the Cities of Peloponnesus, and order them to your best aduantage: and had you, when the time was, by staying it out, bene enuied in your Command, as wee know well, you would haue bene no lesse heauy to the Confederates, then wee, you must haue bene constrained to rule imperiously, or to haue salne into danger. So that, though overcome by three the greatest things, honour, feare, and profit, wee haue both accepted the dominion deliuered vs, and refuse againe to surrender it, wee haue therein done nothing to be wondered at, nor beside the manner of men. Nor haue wee bene the first in this kinde, but it hath bene euer a thing fixed, for the weaker to be kept vnder by the stronger. Besides, we tooke the gouernment vpon vs, as esteeming our selues worthy of the same; and of you also so esteemed, till hauing computed the commodity, you now fall to allegation of equity; a thing which no man that had the occasion to atchieue anything by strength, euer so farre preferred, as to diuert him from his profit. Those men are worthy of commendation, who following the naturall inclination of man, in desiring rule ouer others, are iust, then for their power they need. And therefore if another had our power, we thinke it would best make appeare our owne moderation; and yet our moderation hath vnderferuedly incurred contempt, rather then commendation. For though in pleas of Couenants with our Confederates, when in our owne City we haue allowed them triall by Lawes equall both to them and vs, the Iudgement hath bene giuen against vs, we haue then neuerthelesse bene reputed contentious. None of them considering that others, who in other places haue dominion, and are toward their subiect States lesse moderate then wee, yet are neuer vpbraid for it. For they that haue the power to compell, need not at all to goe to Law. And yet these men haue bene

\* That is, when Paulanius, King of Lacedæmon, pursuing the Reliques of the Persian Warre, through his pride and insolent Command, procured the hatred of the Confederates (for as the Lacedæmonian State calling him home, they put themselves under the leading of the Athenians.

\* The Athenians, at the coming in of the Persian, when they put themselves into their Gallies, left their Citie to the Army of the Persians by Land, and sent their wives and children into Argina, mity and Tizena.



bee used to converse with vs upon equall termes, if they lose any A thing which they thinke they should not, eyther by sentence, or by the power of our government, they are not thankfull for the much they retaine; but take in worse part the little they forgoe, then if at first, laying Law aside, wee had openly taken their goods by violence. For in that kinde also, they themselves cannot deny; but the weaker must giue way to the stronger. And men, it seemes, are more passionate for iniustice, then for violence: For that, comming as from an equall, seemeth rapine; and the other, because from one stronger, but necessity. Therefore when they suffered worse things vnder the Medes dominion, they bore it, but thinke ours to bee rigorous. And good reason; for to men B in subiection, the present is euer the worst estate. Inasmuch as you also, if you should put vs downe, and reigne your selues, you would soone finde a change of the loie, which they beare you now for feare of vs, if you should doe againe, as you\* did for a while, when you were their Commanders against the Medes. For not onely your owne institutions are different from those of others, but also when any one of you comes abroad [with charge,] he neither respecteth those of yours, nor yet those of the rest of Greece. Deliberate therefore of this a great while, as of a matter of great importance; and do not vpon the opinions and C criminations of others, procure your owne trouble. Consider before you enter, how vnexpected the chances of Warre bee: for a long Warre for the most part endeth in calamity, from which we are equally far off, and whether part it will light on, is to be tryed with vncertainty. And men when they goe to Warre, vse many times to fall first to action, the which ought to come behind, and when they haue already taken harme, then they fall to reasoning. But since we are neither in such error our selues, nor doe finde that you are; wee advise you, whilst good counsell is in both our elections, not to breake the peace, nor violate your Oathes; but according to the Articles, let the controuersie bee decided by Iudgement; or else wee call the Gods you haue sworne by to witnesse, that if D you beginne the Warre, we will endeavour to reuenge our selues the same way that you shall walke in before vs.

Thus spake the Athenians.

After the Lacedaemonians had heard both the complaints of the Confederates against the Athenians, and the Athenians Answer, they put them euery one out of the Court, and consulted of the businesse amongst themselves. And the opinions of the greatest part concurred in this, That the Athenians had done vniustly, & ought speedily to be warred on: But Archidamus their King, a man reputed both wise E and temperate, spake as followeth.

THE

\* Accusing the Insuperors  
and reproaching command  
of Paulanias.

The Lacedaemonians  
amongst themselves take  
counsell how to proceed.

## THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

MEN of Lacedaemon, both I my selfe haue the experience of many Warres, and I see you of the same age with mee, to haue the like; inasmuch as you cannot desire this Warre, either through inexperience (as many doe) nor yet as apprehending it to bee profitable or safe. And whosoener shall temperately consider the Warre wee now deliberate of, will finde it to bee no small one. For B though in respect of the Peloponnesians, and our neighbour States, wee haue equall strength, and can quickly bee vpon them; yet against men, whose Territory is remote, and are also expert Seamen, and with all other things excellently furnished, as money, both priuate and publicke, Shipping, Horses, Armes, and number, more then any one part of Greece besides; and that haue many Confederates, paying them Tribute; against such, I say, why should we lightly undertake the Warre? And since wee are vnfurnished, whereon relying, should we make such haste to it? On our Nauie? But therein we are too weake. And if we will prouide and prepare against them, it will require time. On our C money? But therein also we are more too weake; for neither hath the State any, nor will priuate men readily contribute. But it may be, some rely on this, that wee exceed them in Armes, and multitude of Souldiers, so that we may waste their Territories with incursions. But there is much other Land vnder their dominion, and by Sea they are able to bring in whatsoener they shall stand in need of. Againe, if wee assay to alienate their Confederates, wee must ayde them with Shipping, because the most of them are Ilanders. What a Warre then will this of ours bee? For vlesse we haue the better of them in Shipping, or take from them their reuenue, whereby their Nauie is maintained, we shall D do the most hurt to our selues. And in this case to let fall the Warre againe, will be no honour for vs, when we are chiefly thought to haue begun it. As for the hope, that if we waste their Countrey, the Warre will soone be at an end; let that neuer lift vs vp: for I feare we shall transmit it rather to our children. For it is likely the Athenians haue the spirit not to be slanes to their earth, nor as men without experience, to be astonished at the Warre. And yet I doe not aduise that wee should stupidly suffer our Confederates to bee wronged, and not E apprehend the Athenians in their plots against them; but onely, not yet to take vp Armes, but to send and expostulate with them, making no great shew neither of war, nor of sufferance: and in this meane time to make our proviso, and make friends, both of Greeks & Barbarians,

G 2

such



such as in any place wee can get, of power either in shipping or money (nor are they to be blamed, that being laid in wait for, as wee are by the Athenians, take vnto them, not Grecians only, but also Barbarians for their safety) and withall to set forth our owne. If they listen to our Ambassadors, best of all; if not, then two or threeceres passing ouer our heads, being better appointed, wee may warre vpon them, if we will. And when they see our preparation, and heare words that import no lesse, they will perhaps relent the sooner; especially, hauing their grounds vnhurt, and consulting vpon commodities extant, and not yet spoiled. For wee must thinke their Territorie to bee nothing but an Hostage, and so much the more, by how much the better husbanded. The which wee ought therefore to spare as long as wee may, lest making them desperate, we make them also the harder to expugne. For if vnfurnished as wee bee, at the instigation of the Confederates, we waste their Territory, consider if in so doing, we doe not make the Warre both more dishonourable to the Peloponnesians, and also more difficult. For though accusations, as well against Cities, as priuate men, may bee cleared againe, a warre for the pleasure of some, taken vp by all, the successe whereof cannot bee foreseene, can hardly with honour be letten fall againe. Now let no man thinke it cowardise, that being many Cities, we goe not presently, and invade that one City; for of Confederates that bring them in money, they haue more then wee; and Warre is not so much Warre of Armes, as Warre of Money, by meanes whereof Armes are vsfull; especially when it is a Warre of Land-men, against Sea-men. And therefore let vs first provide our selues of money, and not first raise the Warre, vpon the perswasion of the Confederates. For wee that must be thought the causes of all euents, good or bad, haue also reason to take some leasure, in part to foresee them. As for the slacknesse and procrastination, wherewith wee are reproached by the Confederates, bee neuer ashamed of it; for the more haste you make to the Warre, you will bee the longer before you end it, for that you goe to it vnprovided. Besides, our Citie hath bene euer free, and well thought of. And this which they obieect, is rather to be called a Modesty proceeding vpon iudgement. For by that it is, that we alone, are neither arrogant vpon good successe, nor shrinke so much as others in aduersity. Nor are wee, when men prouoke vs to it with praise, through the delight thereof, moued to vndergoe danger, more then wee thinke fit our selues; nor when they sharpen vs with reprehension, doth the smart thereof

A thereof a lot the more preuaile vpon vs. And this modesty of ours, maketh vs both good Souldiers, and good Counsellours: good Souldiers, because shame begetteth modesty, and valour is most sensible of shame; good Counsellours, in this, that wee are brought vp more simply, then to disesteeme the Lawes, and by seuerity, more modestly then to disobey them. And also in that, that wee doe not, like men exceeding wise in things needlesse, finde fault brauely with the preparation of the Enemy, and in effect not assault him accordingly; but doe thinke our neighbours cogitations like our owne, and that the euents of Fortune cannot be discerned by a speech; and doe therefore alwayes so furnish our selues really against the enemy, as against men well advised. For we are not to build our hopes vpon the ouersights of them, but vpon the safe foresight of our selues. Nor must wee thinke that there is much difference betweene man and man, but him onely to bee the best, that hath bene brought vp amongst the most difficulties. Let vs not therefore cast aside the institutions of our Ancestours, which wee haue so long retained to our profit; nor let vs, of many mens liues, of much money, of many Cities, and much honour, hastily resolute in so small a part of one day, but at leasure; the which wee haue better commodity then any other to doe, by reason of our power. Send to the Athenians, about the matter of Potidæa, send about that wherein the Confederates say they are iniured; and the rather, because they bee content to referre the cause to Iudgement: And one that offereth himselfe to Iudgement, may not lawfully be invaded, as a doer of iniurie, before the iudgement be giuen; and prepare withall for the Warre; so shall you take the most profitable counsell for your selues, and the most formidable to the Enemy.

Thus spake Archidamus.

But Sthenelaidas, then one of the Ephori, stood vp last of all, and spake to the Lacedæmonians in this manner:

D

### THE ORATION OF STHENELAIDAS.

FOR my part, I vnderstand not the many words vsed by the Athenians; for though they haue bene much in their owne praises, yet they haue said nothing to the contrary, but that they haue done iniury to our Confederates, and to Peloponnesus. And if they carried themselves well against the Medes, when time was, and now ill against vs, they deserue a double punishment, because they are not good as they were, and because they are euill, as they were not. Now are we the same we were, and meanes not (if we be wise) either to comine



at the wrongs done to our Confederates, or deferre to repaire A them; for the harms they suffer, is not deferred. Others haue much money, many Gallies, and many Horſes; and wee haue good Confederates, not to be betrayed to the Athenians, nor to bee defended with words; (for they are not hurt in words) but to be ayded with all our power, and with speed. Let no man tell mee, that after wee haue once receiued the iniurie, wee ought to deliberate. No, it belongs rather to the doers of iniurie, to spend time in consultation. Wherefore (men of Lacedæmon) decree the Warre, as becometh the dignity of Sparta; and let not the Athenians grow yet greater, nor let vs betray our Confederates, but in the name of B the Gods, proceed against the doers of iniustice.

Having thus spoken, being himſelfe Ephore, hee put it to the question in the Assembly of the Lacedæmonians; and ſaying afterwards, that hee could not diſcerne whether was the greater cry (for they vsed there to giue their votes *vinæ voce*, and not with \* Balles) and deſiring that it might bee euident that their minds were enclined moſt to the Warre, he put it vnto them againe, and ſaid, To whomſoeuer of you it ſeemeth that the Peace is broken, and that the Athenians haue done C iniuſtly, let him ariſe, and goe yonder. And withall he ſhewed them a certaine place: And to whomſoeuer it ſeemeth otherwiſe, let him goe to the other ſide. So they aroſe, and the Roome was diuided, wherein farre the greater number were thoſe, that held the Peace to bee broken.

Then calling in the Confederates, they told them, that for their owne parts, their ſentence was, That the Athenians had done them wrong; But yet they deſired to haue all their Confederates called together, and then to put it to the queſtion againe, that if they would, the Warre might bee decreed by Common conſent. This done, their Confederates went home, and ſo did alſo D afterwards the Athenians, when they had diſpatched the buſineſſe they came about. This Decree of the Aſſembly, that the Peace was broken, was made in the foureteenth yeere of thoſe thirty yeeres, for which a Peace had bene formerly concluded, after the actions paſt in Eubæa.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS gaue Sentence, that the Peace was broken, and that Warre was to bee made, not ſo much for the words of the Confederates, as for feare the Athenian greatneſſe ſhould ſtill E encreaſe: For they ſaw that a great part of Greece was ſaine

\* *Lotus*, *Thymus*, *Capillus*, *Calculus*, a little ſtone or ball, which hee that giueſth voice, put into a box, either on the affirmative or negative part, as he pleaſed. The Athenians ſaid *themisphrazis* and *blephar*. The Venetians now vsē balls, and the diſtinction is made by the box inſcribed with *yes* and *no*.

The Lacedæmonians by queſtion conclude that the Athenians had broken the Peace.

*Negropontis.*

The true cauſe of this Warre being the feare the Lacedæmonians had of the power of Athens, the Author diſcreetly, to ſhew how that power grew ſift up.

A ſaine already into their hands. Now the manner how the Athenians came to the adminiſtration of thoſe affaires, by which they ſo raiſed themſelues, was this:

After that the Medes, ouercome by Sea and Land, were departed, and ſuch of them as had eſcaped by Sea to \* Mycale, were there alſo vtterly ouerthrowne; Leotychides King of the Lacedæmonians, then Commander of the Grecians at Mycale, with their Confederates of Peloponneſus, went home: But the Athenians with their Confederates of Ionia, and the Hellespont, as many as were already reuolted from B the \* King, ſtaid behinde, and beſieged Saſſus, holden then by the Medes, and when they had layne before it all the Winter, they tooke it, abandoned by the Barbarians; and after this they ſet ſaile from the Hellespont, euery one to his owne Citie. And the \* body of the Athenians, aſſoone as their Territory was cleere of the Barbarians, went home alſo, and fetcht thither their Wiues and Children, and ſuch goods as they had, from the places where they had bin put out to keep; and went about the reparation of their City & Walles. For there were yet ſtanding ſome pieces of the circuit of their Wall, and likewiſe a few houſes, (though C the moſt were downe) which the Princeſſe of the Perſians had reſerued for their owne lodgings. The Lacedæmonians hearing what they went about, ſent thither their Ambaſſadours, partly becauſe they would themſelues haue bene glad, that neyther the Athenians, nor any other had had Walles; but principally, as incited thereto by their Confederates, (who feared not only the greatneſſe of their Nauie, which they had not before, but alſo their courage ſhewed againſt the Perſians) and entreated them, not to D build their Walles, but rather to ioyne with them in pulling downe the Walles of what Cities ſoeuer without Peloponneſus had them yet ſtanding: Not diſcouering their meaning, and the iealouſie they had of the Athenians; but pretending this, that if the Barbarian returned, hee might finde no fortified Citie, to make the Seate of his Warre, as hee did of Thebes; and that Peloponneſus was ſufficient for the ally, whereinto to retire, and from whence to withſtand the Warre. But the Athenians, by the aduiſe of Themisto- E cles, when the Lacedæmonian Ambaſſadours had ſo ſaid, E diſmiſſed them preſently with this Anſwer, That they would preſently ſend Ambaſſadours about the buſineſſe they

The manner by which the Athenians came to haue the command of the common Forces of Greece againſt the Perſians, by which they raiſed their Empire.

\* A Promontorie in Aſia the ſiſſe picture the remnant of Xerxes Fleet was deſtroyed, the ſame day that his Land-forces were alſo deſtroyed by Paullanias at Platæa, with the ſlaughter of Mardonius their General, and almoſt their whole Armie of 300000. men.

\* Of Perſia, The Athenians returned to their City.

\* *in nation*, the State. That is, they made Athens againe the Seate of their government, whereas before it was in the Fleet and Campe ſtill remaining. They repaired their Citie, and wall it.

The Lacedæmonians aduiſe them to the contrary, for their owne ends, pretending the Common good.

Themistocles aduiſeth them to build on.



His subtilty in deluding the Lacedæmonians.

The building hastened.

Themistocles goeth to Lacedæmon Ambassadour.

He adviseth the Lacedæmonians to send Ambassadours, to see if the Wall went vp, or not.

He sendeth Letters to Athens secretly, to haue those Ambassadours stayd, till the returne of himselfe and his fellows from Lacedæmon.

And hearing that the Wall was finished, he iustificeth it.

they spake of, to Lacedæmon. Now Themistocles willed A them to send himselfe to Lacedæmon for one, and that as speedily as they could; but such as were chosen Ambassadours with him, not to send away presently, but to stay them till the Wall was so rayled, as to fight vpon them from a sufficient height; and that all the men in the Citie, in the meane time, both they, and their Wiues and Children, sparing neither priuate nor publike edifice, that might aduance the worke: but pulling all downe whatsoever, should helpe to raise it. When hee had thus instructed them, adding, that hee would himselfe doe the B rest at Lacedæmon, he tooke his Iourney. And when hee came to Lacedæmon, he went not to the State, but delaying the time, excused himselfe; and when any of those that were in Office, asked him why hee did not present himselfe to the State, answered, That he stayed for his fellow-Ambassadours, who vpon some businesse that fell out, were left behind, but he expected them every shortly, and wondered they were not come already. Hearing this, they gaue credit to Themistocles, for the loue they bore him; but when others comming thence, auerred plainly, that the Wall went vp, and that C it was come to good height already, they could not then chooseth but belue it. Themistocles, when hee saw this, wished them not to be led by reports, but rather to send thither some of their owne, such as were honest men, and hauing informed themselves, would relate the truth. Which they also did. And Themistocles sendeth priuily to the Athenians, about the same men, to take order for their stay, with as little apparence of it as they could, and not to dismishe them, till their owne Ambassadours were returned. (For by this time were arriued those that were ioy-D ned with him, namely, Abronychus, the sonne of Lyficles, and Aristides, the sonne of Lyfimachus, and brought him word that the Wall was of a sufficient height.) For hee feared lest the Lacedæmonians, when they knew the truth, would refuse to let them goe. The Athenians therefore kept there those Ambassadours, according as it was written to them to doe. Themistocles comming now to his audience before the Lacedæmonians, said plainly, That the Citie of Athens was already walled, and that sufficiently, for the defence of those within: And that if it shall please the Lacedæmonians, E vpon any occasion to send Ambassadours vnto them, they were to send

A send them forward, as to men that vnderstand what conduced both to their owne, and also to the common good of all Greece. For when they thought it best to quit their Citie; and put themselves into their Gallies, he said they were bold to doe it, without asking the aduice of them. And in Common Counsell, the aduice of the Athenians was as good as the aduice of them: And now at this time their opinion is, that it will bee best, both for themselves in particular, and for all the Confederates in common, that their Citie should bee walled. For that in strength vnequall, men cannot alike and equally aduise for the common benefit of Greece. Therefore (said hee) eyther must all the B Confederate Cities bee vnwalled, or you must not thinke amisse of what is done by vs. The Lacedæmonians, when they heard him, though they made no shew of being angry with the Athenians, (for they had not sent their Ambassadours to forbid them, but by way of aduice, to admonish them not to build the Wall; besides they bare them affection, their for their courage shewine against the Medes) yet they were inwardly offended, because they misied of their will. And the Ambassadours returned home of either side, without complaint. Thus the Athenians quickly raised C their Wall, the structure of selfe making manifest the haste vsed in the building. For the Foundation consisteth of stones of all sorts; and those in some places vnwrought, and as they were brought to the place. Many Pillars also taken from Sepulchers, and polished Stones were piled together amongst the rest. And the circuit of the City was let every way further out, and therefore halting, they took like what ouer came next to hand. Themistocles like wise perswaded them to build vp the rest of \* Pei-neus, (for it was begun in the yere that himselfe was \* Archon of Athens) as concerning the place, both beautifull, in that it had three naturall Hauens; and that being now D Sea-men, it would very much conduce to the enlargement of their power. For hee was indeede the first man that taught them, that they ought to take vpon them the command of the Sea; and withall presently helped them in the obtaining it. By his counsell also it was, that they built the Wall not that breadth about Piræus, which is now as be seene, but two Cairns carrying stones, met, and passed vpon it one by another. And yet within E the City there was neither Wall nor Towers, (to fill it vp) but it was made all of great stones, set square and bound together

The Lacedæmonians dislike their dislike.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

\* The Wall of Athens made of Chappell & Tombs. Cæc. Nepos, in vita Themistoclis.

\* This was before a Village, and now made the Athenian Assembly. \* The Governour of the Citie for that yere.

Themistocles author to the Athenians of assuming the dominion of the Sea, and of fortifying Piræus.



The reason why Themistocles was most addicted to affairs by Sea.

Pausanias sent General of the Greeks, to pursue the reliques of the Persian Warre.

\* Constantinople.

Pausanias growing insolent, the Ionians offended, desired the protection of the Athenians.

\* The Ionians were all Colonies of the people of Athens

Pausanias sent for home, to answer to certaine accusations.

In his absence, the Grecians give the Athenians the leading of them.

together with Iron and Lead. But for height, it was raised A but to the halfe at the most of what he had intended. For hee would haue had it able to hold out the Enemy, both by the height and breadth; and that a few, and the lesse seruiceable men might haue sufficed to defend it, and the rest haue serued in the Nauie. For principally hee was addicted to the Sea, because (as I thinke) he had obserued, that the Forces of the King had easier access to invade them by Sea, then by Land; and thought that Piræus was more profitable then the City aboue. And oftentimes hee would exhort the Athenians, that in case they B were oppressed by Land, they should goe downe thither, and with their Gallies, make resistance against what Enemy foeuer. Thus the Athenians built their Wallles, and fitted themselves in other kinds, immediately vpon the departure of the Persians.

In the meane time was Pausanias the sonne of Cleombrotus, sent from Lacedæmon, Commander of the Grecians, with twenty Gallies out of Peloponnesus. With which went also 30. Saile of Athens, besides a multitude of other Confederates, and making Warre on Cyprus, subdued the greatest C part of the same: and afterwards, vnder the same Commander, came before \* Byzantium, which they besieged, and wonne.

But Pausanias being now growne insolent, both the rest of the Grecians, and specially the Ionians, who had newly recovered their liberty from the King, offended with him, came vnto the Athenians, and requested them for \* consanguinities sake to become their Leaders, and to protect them from the violence of Pausanias. The Athenians accepting the motion, applyed themselves both to the defence of these, and also to the ordering of the rest of the D affaires there, in such sort as it should seeme best vnto themselves. In the meane time the Lacedæmonians sent for Pausanias home, to examine him of such things as they had heard against him. For great crimes had bene laid, to his charge by the Grecians that came from thence; and his gouernment was rather an imitation of Tyranny, then a Command in Warre. And it was his hap to, be called home at the same time, that the Confederates, all but the Souldiers of Peloponnesus, out of hatred to him, had turned E to the Athenians. When he came to Lacedæmon, though he

A he were censured for some wrongs done to private men, yet of the greatest matters he was acquit, especially of Medizing, the which seemed to be the most euident of all. Him therefore they sent General, to be more, but Pausanias and some others with him, with no great Army; whose commands the Confederates refused; and they finding that, went their wayes likewise. And often that the Lacedæmonians signified no more; because they feared lest such as went out, would please the world for the State, (as they had scene by Pausanias,) and also because they desired to be rich of the Persian Warre; conceiuing the Athenians to be sufficient Leaders, and at that time, their friends: all this B

When the Athenians had thus gotten the Command, by the Confederates owne accord, for the hatred they bare to Pausanias, they then set downe an order, which Cities should contribute money for this Warre against the Lacedæmonians, and which Gallies. For they pretended to repaire the injuries they had suffered by laying waste the Territories of the King. And then first came vp amongst the Athenians, the Office of \* Treasurer of Greece, who were retained C use of the \* Tribute (for they called this money tribute). And the first Tribute that was taken, came to 6000 Talents. The Treasure was at \* Delos, and their meetings were kept there; in the \* Temple of Minerva.

Now vsing their authority at first in such manner, that the Confederates liued vnder their owne Lawes, and were admitted to Common Councils, by the Warre and administration of the common affairs of Greece, from the Persian War to this, what against the Lacedæmonians, what against the downe D innovating Confederates, and what against such of the Peloponnesians as chanced alwaies in euery Warre, to fall in, they effected those great matters following; which also I haue therefore written, both because this place hath bene pretermitted by all that haue written before me, (if or they haue either compiled the Grecian acts before the invasion of the Persians, or that invasion only.) Of which number is Hellanicus, who hath also touched them in his Antique Historie, but briefly, and without exact mention of the times; and also because they carry with them a demonstration of how the Athenian Empire grew up, but I omit which E

And first, vnder the Conduct of Cimon, the sonne of Miltiades; they tooke Bion, vpon the River Argyreus, from the

H 2

Medes

Pausanias acquit, but sent General no more.

The Grecians refuse the command of Pausanias, sent from Sparta to be their General.

in the case of the Athenians, and the Confederates, for the sustaining of the Warre.

\* Constantinople.

\* 6000. The original of the Tribute paid to the Athenians, 86150. pound sterling. \* Not at Athens, because they would not seeme to challenge a property in that money, of Apollo.

The History of the time betweene the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, is continued by other Writers, briefly delivered by Thucydides.

The steps of the Athenians toward their great Dominion. The Athenians take Eion.



And Strym.

And Carystus.

And Nexus; their Confederate, now Nisus.

The cause of revolts from the Athenians.

The Athenians defeat the Persians, upon the River of Eurymedon.

They warre on Thasus.

*Medes* by siege, and carried away the Inhabitants Captiues. Then the Ile *Scyros*, in the *Aegean* Sea, inhabited by the *Dolopes*, the Inhabitants whereof they also carried away Captiues, and planted therein a Colony of their owne. Likewise they made Warre on the *Caristians*, (alone, without the rest of the *Eubaeans*) and those also after a time, came in by composition. After this they warred on the revolted *Naxians*, and brought them in by siege. And this was the first Confederate Citie, which contrary to the Ordinance, they deprived of their free estate; though afterwards, as it came to any of their turnes, they did the like by the rest.

Amongst other causes of revolts, the principall was their failing to bring in their Tribute, and Gallies; and their refusing (when they did so) to follow the Warres. For the *Athenians* exacted strictly, and were grievous to them, by imposing a necessity of toyle, which they were neither accustomed nor willing to vndergoe. They were also otherwise not so gentle in their government as they had beene, nor followed the Warre vpon equall termes, and could easily bring backe to their subiection, such as should revolt. And of this the Confederates themselves were the causes: for through this refusal to accompany the Armie, the most of them, to the end they might stay at home, were ordered to excuse their Gallies with Money, as much as it came to. By which meanes, the Navy of the *Athenians* was increased at the cost of their Confederates, and themselves vnprovided, and without meanes to make Warre, in case they should revolt.

After this, it came to passe, that the *Athenians* and their Confederates, fought against the *Medes*, both by Land and by Water, vpon the Riuer of *Eurymedon*, in *Pamphylia*; and in one and the same day, the *Athenians* had Victory in both; and tooke or sunke all the *Phenician* Fleet, to the number of 200. Gallies. After this againe happened the revolt of *Thasus*, vpon a difference about the places of Trade, and about the Mines they possessed in the opposite parts of *Thrace*. And the *Athenians* going thither with their Fleet, ouerthrew them in a Battell at Sea, and landed in the Island; But hauing about the same time sent 10000. of their owne and of their Confederates people, into the Riuer of *Strymon*, for a Colonie to be planted in a place

A place called then the *Nine-ways*, now *Amphipolis*. They wonne the said *Nine-ways*, which was held by the *Eidonians*; but advancing farther; towards the heart of the Countrey of *Thrace*; they were defeated at *Drabescus*, a Citie of the *Eidonians*, by the whole power of the *Thracians*; that were Enemies to this new-built Towne of the *Nine-ways*. The *Thasians* in the meane time, being overcome in diuers Battels, and besieged, sought ayde of the *Lacedaemonians*, and entreated them to diuert the Enemy by an invasion of *Attica*: which, vnkowne to the *Athenians*, they promised to doe, and also had done it, but by an Earthquake that then happened, they were hindred. In which Earth-quake, their \* *Helotes*, and of neighbouring Townes the *Thuriata*, and *Aethians*, revolted, and seized on *Ithome*. Most of these *Helotes* were the posterity of the ancient *Messenians*, brought into seruitude in former times; where by also it came to passe, that they were called all *Messenians*. Against these had the *Lacedaemonians* a Warre now at *Ithome*. The *Thasians*, in the third yeere of the Siege, rendered themselves to the *Athenians*, vpon condition to raise their Walles; to deliuer vpp their Gallies; to pay both the money behinde, and for the future, as much as they were wont, and to quit both the Mines and the Continent. The *Lacedaemonians*, when the Warre against those in *Ithome* grew long; amongst other their Confederates, sent for aide to the *Athenians*, who also came with no small Forces, vnder the command of *Cimon*. They were sent for principally, for their reputation in murall assaults, the long continuance of the Siege, seeming to require men of ability in that kinde; whereby they might perhaps haue gotten the place by force. And vpon this Iourney, grew the first manifest dissension betwene the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Athenians*. For the *Lacedaemonians*, when they could not take the place by assault, fearing lest the audacious and inuolating humour of the *Athenians*, whom withall they esteemed of a \* contrary Race, might, at the perswasion of those in *Ithome*, cause some alteration, if they staid, dismissed them alone of all the Confederates, not discouering their ialousie, but alledging, that they had no further need of their Seruice. But the *Athenians* perceiving that they were not sent away vpon good cause, but onely as men suspected, made it a heynous matter; and conceiuing that they had better de-

They take *Amphipolis*, and afterwards receive a great overthrow at *Drabescus* in *Thrace*.

The *Lacedaemonians* intending to invade *Attica*, are hindred by an Earthquake.

\* The *Lacedaemonians* employed the captiues taken in *Thrace*, and their posterity, to husbandry, and other souldierly workes, which was all done by the kind of men, and they were called by them *Helotes*, because the first of them so employed, were captiues of the Towne of *Helos* in *Laconia*.

*Thasus* rendered to the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedaemonians* send for ayde to the *Athenians*, in their Warre against *Ithome*.

The first dissension betwene the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Athenians*.

\* The *Lacedaemonians* were *Dorians*, the *Athenians*, *Ionians*.

The *Athenians* being had in suspicion by the *Lacedaemonians*, ioyne with the *Argues*.

H 3

serued



serued at the Lacedæmonians hands, as soone as they were gone, left the League which they had made with the Lacedæmonians against the Persian; and became Confederates with their Enemies the Argives; and then both Argives and Atheniansooke the same Oath, and made the same League with the Thessalians.

Those in Ithome, when they could no longer hold out, in the tenth yeere of the Siege, rendered the place to the Lacedæmonians, vpon condition of *security to depart out of Peloponnesus, and that they should no more returne; and whoeuer should bee taken returning, to bee the Slave of him that should take him.* For the Lacedæmonians had before beene warranted by a certaine answer of the Pythian Oracle, *to let goe the Suppliant of Iupiter Ithomeites.* So they came forth, they, and their Wiues, and their Children. And the Athenians, for hatred they bore to the Lacedæmonians, receiued them, and put them into \* Naupactiu, which Citie they had lately taken from the Locrians of Ozole. The Megareans also revolted from the Lacedæmonians, and came to the League of the Athenians, because they were holden downe by the Corinthians, with a Warre about the limits of their Territories.

Wherevpon Megara and Pegæ were put into the hands of the Athenians, who built for the Megareans, the long Walles, from the Citie to \* Nisea, and maintained them with a Garrison of their owne. And from hence it was chiefly, that the vehement hatred grew of the Corinthians against the Athenians. Moreouer, Inarus, the sonne of Psammetticus, an African, King of the Africans that confine on Egypt, making Warre from Marea, aboue Pharus, caused the greatest part of Egypt to rebell against the King Artaxerxes; and when hee had taken the gouernment of them

vpon himselfe, hee brought in the Athenians to assitt him; who chancing to be then warring on Cypri, with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, left Cypri, and went to him. And going from the Sea, vp the Riuer of Nilus, after they had made themselves Masters of the Riuer, and of two parts of the Citie of \* Memphis, assaulted the third part, called the White-Wall. Within were of the Medes and Persians, such as had escaped, and of the Egyptians, such as had not revolted amongst the rest. The Athenians came also with a Fleet to Haliar, and landing

their Souldiers, fought by Land with the Corinthians

Epidaur-

The Helotes in Ithome, after ten yeeres siege, compounded, and quit Peloponnesus.

The Athenians receiue them, and place them in Naupactiu.

\* Lepanto. Megara revolteth from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

\* The Haven and Arsenal of Megara.

The Athenians send an Armie into Egypt, to ayde the Rebels against the King of Persia.

\* Cairo.

The Athenians fight by Sea, against the Corinthians and Epidaurians.

A Epidaurians, and the Corinthians had the Victory. After this, the Athenians fought by Sea against the Fleet of the Peloponnesians at \* Cecryphalea, and the Athenians had the Victory. After this againe, the Warre being on foot of the Athenians, against the Aegineta, a great Battell was fought betweene them by Sea, vpon the Coast of Aegina, the Confederates of both sides being at the same; in which the Athenians had the Victory; and hauing taken 70. Gallies, landed their Armie, and besieged the Citie, vnder the Conduct of Leocrates, the sonne of Strabus. After this, the

B Peloponnesians desiring to ayde the Aegineta, sent ouer into Aegina it selfe three hundred men of Armes, of the same that had before ayded the Corinthians and Epidaurians; and with other Forces, seized on the top of \* Geranea. And the Corinthians, and their Confederates, came downe from thence, into the Territory of Megara, supposing that the Athenians, hauing much of their Armie absent in Aegina, and in Egypt, would be vnable to ayde the Megareans, or if they did, would be forced to rise from before Aegina. But the Athenians stirred not from Aegina, but those that remained at Athens, both yong and old, vnder the conduct of Myronides, went to Megara; and after they had fought with doubtfull victory, they parted asunder againe, with an opinion in both sides, not to haue had the worke in the Action. And the Athenians (who notwithstanding had rather the better) when the Corinthians were gone away, erected a Trophie. But the Corinthians hauing beene reviled at their returne, by the ancient men of the Citie, about 12.

dayes after, came againe prepared, and set vpon their Trophie likewise, as if the Victorie had beene theirs. Heere vpon the Athenians falling out of Megara, with a huge shout, both slew those that were setting vp the Trophie, and charging the rest, got the victory. The Corinthians being overcome, went their way; but a good part of them, being hard followed, and misising their way, lighted into the inclosed ground of a priuate man, which fenced with a great Ditch, had no passage through: which the Athenians perceiving, opposed them at the place by which they entred, with their men of Armes, and encompassing the ground with their light-armed Souldiers, killed those that

E were entred, with stones. This was a great losse to the Corinthians; but the rest of their Armie got home againe.

About

After that, against the Peloponnesians.

\* Some stand about Peloponnesus, whose situation is not now knowne. Then against the Aegineta.

The Corinthians ayde Aegina.

\* A ridge of a Hill lying before the entrance into the Athenians.

The Corinthians receiue a great losse in Megara.



The Athenians build their long Wall, from both sides of the City to the Sea.

\* The Doreans, the Mother Region of the Lacedæmonians, inhabited a little Country on the North side of Phocis, called Doris, and Terapoliis, from the four Cities is contained; of which three here mentioned were three, and the fourth was Pindus.

\* Gulfe of Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians fight with the Athenians at Tanagra.

The Athenians overthrow the Boeotians at Oenophyta (that is to say, the Vineyards) and subdue Boeotia and Phocis.

About this time the Athenians began the building of their long Wall, from the City down to the Sea, the one reaching to the Haven called Phaleron, the other to Peiræus. The Phocæans also making Warre vpon Boeum, Cynitium, and Erineus, Townes that belonged to the \* Doreans, of whom the Lacedæmonians are descended, and having taken one of them, The Lacedæmonians, vnder the conduct of Nicomedes, the sonne of Cleombrotus, in the place of Pleistolaetes, sonne of King Pausanias, who was yet in minority, sent vnto the ayde of the Doreans, 1500. men of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates tenne thousand. B And when they had forced the Phocæans vpon composition to surrender the Towne they had taken, they went their wayes againe. Now, if they would goe home by Sea through the \* Crissean Gulfe, the Athenians going about with their Fleet, would bee ready to stop them; and to passe ouer Geranea, they thought vn safe, because the Athenians had in their hands Megara, and Pegæ: For Geranea was not onely a difficult passage of it selfe, but was also alwayes guarded by the Athenians. They thought good therefore to stay amongst the Boeotians, and to consider which way they might most safely goe through. Whilest they were there, there wanted not some Athenians, that priuily solicited them to come to the City, hoping to haue put the people out of government, and to haue demolished the long Wall, then in building. But the Athenians, with the whole power of their City, and 1000. Argines; and other Confederates, as they could be gotten together, in all 14000. men, went out to meet them: for there was suspicion that they came thither to depose the Democracie. There also came to the Athenians certaine Horsemen out of Thessaly, which in the Battell turned to the Lacedæmonians. They fought at Tanagra of Boeotia, and the Lacedæmonians had the Victory, but the slaughter was great on both sides. Then the Lacedæmonians entring into the Territories of Megara, and cutting downe the Woods before them, returned home by the way of Geranea and the Isthmus. Vpon the two and sixtieth day after this Battell, the Athenians, vnder the conduct of Myronides, made a Journey against the Boeotians, and overthrow them at Oenophyta, and brought the Territories of Boeotia and Phocis vnder their obedience; and withall razed

A zed the Wall of Tanagra, and tooke of the wealthiest of the Locrians of Opus, 100. Hostages; and finished also at the same time, their long Wall, at home. After this, Aegina also yeelded to the Athenians, on these conditions, That they should haue their Wall pulled downe, and should deliuer vpp their Gallies, and pay their taxed tribute for the time to come. Also the Athenians made a Voyage about Peloponnesus, wherein they burnt the Arsenall of the Lacedæmonians Nauie, tooke \* Chalcis, a City of the Corinthians; and landing their Forces in Sycionia, ouercame in fight those that made head against them. All this while the Athenians stayed still in Egypt, and saw much variety of Warre. First the Athenians were Masters of Egypt. And the King of Persia sent one Megabazus, a Persian, with money to Lacedæmon, to procure the Peloponnesians to invade Attica, and by that meanes to draw the Athenians out of Egypt. But when this tooke no effect, and money was spent to no purpose, Megabazus returned with the money he had left, into Asia. And then was Megabazus the sonne of Zopirus, a Persian, sent into Egypt, with great Forces, and comming in by Land, ouerthrew the Egyptians and their Confederates in a Battell, draue the Grecians out of Memphis, and finally inclosed them in the Ile of Prosopis; There hee besieged them a yeere and a halfe, till such time as hauing drained the Channell, and turned the Water another way, he made their Gallies lye aground, and the Iland for the most part Continent, and so came ouer, and wonne the Iland with Land-Souldiers. Thus was the Armie of the Grecians lost, after sixe yeeres Warre; and few of many passing through Africa, saued themselues in Cyrene: but the most perished. So Egypt returned to the obedience of the King, except onely Amyrtaeus, that reigned in the Fennes, for him they could not bring in, both because the Fennes are great, and the people of the Fennes, of all the Egyptians the most warlike. But Inarus, King of the Africans, and Author of all this stirre in Egypt, was taken by treason, and crucified. The Athenians moreouer had sent fifty Gallies more into Egypt, for a supply of those that were there already; which putting in at Mendesium, one of the mouthes of Nilus, knew nothing of what had happened to the rest: and being assaulted from the Land by the Armie, and from the Sea by the Phenician Fleet, lost the greatest

Aegina yeelded to the Athenians.

The Athenians sayle round Peloponnesus, and waste it.

\* A City of Corinthians, nere the River Tuennas.

The end of the Athenians Forces in Egypt.

A supply of Athenians going to Egypt, defeated by the forces of the King.



greatest part of their Gallies, and escaped home againe **A** with the lesser part. Thus ended the great expedition of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates into *Aegypt*.

Also *Orestes* the sonne of *Echecraides*, King of the *Thessalians*, driven out of *Thessaly*, perswaded the *Athenians* to restore him: And the *Athenians*, taking with them the *Bœotians* and *Phœceans*, their Confederates, made Warre against *Pharsalus*, a Citie of *Thessaly*; and were Masters of the Field, as farre as they strayed not from the Armie, (for the *Thessalian* Horsemen kept them from straggling) but could not winne the Citie, nor yet performe any thing else **B** of what they came for, but came backe againe without effect, and brought *Orestes* with them. Not long after this, a thousand *Athenians* went aboard the Gallies that lay at *Pegæ*, (for *Pegæ* was in the hands of the *Athenians*) vnder the command of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, and sayled into *Sicyonia*, and landing, put to flight such of the *Sicyonians* as made head; and then presently tooke vp forces in *Achaia*; and putting ouer, made Warre on *Oenias*, a Citie of *Acarnania*, which they besieged; neuertheless they took it not, but returned home.

Three yeeres after this, was a Truce made betweene the *Peloponnesians* and *Athenians* for five yeeres; and the *Athenians* gaue ouer the *Grecian* Warre, and with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, vnder the conduct of *Cimon*, made Warre on *Cypru*. Of these, there went 60. Sayle into *Aegypt*, sent for by *Amyrtæus*, that reigned in the Fennes, and the rest lay at the Siege of *Citium*. But *Cimon* there dying, and a Famine arising in the Armie, they left *Citium*, and when they had passed *Salamine* in *Cypru*, fought at once both by Sea and Land, against the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, & *Cilicians* and hauing gotten victory in both, returned home, and with them the rest of their Fleet, now come backe from *Aegypt*. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* tooke in hand the Warre, called the Holy Warre, and hauing wonne the Temple at *Delpi*, deliuered the possession thereof to the *Delpbians*. But the *Athenians* afterward, when the *Lacedæmonians* were gone, came with their Armie, and regaining it, deliuered the possession to the *Phœceans*. Some space of time after this, the Outlawes of *Bœotia*, being seized of *Orchomenus* and *Cheronea*, and certaine other places of *Bœotia*, the *Athenians* made **E** Warre

The *Athenians* invade *Thessaly*.

\* Famous for the Battell betweene Iul. Cæsar, and Cn. Pompeius.

The *Athenians* vnder *Pericles* besiege *Oenias*.

Truce for 5. yeeres betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.

The *Athenians* warre on *Cypru*.

*Cimon* dyeth.

The Holy Warre.

**A** Warre vpon those places, being their Enemies, with a thousand men of Armes of their owne, and as many of their Confederates as severally came in, vnder the conduct of *Tolmidas*, the sonne of *Tolmaeus*. And when they had taken *Cheronea*, they carried away the Inhabitants Captiues, and leauing a Garrison in the Citie, departed. In their returne, those Outlawes that were in *Orchomenus*, together with the *Locrians* of *Opus*, and the *Eubœan* Outlawes, and others of the same Faction, set vpon them at *Coronea*, and ouercomming the *Athenians* in Battell, some they slew,

**B** and some they tooke alieue. Wherevpon the *Athenians* relinquished all *Bœotia*, and made peace, with condition to haue their Prisoners released. So the Outlawes and the rest, returned, and liued againe vnder their owne Lawes. Not long after, revolted *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*; and when *Pericles* had already passed ouer into it with the *Athenian* Armie, there was brought him newes, that *Megara* was likewise revolted, and that the *Peloponnesians* were about to invade *Attica*, and that the *Megareans* had slaine the *Athenian* Garrison, except onely such as fled into *Nisæa*.

**C** Now the *Megareans*, when they revolted, had gotten to their ayd, the *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Sicyonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* forthwith withdrew his Armie from *Eubœa*; and the *Lacedæmonians* afterward brake into *Attica*, and wasted the Countrey about *Eleusine*, and *Thriasium*, vnder the conduct of *Pleistoonax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and came no further on, but so went away. After which the *Athenians* passed againe into *Eubœa*, and totally subdued it; the *Hæstians* they put quite out, taking their Territory into their owne hands; but ordered the rest of

**D** *Eubœa*, according to composition made. Being returned from *Eubœa*, within a while after, they made a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, for thirty yeeres, & rendred *Nisæa*, *Achaia*, *Pegæ*, and *Træzene*, (for these places the *Athenians* held of theirs) to the *Peloponnesians*. In the sixth yeere of this Peace, fell out the Warre betweene the *Samians* and *Milesians*, concerning *Priene*; and the *Milesians* being put to the worfe, came to *Athens*, and exclaimed against the *Samians*; wherein also certaine private men of *Samos* it selfe, tooke part with the *Milesians*, out of desire **E** to alter the forme of Government. Wherevpon the *Athenians* went to *Samos* with a Fleet of forty Gallies, and set

The *Athenians* recouer *Cheronea*, taken by the *Bœotian* Outlawes.

The *Athenians* defeated at *Coronea*, by the Outlawes, Iose *Eubœa*.

*Eubœa* revolteth from the *Athenians*.

*Megara* revolteth.

*Eubœa* subdued by the *Athenians*.

Peace for 30. yeeres, betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.

The *Athenians* warre vpon *Samos*.



vp the *Democratic* there, and tooke of the *Samians* 50. Boyes, A  
and as many men, for Hostages; which when they had  
put into *Lemnos*, and set a Guard vpon them, they came  
home. But certaine of the *Samians* (for some of them, not  
enduring the popular gouernment, were fled into the Con-  
tinent) entring into a League with the mightiest of them  
in *Samos*, & with *Pissuthnes*, the sonne of *Hyskaspes*, who then  
was Gouvernour of *Sardis*, and leuying about 700. auxiliary  
Souldiers, passed ouer into *Samos* in the euening, and first  
set vpon the popular Faction, and brought most of them  
into their power, and then stealing their Hostages out of B  
*Lemnos*, they reuolted, and deliuered the *Athenian* Guard, and  
such Captaines as were there, into the hands of *Pissuthnes*,  
and withall prepared to make Warre against *Miletus*.  
With these also reuolted the *Byzantines*. The *Athenians*,  
when they heard of these things, sent to *Samos* 60. Gallies,  
16. whereof they did not vse, (for some of them went into  
*Caria*, to obserue the Fleet of the *Phœnicians*, and some to  
fetch in succours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*;) but with the 44.  
that remained, vnder the command of *Pericles* and 9. o-  
thers, fought with 70. Gallies of the *Samians*, (whereof C  
twenty were such as serued for transport of Souldiers,) as  
they were comming all together from *Miletus*; and the *A-*  
*thenians* had the Victory. After this came a supply of  
forty Gallies more from *Athens*, and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*  
25. With these hauing landed their men, they ouerthrew  
the *Samians* in Battell, and besieged the City; which they  
enclosed with a triple Wall, and shut it vp by Sea with  
their Gallies. But *Pericles* taking with him 60. Gallies  
out of the Road, made haste towards *Caunus* and *Caria*,  
vpon intelligence of the comming against them of the *Phœ-* D  
*nician* Fleet. For *Stesagoras* with five Gallies, was already  
gone out of *Samos*, and others out of other places, to meete  
the *Phœnicians*. In the meane time, the *Samians* comming  
suddenly forth with their Fleet, and falling vpon the  
Harbour of the *Athenians*, which was vnfortified, sunke  
the Gallies that kept watch before it, and ouercame the  
rest in fight; insomuch as they became Masters of the  
Sea neere their Coast, for about foureteene dayes together,  
importing and exporting what they pleased. But *Pericles*  
returning, shut them vp againe with his Gallies; and E  
after this, there came to him from *Athens* a supply of forty  
Sayle,

Stalimine.

Sio. Militens.

A Sayle, with \* *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and twenty  
with *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*; and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*,  
forty more. And though the *Samians* fought against  
these a small battell at Sea, yet vnable to hold out any  
longer, in the ninth moneth of the Siege, they rendred the  
Citie vpon composition: Namely, to demolish their Walles; to  
giue Hostages; to deliuer vp their Navy; and to repay the money  
spent by the *Athenians* in the Warre, at dayes appointed. And  
the *Byzantines* also yellected, with condition to remaine sub-  
iect to them, in the same manner as they had beene before their re-  
volt.

Now not many yeeres after this happened the matters  
before related, of the *Corcyraens* and the *Poidaens*, and what-  
soeuer other interuenient pretext of this Warre. These  
things done by the *Græcians*, one against another, or against  
the *Barbarians*, came to passe all within the compasse of  
fiftie yeeres, at most, from the time of the departure of  
*Xerxes*, to the beginning of this present Warre: In which  
time, the *Athenians* both assured their Gouernment ouer  
the Confederates, and also much enlarged their own parti-  
cular wealth. This the *Lacedæmonians* saw, & opposed not, C  
saue now and then a little, but (as men that had euer before  
beene slow to Warre without necessity, and also for that  
they were hindred sometimes with domestique Warre)  
for the most part of the time stirred not against them;  
till now at last, when the power of the *Athenians* was ad-  
vanced manifestly indeed, and that they had done iniury  
to their Confederates; they could forbear no longer, but  
thought it necessary to goe in hand with the Warre with  
all diligence, and to pull downe, if they could, the *Atheni-* D  
an greatnesse. For which purpose, it was by the *Lacedæ-*  
*monians* themselues decreed. That the Peace was broken;  
and that the *Athenians* had done vniustly. And also hauing  
sent to *Delfhi*, and enquired of *Apollo*, whether they should  
haue the better in the Warre, or not; they receiued (as it  
is reported) this Answer: That if they warred with their  
whole power, they should haue victory; and that himselfe would be  
on their side, both called and vncalled.

Now when they had assembled their Confederates again,  
they were to put it to the question amongst them, Whether  
E they should make Warre, or not. And the Ambassadors of the  
seuerall Confederates comming in, and the Councell set,

I 3

aswell

\* Not the Writer of the History.

Samos yielded to the Athenians.

The businesse about Corcyra and Poida, before related.

Betwene the Persian and Peloponnesian Warre, fifty yeeres.

The Oracle consulted by the Lacedæmonians, encouraged them to the Warre.

Consultation of the Peloponnesians in general, whether they should enter into a Warre, or not.



aswell the rest spake what they thought fit, most of them **A** accusing the Athenians of iniurie, and desiring the Warre; as also the Corinthians, who had before intreated the Cities, euery one feuerally to giue their Vote for the Warre, fearing lest *Potidea* should bee lost before helpe came, being then present, spake last of all to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

**C**onfederates, we can no longer *accuse* the Lacedaemonians, **B** they hauing both decreed the Warre themselves, and also assembled vs to doe the same. For it is fit for them who haue the command in a common League, as they are honoured of all before the rest, so also (administring their priuate affaires equally with others) to consider before the rest, of the Common businesse. And though as many of vs as haue already had our turnes with the Athenians, need not bee taught to beware of them; yet it were good for those that dwell *up* in the Land, and not as wee, in places of traffique on the Sea side, to know, that vnlesse they defend those below, they shall with a great deale the more difficulty, both carry to the Sea, the commodities of the **C** seasons, and againe more hardly receive the benefits afforded to the inland Countries from the Sea; and also not to mistake what is now spoken, as if it concerned them not; but to make account, that if they neglect those that dwell by the Sea, the calamity will also reach vnto themselves; and that this consultation concerneth them no lesse then vs, and therefore not to bee afraid to change their Peace for Warre. For though it bee the part of discreet men to be quiet, vnlesse they haue wrong, yet it is the part of valiant men, when they receiue iniury, to passe from Peace into Warre, and after successe, from Warre to come againe to composition: and neither to swell with the good **D** successe of Warre, nor to suffer iniurie, through pleasure taken in the ease of Peace. For hee whom pleasure makes a Coward, if hee sit still, shall quickly lose the sweetnesse of the ease that made him so. And hee that in Warre, is made proud by successe, obserueth not, that his pride is grounded vpon vnfaithfull confidence. For though many things ill aduised, come to good effect, against Enemies worse aduised; yet more, thought well aduised, haue falne but badly out, against well-aduised enemies. For no man comes to execute a thing, with the same confidence hee premeditates it: for we deliuer opinions in safety, whereas in the Action it selfe, wee faile through feare. As for the Warre at this time, wee raise it, both vpon iniuries done

vs,

**A** vs, and vpon other sufficient allegations; and when we haue repaired our wrongs vpon the Athenians, we will also in due time lay it down. An (it is for many reasons probable, that wee shall haue the victory. First, because wee exceed them in number: and next, because when wee goe to any action intimated, we shall be all of one \* fashion. And as for a Name, wherein consisteth the strength of the Athenians, wee shall provide it, both out of euery ones particular wealth, and with the money at Delphi and Olympia. For taking this at interest, wee shall bee able to draw from them their forraigne Mariners, by offer of greater wages: for the Forces of the Athenians, are rather **B** mercenarie then domestike. Whereas our owne power is lesse obnoxious to such accidents, consisting more in the persons of men then in money. And if wee overcome them but in one Battell by Sea, in all probability they are totally vanquished. And if they hold out, wee also shall with longer time apply our selues to Nauall affaires. And when wee shall once haue made our skill equall to theirs, we shall surely overmatch them in courage. For the valour that wee haue by nature, they shall neuer come vnto by teaching; but the experience which they exceed vs in, that must wee attaine vnto by industry. And the money wherewith to bring this to passe, it must be all our parts to contribute. **C** For else it were a hard case, that the Confederates of the Athenians should not sicke to contribute to their owne seruitude; and wee should refuse to lay out our money, to bee reuenged of our enemies, and for our owne preservation, and that the Athenians take not our money from vs, and euen with that doe vs mischief. Wee haue also many other wayes of Warre; as the reuolt of their Confederates, which is the principall meanes of lessening their reuenue; \* the building of Forts in their Territorie, and many other things which one cannot now foresee. For the course of Warre is guided by nothing lesse then by the points of our account, but of it selfe contriueth most things vpon the occasion. **D** Wherein, he that complies with it, with most temper, standeth the firme; and hee that is most passionate, oftene miscarries. Imagine wee had differences each of vs about the limits of our Territorie, with an equall Aduersary; wee must vndergoe them. But now the Athenians are a match for vs all at once, and one Citie after another, too strong for vs. In somuch that vnlesse wee oppose them ioyntly, and euery Nation and City set to it vnanimously, they will overcome vs asunder, without labour. And know, that to be vanquished (though it trouble you to heare it) brings with it no lesse then manifest seruitude: which, but to mention as a doubt, as if so many Cities could suffer vnder one, were very dishonourable to Peloponnesus. For it **E** must then bee thought, that wee are either punished vpon merit, or else that

\* All Land Souldiers, all of one manner of Arming and discipline.

\* Though thus be here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was neuer thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when he reuolted from his Country.



that we endure it out of feare, and so appeare degenerate from our A  
 Ancestours; for by them the liberty of all Greece hath beene resto-  
 red; whereas wee for our parts, assure not so much as our owne; but  
 claiming the reputation of hauing deposed Tyrants in the seuerall Ci-  
 ties, suffer a Tyrant Citie to be established amongst vs. Wherein we  
 know not how we can auoyd one of these three great faults, Foolish-  
 nesse, Cowardise, or Negligence. For certainly, you auoyde  
 them not, by inputing it to that which hath done most men hurt, Con-  
 tempt of the Enemie: for Contempt, because it hath made too  
 many men miscarry, hath gotten the name of Foolishnesse. But to  
 what end should wee obiekt matters past, more then is necessary to the B  
 busines in hand? wee must now by helping the present, labour for  
 the future. For it is peculiar to our Countrey to attaine honour by  
 labour; and though you be now somewhat advanced in honour and po-  
 wer, you must not therefore change the custome; for there is no reason  
 that what was gotten in want, should be lost by wealth. But wee  
 should confidently goe in hand with the Warre, as for many other cau-  
 ses, so also for this, that both the God hath by his Oracle aduised vs  
 thereto, and promised to bee with vs himselfe: and also for that the  
 rest of Greece some for feare, and some for profit, are ready to take  
 our parts. Nor are you they that first breake the Peace, (which C  
 the God, in as much as hee doth encourage vs to the Warre, iudgeth  
 violated by them) but you fight rather in defence of the same. For  
 not hee breaketh the Peace, that taketh reuenge, but hee that is the  
 first invader. So that, Seeing it will be euery way good to make the  
 Warre, and since in common wee perswade the same; and seeing also  
 that both to the Cities, and to primate men, it will bee the most profita-  
 ble course, put off no longer, neither the defence of the Potidæans,  
 who are Doreans, and besieged (which was wont to bee contrary) by  
 Ioniens, nor the recovery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians.  
 For it is a case that admitteth not delay, when they are some of them D  
 already oppressed: and others (after it shall be knowne wee met, and  
 durst not right our selues) shall shortly after vndergoe the like. But  
 thinke (Confederates) you are now at a necessity, and that this  
 is the best advice. And therefore giue your Votes for the Warre, not  
 fearing the present danger, but conetng the long Peace proceeding  
 from it. (For though by warre groweth the confirmation of Peace, yet  
 for loue of ease to refuse the warre, doth not likewise auoyde the  
 danger. But making account, that a Tyrant Citie set vp in Greece,  
 is set up alike ouer all, and reigneth ouer some already, and the rest E  
 in intention, we shall bring it againe into order by the warre; and not  
 onely liue for the time to come out of danger our selues, but also deliuer  
 the

A the already entralled Grecians out of seruitude. Thus said the  
 Corinbians.

The Lacedæmonians, when they had heard the opinion  
 of them all, brought the \* Balles to all the Confederates  
 present, in order, from the greatest State to the least. And  
 the greatest part gaue their Votes for the Warre. Now after  
 the War was decreed, though it were impossible for them  
 to goe in hand with it presently, because they were vnprou-  
 ided, and euery State thought good without delay, seueral-  
 ly to furnish themselues of what was necessary, yet there  
 B passed not fully a yeere in this preparation, before Attica  
 was invaded, and the Warre openly on foot.

I N THE MEANE TIME, they sent Am-  
 bassadours to the Athenians, with certaine Criminations,  
 to the end that if they would giue care to nothing, they  
 might haue all the pretext that could bee, for raising of  
 the Warre. And first the Lacedæmonians, by their Am-  
 bassadours to the Athenians, required them to \* banish such  
 as were vnder curse of the Goddesse Minerva, for Pollution  
 of Sanctuary. Which Pollution was thus. There had  
 C beene one Cylon an Athenian, a man that had beene Victor  
 in the Olympian exercises, of much Nobility and power a-  
 mongst those of old time, and that had married the Daugh-  
 ter of Theagenes, a Megarean, in those dayes Tyrant of Me-  
 gara. To this Cylon, asking counsell at Delphi, the God an-  
 swered, That on the greatest Festiuall day, hee should seaze the  
 Cittadell of Athens. Hee therefore hauing gotten Forces  
 of Theagenes, and perswaded his Friends to the Enterprize,  
 seazed on the Cittadell, at the time of the Olimpick Hol-  
 idayes in Peloponnesus, with intention to take vpon him the  
 D Tyranny: Esteeming the Feast of Iupiter to bee the great-  
 est; and to touch withall on his Particular, in that he had  
 beene Victor in the Olympian exercises. But whether the  
 Feast spoken of, were \* meant to be the greatest in Attica,  
 or in some other place, neither did hee himselfe consider,  
 nor the Oracle make manifest. For there is also amongst  
 the Athenians the Diasia, which is called the greatest  
 Feast of Iupiter Melichius, and is celebrated without the  
 City; wherein, in the confluence of the whole people,  
 many men offered Sacrifices, not of liuing Creatures, but  
 E \* such as was the fashion of the Natiues of the place. But  
 hee, supposing hee had rightly vnderstood the Oracle, laid  
 K hand

The Warre decreed by  
 all the Confederates.  
 \* Balles for votes. The fa-  
 shion is, each man in  
 some place, to present a Ball or  
 Stone, and a little Ball, of flint  
 or beane, to him that gaue his  
 Vote, to the end hee might  
 put his Ball into the part of  
 the Urn, that was for affir-  
 mation or negation, as he saw  
 cause.

The Lacedæmonians send  
 Ambassadors to the Athe-  
 nians, about expiation of  
 Sacrileges, only to pick  
 better quarrels for the  
 Warre.

\* Excommunication exten-  
 ding also to posterity.

\* The Oracles were alwayes  
 obscure, that custom might be  
 found to salue their credidit  
 whether they were the impos-  
 sure of the Deuill, or of men,  
 which is the more likely, they  
 had no pretension, nor secure  
 wise coniecture of the future.

\* Images of liuing creatures,  
 made of iustie.



hand to the enterprife; and when the *Athenians* heard of A  
it, they came with all their Forces out of the Fields, and  
lying before the Cittadell, besieged it. But the time  
growing long, the *Athenians* wearied with the Siege, went  
most of them away, and left both the Guard of the Cit-  
tadell, and the whole businesse to the nine *Archontes*,  
with absolute authority to order the same, as to them  
it should seeme good. For at that time, most of the af-  
faires of the Common-weale were administred by those  
9. *Archontes*. Now those that were besieged with *Cylon*,  
were for want both of victuall and Water, in very euill e- B  
state; and therefore *Cylon*, and a Brother of his, fled priu-  
ly out; but the rest, when they were pressed, and some of  
them dead with famine, sate downe as *suppliants*, by the  
\* Altar that is in the Cittadell: And the *Athenians*, to  
whose charge was committed the guard of the place, ray-  
sing them, vpon promise to doe them no harme, put them  
all to the Sword. \* Also they had put to death some of  
those that had taken Sanctuary at the Altars of the \* *Sa-  
uere Goddesses*, as they were going away. And from this,  
the *Athenians*, both themselves and their posterity, were C  
called \* *accursed* and *acriegion persons*. Heereupon the *A-  
thenians* banished those that were vnder the curse: and *Cle-  
omenes*, a *Lacedemonian*, together with the *Athenians*, in a  
Sedition banished them afterwards againe: and not onely  
so, but dis-enterred and cast forth the bodies of such of  
them as were dead. Neuertheless there returned of them  
afterwards againe; and there are of their race in the Citie  
vnto this day. This Pollution therefore the *Lacedemonians*  
required them to purge their Citie of. Principally for-  
sooth, as taking part with the Gods; but knowing with- D  
all, that *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, was by the Mo-  
thers side one of that Race. For they thought, if *Pericles*  
were banished, the *Athenians* would the more easily bee  
brought to yeeld to their desire. Neuertheless, they hop-  
ed not so much, that hee should bee banished, as to bring  
him into the enuie of the Citie, as if the misfortune of  
him, were in part the cause of the Warre. For being the  
most powerfull of his time, and hauing the sway of the  
State, hee was in all things opposit to the *Lacedemonians*,  
not suffering the *Athenians* to giue them the least way, but E  
inticing them to the Warre.

Contrariwise,

\* The Guardians of Rules  
of the City.

\* of Minerva.

\* The Lacedemonians  
that in the request of Cylon  
invaded Athens, and were  
defeated, some of them being  
cut off the City, could not get  
away, but sate at those Altars,  
and were dismissed safe, but  
some of them flaine as they  
went home.  
\* *Athenians*, *Eumenides*,  
\* *Pericles*, & *Archontes*.\* *Pericles* alwayes adhered  
to the Lacedemonians.

A Contrariwise the *Athenians* required the *Lacedemonians* to  
banish such as were guilty of breach of Sanctuary at *Tæ-  
narus*. For the *Lacedemonians*, when they had caused their  
*Helests*, *Suppliants* in the Temple of *Neptune* at *Tanarus*,  
to forsake Sanctuary, slew them. For which cause,  
they themselves thinke it was, that the great Earthquake  
happened afterwards at *Sparta*.

Also they required them to purge their Citie of the pol-  
lution of Sanctuary, in the Temple of *Pallas Chalcidæa*, which  
was thus: After that *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* was recal-  
B led by the *Spartans* from his charge in *Hellaspont*, and hauing  
bin called in question by them, was absolved, though hee  
was no more sent abroad by the State, yet hee went againe  
into *Hellaspont*, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, as a priuate man,  
without leaue of the *Lacedemonians*, to the *Grecian* Warre,  
as hee gaue out, but in truth to negotiate with the King,  
as hee had before begunne, aspiring to the Principality of  
*Greece*. Now the benefit that hee had laid vp with the  
King, and the beginning of the whole businesse, was at  
first from this: When after his returne from *Cyprus* he had  
C taken *Byzantium*, when he was there the first time, (which  
being holden by the *Aodes*, there were taken in it, some  
nere to the King, and of his kindred) yknowne to the  
rest of the Confederates, hee sent vnto the King those nere  
ones of his which hee had taken, and gaue out, they were  
runne away. This hee practised with one *Gongylus*, an  
*Eretrian*, to whose charge hee had committed both the  
Towne of *Byzantium*, and the Prisoners. Also he sent Let-  
ters vnto him, which *Gongylus* carried, wherein, as was  
afterwards knowne, was thus written.

D The Letter of *Pausanias* to the King.

PAVSANIAS, Generall of the Spartans, being de-  
sirous to doe thee a courtesie, sendeth backe vnto thee these  
men, whom hee hath by Armes taken prisoners: And I haue  
a purpose, if the same seeme also good vnto thee, to take thy Daugh-  
ter in marriage, and to bring *Sparta* and the rest of *Greece*, into  
thy subiection. These things I account my selfe able to bring to passe,  
if I may communicate my counsels with thee. If therefore any of  
E these things doe like thee, send some trusty man to the Sea side, by  
whose mediation wee may confere together.

K 2

These

The Athenians require the  
*Lacedemonians* to expiate  
the violation of Sanctua-  
ry also on their parts.The occasion and manner  
of the death of *Pausanias*  
in the Temple of *Iupiter*  
*Chalcidæa*.*Pausanias* practiseth with  
the King of *Persea*, against  
the State of *Greece*.



These were the Contents of the Writing. *Xerxes* being pleased with the Letter, sends away *Artabazus* the sonne of *Pharnaces*, to the Sea side, with commandement to take the gouernment of the Prouince of *Dacylia*, and to dismisse *Megabates*, that was Gouernour there before: and withall, giues him a Letter to *Pausanias*, which hee commanded him to send ouer to him with speed to *Byzantium*, and to shew him the Seale, and well and faithfully to performe, whatsoeuer in his affaires, he should by *Pausanias* be appointed to doe. *Artabazus*, after hee arriued, hauing in other things done as hee was commanded, sent ouer the Letter, wherein was written this answer.

### The Letter of *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*.

**T**HUS saith King *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*: For the men which thou hast saued, and sent ouer the Sea vnto mee, from *Byzantium*, thy benefit is laid vpon in our House, indeleibly registered for euer: And I like also of what thou hast propounded: And let neither night nor day make thee remisse in the performance of what thou hast promised vnto mee. Neither bee thou hindered by the expence of Gold and Silver, or multitude of Souldiers requisite, whithersoener it bee needfull to haue them come: But with *Artabazus*, a good man, whom I haue sent vnto thee, doe boldly both mine and thine owne business; as shall bee most fit, for the dignity and honour of vs both.

*Pausanias* hauing receiued these Letters, whereas he was before in great authority, for his conduct at *Plataea*, became now many degrees more eleuated; and endured no more to liue after the accustomed manner of his Countrey, but went appparelled at *Byzantium*, after the fashion of *Persia*; and when hee went through *Thrace*, had a Guard of *Medes* and *Egyptians*, and his Table likewise after the *Persian* manner. Nor was hee able to conceale his purpose, but in trifles made apparant before-hand, the greater matters hee had conceiued of the future. Hee became moreouer difficult of acceffe, and would bee in such cholericke pasions toward all men indifferently, that no man might indure to approach him; which was also none of the least causes why the Confederates turned from him to the *Athenians*. When the *Lacedaemonians* heard of it, they called him

*Pausanias* groweth proud vpon the receipt of these Letters.

A him home the first time. And when being gone out the second time without their command, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, it appeared that hee continued still in the same practices; and after hee was forced out of *Byzantium* by siege of the *Athenians*, returned not to *Sparta*, but newes came, that hee had seated himselfe at *Colona*, in the Countrey of *Troy*, practising still with the *Barbarians*, and making his abode there for no good purpose: Then the *Ephori* forbore no longer, but sent vnto him a publique Officer, with the \* *Scytale*, commanding him not to depart from the Officer; and in case hee refused, denounced Warre against him. But he, desiring as much as he could to decline suspicion, and beleuing that with money hee should bee able to discharge himselfe of his accusations, returned vnto *Sparta* the second time. And first he was by the *Ephori* committed to ward; (for the *Ephori* haue power to doe this to their King,) but afterwards procuring his enlargement, hee came forth, and exhibited himselfe to Iustice, against such as had any thing to alledge against him. And though the *Spartans* had against him no manifest prooffe, neither his enemies, nor the whole Citie, whereupon to proceed to the punishment of a man, both of the Race of their Kings, and at that present in great authority: for *Plisarchus* the Sonne of *Leonidas* being King, and as yet in minority, *Pausanias*, who was his Cousin german, had the tuition of him: yet by his licentious behauiour, and affectation of the *Barbarian* customes, hee gaue much cause of suspicion, that hee meant not to liue in the equality of the present State. They considered also, that hee differed in manner of life, from the discipline established: amongst other things, by this, that vpon the Tripode at *Delphi*, which the *Grecians* had dedicated, as the best of the spoile of the *Medes*, hee had caused to bee inscribed of himselfe in particular, this Elegiaque Verse:

PAUSANIAS, Greeke Generall,  
Hauing the Medes defeated,  
To Phœbus in record thereof,  
Thi gift hath consecrated.

\* *Scytale*, properly a Staffe; here, a name of Letter, used by the *Lacedaemonians*, in this manner; they had two round staves of one bignesse, whereof the State kept one, and the man whom they employed about kept the other; and when they would write, they wrapped about it a sheet of parchment, and writing thereon written, stole it off againe, and sent only that string, which wrapped likewise about the other staffe, the letters layed againe, and might be read. This steele in stead of Cypher. It seemes *Pausanias* retained his Staffe, from the time hee had charge at *Byzantium*.

*Pausanias* his ambition, in dedication of the Tripode at *Delphi*.



But the *Lacedemonians* then presently defaced that inscription of the *Tripode*, and engraued thereon by name, all the Cities that had joyned in the ouerthrow of the *Medes*, and dedicated it so. This therefore was numbred amongst the offences of *Pausanias*, and was thought to agree with his present designe, so much the rather, for the condition hee was now in. They had information further, that hee had in hand some practice with the *Helotes*, and so hee had: For hee promised them, not onely manumission, but also freedome of the Citie, if they would rise with him, and coöperate in the whole businesse. But neither thus, vpon some appeachment of the *Helotes*, would they proceed against him, but kept the custome which they haue in their owne cases, not hastily to giue a peremptory Sentence against a *Spartan*, without unquestionable proöfe. Till at length (as it is reported) purposing to send ouer to *Artabazus* his last Letters to the King, hee was bewrayed vnto them by a man of *Argilus*, in time past, his \* Minion, and most faithfull to him: who being terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those which had bene formerly sent, had euer returned, got him a Seale like to the Seale of *Pausanias*, (to the end that if his ieaousie were false, or that hee should need to alter any thing in the Letter, it might not bee discovered) and opened the Letter, wherein (as he had suspected the addition of some such clause) hee found himselfe also written downe to bee murdered. The *Ephori*, when these Letters were by him shewne vnto them, though they beleeued the matter much more then they did before, yet desirous to heare somewhat themselues from *Pausanias* his owne mouth; (the man being vpon designe gone to *Tenarus* into Sanctnary, and having there built him a little Roome with a partition, in which hee hid the *Ephori*; and *Pausanias* comming to him, and asking the cause of his taking Sanctuary,) they plainly heard the whole matter. For the man both expostulated with him, for what hee had written about him, and from point to point discovered all the practice: saying, that though hee had neuer boasted vnto him these and these seruices concerning the King, hee must yet haue the honour, as well as many other of his seruants, to bee slaine. And *Pausanias* himselfe both confessed the same things, and also bade the man not

to

*Pausanias* accused of practice with the *Helots*.

\* *Artabazus*, taken both in good and bad sense, for a man with whom another man is in love.

Hee sends Letters to the King, which are opened by the way.

*Pausanias*, by the arte of the *Ephori*, made to betray himselfe.

A to be troubled at what was past, and gaue him assurance to leau: Sanctuary, entreating him to goe on in his journey with all speed, and not to frustrate the businesse in hand.

Now the *Ephori*, when they had distinctly heard him, for that time went their way, and knowing now the certaine truth, intended to apprehend him in the Citie. It is said, that when hee was to bee apprehended in the Street, hee perceiued by the countenance of one of the *Ephori* comming towards him, what they came for: and when B another of them had by a secret becke, signified the matter for good will, he ranne into the \* Close of the Temple of *Pallas Chalciæa*, and got in before they ouertooke him. Now the \* Temple it selfe was hard by, and entring into a House belonging to the Temple, to auoyd the iniurie of the open ayre, there staid. They that pursued him, could not then ouertake him: but afterwards they tooke off the rooffe and the doores of the house, and watching a time when hee was within, beset the House, and mured him vp, and leauing a Guard there, famished him. When C they perceiued him about to giue vp the Ghost, they carried him as hee was, out of the House, yet breathing, and being out, hee dyed immediately: After hee was dead, they were about to throw him into the \* *Cæada*, where they vse to cast in Malefactors: yet afterwards they thought good to bury him in some place thereabouts: But the Oracle of *Dolphy* commanded the *Lacedæmonians*, afterward, both to remoue the Sepulcher from the place where hee dyed; (so that hee lies now in the entry of the Temple, as is euident by the inscription of the Pillar) and also (as hauing bene a Pollution of the Sanctuary,) to render two bodies to the Goddesse of *Chalciæa*, for that one. Whereupon they set vp two brazen Statues, and dedicated the same vnto her for *Pausanias*. Now the *Athenians* (the God himselfe hauing iudged this a Pollution of Sanctuary) required the *Lacedæmonians* to banish out of their Citie, such as were touched with the same.

At the same time that *Pausanias* came to his end, the *Lacedæmonians* by their Ambassadors to the *Athenians*, accused *Themistocles* for that hee also had medized together E with *Pausanias*, hauing discovered it by proöfes against *Pausanias*, and desired that the same punishment might be like

He flyeth into Sanctuary

\* *Tægar*. Both the Temple, & the ground consecrated, where in standeth the Temple, Altar, and edifices for the use of their Religion.

\* *16*. *æ*. The Temple or Church of the Goddesse.

\* *Cæada*, a pit nere Lacedæmon.

*Themistocles* in the same Treason.



\* A kind of banishment, wherein the Athenians wrote upon the shield of an Officer the name of him they would banish: and principally against great men, whose power or faction they feared might breed alteration in the State: and was but for certaine years.

Thence is put over to the maine Land, and goeth to the King of the Molossians.

\* P. m. l. e. Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, saies it was their daughter.

Thence he is conveyed to Pydna.

\* The Aegean Sea.  
\* King of Macedonia.  
\* Of Persia.

In danger to be cast vpon the Athenian Fleet at Naxos, he maketh himselfe knowne to the Master of the Ship.

likewise inflicted vpon him. Whereunto consenting, (for he was at this time in banishment by \* Ostracisme, and though his ordinary residence was at Argos, hee travelled to and fro in other places of Peloponnesus,) they sent certaine men in company of the Lacedemonians, who were willing to pursue him, with command to bring him in, where-soeuer they could finde him. But Themistocles hauing had notice of it before-hand, flyeth out of Peloponnesus into Corcyra, to the people of which Citie, he had formerly beene beneficiall. But the Corcyraens alleaging that they durst not keep him there, for feare of displeasing both the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, conuey him into the opposite Continent: and being pursued by the men thereto appointed, asking continually which way hee went, hee was compelled at a streight, to turne in vnto Admetus, King of the Molossians, his enemy. The King himselfe beeing then from home, hee became a suppliant to his Wife, and by her was instructed, to take their \* Sonne with him, and sit downe at the Altar of the House. When Admetus not long after returned, hee made himselfe knowne to him, and desired him, that though hee had opposed him in some suite at Athens, not to reuenge it on him now, in the time of his flight: saying, that being now the weaker, he must needes suffer vnder the stronger; whereas noble reuenge is of equals, vpon equall termes: and that hee had beene his Adversary but in matter of profit, not of life; whereas, if hee deliuered him vp (telling him withall, for what, and by whom hee was followed) hee deprived him of all meanes of sauing his life. Admetus hauing heard him, bade him arise, together with his Sonne, whom he held as he fate: which is the most subdissile (supplication that is.

Not long after came the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, and though they alledged much to haue him, yet hee deliuered him not, but sent him away by Land to Pydna, vpon the \* other Sea (a City belonging to \* Alexander) because his purpose was to goe to the \* King: where finding a Ship bound for Ionia, hee embarked, and was carried by foule weather vpon the the Fleet of the Athenians, that besieged Naxos. Being afraid, hee discovered to the Master (for hee was vnknowne) who hee was, and for what hee fled, and said, that vnlesse hee would

A would saue him, hee meant to say, that hee had hired him to carry him away for money. And that to saue him, there needed no more but this, to let none goe out of the Ship, till the weather serued to bee gone. To which if hee consented, hee would not forget to requite him according to his merit. The Master did so, and hauing lyeen a day and a night at Sea, vpon the Fleet of the Athenians, he arrived afterward at Ephesus. And Themistocles hauing liberally rewarded him with money, (for hee receiued there, both what was sent him from his friends at Athens, and also what he had put out at Argos,) hee tooke his journey vppwards, in company of a certaine Persian of the \* Low-Countries, and sent Letters to the King Artaxerxes, the Sonne of Xerxes, newly come to the Kingdome, wherein was written to this purpose:

Hee arriveth at Ephesus.

\* The Low countries of Asia lying to the Aegean Sea.

### His Letter to Artaxerxes.

THEMISTOCLES in comming vnto thee, who, of all the Grecians, as long as I was forced to resist thy Father that invaded me, haue done your House the manifest damages; yet the benefits I did him, were more, after once I with safety, bee with danger was to make retreat. And both a good turne is already due vnto me, (writing here, how hee had forewarned him of the Grecians departure out of Salamis; and ascribing the then not breaking of the Bridge, falsely vnto himselfe,) and at this time to doe thee many other good seruices, I present my selfe, persecuted by the Grecians for thy friendships sake. But I desire so haue a yeeres respite, that I may declare vnto thee the cause of my comming my selfe.

The King, as is reported, wondred what his purpose might bee, and commanded him to doe as he had said. In this time of respite, hee learned as much as hee could of the Language and fashions of the place; and a yeere after comming to the Court, hee was great with the King, more then euer had beene any Grecian before; both for his former dignity, and the hope of Greece, which hee promised to bring into his subiection; but especially for the tryall hee gaue of his widdome. For Themistocles was a man, in whom most truly was manifested the strength

The praise of Themistocles.



of naturall iudgement, wherein hee had something worthy admiration, different from other men. For by his naturall prudence, without the helpe of instruction before or after, he was both of extemporary matters, vpon short deliberation, the best discerner, and also of what for the most part would bee their issue, the best coniecturer. What hee was perfect in, hee was able also to explicate: and what hee was vnpractised in, he was not to seeke how to iudge of conueniently. Also hee foresaw, no man better, what was best or worst in any case that was doubtfull. And (to say all in few words) this man, by the naturall goodnesse of his wit, and quicknesse of deliberation, was the ablest of all men, to tell what was fit to bee done vpon a sudden. But falling sicke, hee ended his life: some say hee dyed voluntarily by Poyson, because hee thought himselfe vnable to performe what hee had promised to the King. His monument is in \* *Magnesia* in *Asia*, in the Market place: for hee had the gouernment of that Countrey, the King hauing bestowed vpon him *Magnesia*, which yelded him fifty Talents by yeere for his \* bread, and *Lampsacus* for his Wine, (for this City was in those dayes thought to haue store of Wine,) and the City of *Myus* for his meate. His bones are said, by his Kindred to haue beene brought home by his owne appointment, and buried in *Attica*, vnknowne to the *Athenians*: for it was not lawfull to bury one there, that had fled for Treason. These were the ends of *Paulanias* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, the most famous men of all the *Grecians* of their time. And this is that which the *Lacedemonians* did command, and were commanded, in their first Ambassage, touching the banishment of such as were vnder the curse.

**A**FTER THIS, they sent Ambassadors againe to *Athens*, commanding them to leuy the Siege from before *Potidea*, and to suffer *Ægina* to bee free; but principally, and most plainly telling them, that the Warre should not bee made, in case they would abrogate the Act concerning the *Megareans*. By which Act, they were forbidden both the Fayres of *Attica*, and all Ports within the *Athenian* dominion. But the *Athenians* would not obey them, neither in the rest of their Commands,

nor

His death.

\* There is another Citie of that name in Greece.

\* Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, says that the King gaue him these Cities with these words, *Magnesia* to sinde him bread, *Lampsacus* wine, and *Myus* meat.The *Athenians* by Ambassadors command the abrogation of the Act against the *Megareans*.

**A** nor in the abrogation of that Act, but recriminated the *Megareans*, for hauing tilled holy ground, and vsket-out with bounds: and for receiuing of their Slaues that reuolted. But at length, when the last Ambassadors from *Lacedemon* were arriued, namely, *Rhamphias*, *Melospippus*, and *Agelander*, and spake nothing of that which formerly they were wont, but onely this, That the *Lacedemonians* desire that there should be Peace, which may bee had, if you will suffer the *Grecians* to bee gouerned by their owne Lawes. The *Athenians* called an Assembly, and propounding their opinions amongst themselves, thought good, after they had debated the matter, to giue them an answer once for all. And many stood forth, and deliuered their mindes on eyther side, some for the Warre, and some, that this Act concerning the *Megareans*, ought not to stand in their way to Peace, but to bee abrogated. And *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanippus*, the principall man, at that time, of all *Athens*, and most sufficient both for speech and action, gaue his aduice in such manner as followeth.

The last Ambassadors from *Lacedemon*, require the *Athenians* to lay down their dominion.The *Athenians* consult what to answer.

## C THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

**M**EN of *Athens*, I am still not onely of the same opinion, not to giue way to the *Peloponnesians* (notwithstanding, I know that men haue not the same passions in the Warre it selfe, which they haue when they are incited to it, but change their opinions with the events) but also I see, that I must now aduise the same things, or very neere to what I haue before deliuered. And I require of you, with whom my counsell shall take place; that if wee miscarry in ought, you will eyther make the best of it, as decreed by Common Consent, or if wee prosper, not to attribute it to your owne wisdom onely. For it falleth out with the euents of Actions, no lesse then with the purposes of man, to proceed with vncertainty: which is also the cause, that when any thing happeneth contrary to our expectation, wee vse to lay the fault on Fortune. That the *Lacedemonians*, both formerly, and especially now, take counsell how to doe vs mischief, is a thing manifest. For whereas it is said, [in the Articles] that in our mutuall controuersies, we shall giue and receiue trials of Iudgement, and in the meane time, eyther side hold what they possesse, they neuer yet sought any such tryall themselves, nor will accept of the same offered by vs. They will

L 2

clear



deere themselves of their accusations, by Warre rather then by words: A  
and come hither no more now to expostulate, but to command. For they  
command vs to arise from before Potidea, and to restore the Aegi-  
netæ to the liberty of their owne Lawes, and to abrogate the Act con-  
cerning the Megareans. And they that come last, command vs to  
restore all the Grecians to their liberty. Now let none of you con-  
ceive that wee shall goe to Warre for a trifle, by not abrogating the  
Act concerning Megara, (yet this by them is pretended most, and  
that for the abrogation of it, the Warre shall stay;) nor retaine a scru-  
ple in your mindes, as if a small matter moued you to the Warre: for  
euen this small matter containeth the tryall and constancy of your re- B  
solution. Wherein if you giue them way, you shall hereafter bee com-  
manded a greater matter, as men that for feare will obey them like-  
wise in that. But by a stiffe deniall, you shall teach them plainly, to  
come to you beereasier on termes of more equality. Resolue therefore  
from this occasion, eyther to yeeld them obedience, before you receive  
damage; or if wee must haue Warre, (which for my part I thinke is  
best,) be the pretence weighty or light, not to giue way, nor keepe what  
wee possesse, in feare. For a great and a little claime, imposed by e-  
quals vpon their neighbours, before Iudgement, by way of command,  
hath one and the same vertue to make subiect. As for the Warre, C  
how both wee and they be furnished, and why wee are not like to haue  
the worse, by bearing the particulars, you shall now vnderstand. The  
Peloponnesians are \* men that liue by their labour, without money,  
eyther in particular, or in common stocke. Besides, in long Warres,  
and by Sea, they are without experience; for that the Warres which  
they haue had one against another, haue beene but short, through po-  
uerty, and \* such men can neither man their Fleets, nor yet send out  
their Armies by Land very often; because they must bee farre from  
their owne wealth, and yet by that be maintained; and be besides bar-  
red the vse of the Sea. It must bee a \* stocke of money, not forced D  
Contributions, that support the Warres, and such as liue by their  
labour, are more ready to serue the Warres with their bodies, then  
with their money. For they make account that their bodies will out-  
line the danger, but their money they thinke is sure to bee spent; espe-  
cially if the Warre (as it is likely) should last. So that the Pelopon-  
nesians and their Confederates, though for one Battell they bee able  
to stand out against all Greece besides, yet to maintaine a Warre a-  
gainst such as haue their preparations of another kinde, they are not  
able; in as much as not hauing one and the same counsell, they can  
speedily performe nothing vpon the occasion; and hauing equality of E  
Vote, and being of severall \* races, every one will presse his particular  
interest;

\* αὐτῶν.

\* αὐτῶν.

\* αὐτῶν.

\* Of the Peloponnesians  
and their Confederates, some  
were Dorians, some Ioli-  
ans, some Locrians.

A interest; whereby nothing is like to bee fully executed. For some will  
desire most to take reuenge on some enemy, and others to haue their  
states least wasted; and being long before they can assemble, they  
take the lesser part of their time to debate the Common businesse, and  
the greater, to dispatch their owne priuate affaires. And every one  
supposeth that his owne neglect of the Common estate, can doe little  
hurt, and that it will bee the care of some body else to looke to that, for  
his owne good: Not obseruing how by these thoughts of every one in  
seuerall, the Common businesse is ioyntly ruined. But their greatest  
hindrance of all, will be their want of money, which being raised slow-  
ly, their actions must bee full of delay, which the occasions of warre  
will not endure. As for their fortifying here, and their Nauie, they  
are matters not worthy feare. For it were a hard matter for a Citie  
equall to our owne, in time of peace to fortifie in that manner, much  
lesse in the Countrey of an Enemy, and wee no lesse fortified a-  
gainst them. And if they had a Garrison here, though they might by  
excursions, and by the receiuing of our Fugitiues, annoy some part of  
our Territory; yet would not that bee enough both to besiege vs, and  
also to hinder vs from sayling into their Territories, and from taking  
reuenge with our Fleet, which is the thing wherein our strength lyeth.  
C For wee haue more experience in Land-service, by vse of the Sea, then  
they haue in Sea-service, by vse of the Land. Nor shall they attaine  
the knowledge of nauall affaires easily. For your selues, though fal-  
ling to it immediately vpon the Persian warre, yet haue not attained  
it fully. How then should husbandmen, not Sea-men, whom also wee  
will not suffer to apply themselves to it, by lying continually vpon  
them with so great Fleets, performe any matter of value? Indeed, if  
they should bee opposed but with a few Ships, they might aduenture,  
encouraging their want of knowledge, with store of men; but awed by  
many, they will not stirre that way; and not applying themselves to it,  
D will bee yet more vnskilfull, and thereby more cowardly. For know-  
ledge of Nauall matters, is an Art as well as any other, and not to be  
attended at idle times, and on the \* by; but requiring rather, that  
whilest it is a learning, nothing else should bee done on the by. But say  
they should take the money at Olympia and Delphi, and there-  
with, at greater wages, goe about to draw from vs the Strangers em-  
ployed in our Fleet; this indeed, if going aboard both our selues, and  
those that dwell amongst vs, wee could not match them, were a dange-  
rous matter. But now, wee can both doe this, and (which is the prin-  
cipall thing) wee haue Steeresmen, and other necessary men for the  
E service of a Ship, both more and better of our owne Citizens, then are  
in all the rest of Greece. Besides that, not any of these Strangers, \* οὐκ ἐν πηγήν.



\* That is, of victory by Sea, where they were to be engaged.

upon tryall, would bee found content to fly his owne Countrey, and A  
withall upon lesse \* hope of victory, for a few dayes increase of wa-  
ges, take part with the other side. In this manner, or like to this,  
seemeth vnto mee to stand the case of the Peloponnesians: Whereas  
ours is both free from what in theirs I haue reprehended, and hath ma-  
ny great aduantages besides. If they inuade our Territory by Land,  
wee shall inuade theirs by Sea. And when wee haue wasted part of  
Peloponnesus, and they all Attica, yet shall theirs bee the greater  
losse. For they, vntlesse by the sword, can get no other Territory in  
stead of that wee shall destroy: Whereas for vs, there is other Land,  
both in the Ilands, and Continent: For the dominion of the Sea is B  
a great matter. Consider but this; if we dwell in the Ilands, whether  
of vs then were more inespugnable? Wee must therefore now, draw-  
ing as neere as can bee to that imagination, lay aside the care of Fields  
and Villages, and not for the losse of them out of passion, giue battell to  
the Peloponnesians, farre more in number then our selues; (for  
though wee giue them an ouerthrow, wee must fight againe with as  
many more: and if wee bee ouerthrowne, we shall lose the helpe of our  
Confederates, which are our strength; for when we cannot warre vpon  
them, they will revolt) nor bewaile yee the losse of Fields or Houses,  
but of mens bodies: for men may acquire these, but these cannot ac- C  
quire men. And if I thought I should preuaile, I would aduise you to  
goe out, and destroy them your selues, and shew the Peloponnesians,  
that you will neuer the sooner obey them for such things as these. There  
be many other things that giue hope of victory, (\* in case you doe not,  
whilest you are in this Warre, strue to enlarge your dominion, and vnder-  
goe other voluntary dangers; for I am afraid of our owne errours,  
more then of their designes,) but they shall bee spoken of at another  
time, in prosecution of the warre it selfe. For the present, let vs send  
away these men with this Answer: That the Megareans shall D  
haue the liberty of our Bayes and Ports, if the Lacedemonians  
will also make no banishment of vs nor of our Confe-  
derates, as of Strangers. For neither our Act concerning  
Megara, nor their banishment of Strangers, is forbidden in the  
Articles. Also, that we will let the Grecian Cities be  
free, if they were so when the Peace was made; and if the  
Lacedemonians will also giue leaue vnto their Confederates,  
to vse their freedome, not as shall serue the turne of the  
Lacedemonians, but as they themselues shall euery one  
thinke good. Also, that wee will stand to Iudgement according  
to the Articles, and will not beginne the Warre, E  
but bee reuenged on those that shall. For this is both iust,  
and

\* Thucydides hath his mind here, vpon the Defeat in Sicily, which fell out many yeeres after the death of Pericles. Whereby it seemes, he frameth his speech more to what Pericles might haue said, then to what he did say. As much also he professeth in general of his cause in setting downe Speeches. Besides, he maketh Pericles here to auer his point by point to the Oration of the Corinthians at Lacedemon, as if hee had bene by, whereas was desired, and effects the same manner in all apposite Orations.

A and for the dignity of the City to answer: Neuerthelesse, you must know, that of necessity Warre there will bee; and the more willingly wee embrace it, the lesse praising we shall haue our enemies; and that out of greatest dangers, whether to Cities or priuate men, arise the greatest honours. For our Fathers, when they vnder took the Medes, did from lesse beginnings, nay abandoning the little they had, by wisdom rather then Fortune, by courage rather then strength, both repell the Barbarian, and aduance this State to the height it now is at. Of whom wee ought not now to come short; but rather to reuenge vs by all meanes vpon our enemies, and doe B  
our best to deliuer the State vniimpayred by vs, to posterity.

Thus spake Pericles.

The Athenians liking best of his aduice, decreed as hee would haue them, answering the Lacedemonians according to his direction, both in particular as hee had spoken, and generally, That they would doe nothing on command, but were ready to answer their accusations vpon equall termes, by way of arbitrement. So the Ambassadors went home, and after these, there came no more.

These were the Quarrels and differences on eyther side, C  
before the Warre: which Quarrels beganne presently vpon the businesse of Epidammi and Corcyra. Neuerthelesse, there was still commerce betwixt them, and they went to each other without any Herald, though not without ialousie. For the things that had passed, were but the confusion of the Articles, and matter of the Warre to follow.

The Answer of the Athenians to the Ambassadors of Lacedemon.

FINIS.





THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
THE HISTORY OF  
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

*The entry of the Theban Souldiers into Platæa, by the Treason of some within. Their repulse and slaughter. The irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica. The wasting of the Coast of Peloponnesus by the Athenian Fleet. The Publike Funerall of the first slain. The second invasion of Attica. The Pestilence in the City of Athens. The Ambraciotes warre against the Attic Philochi. Platæa assaulted, Besieged. The Peloponnesian Fleet beaten by Phormio, before the Straight of the Gulfe of Crissa. The same Fleet repaired, and re-inforced and beaten againe by Phormio, before Naupactus. The attempt of the Peloponnesians on Salamis. The fruitlesse expedition of the Thracians against the Macedonians. This in the first 3. yeeres of the Warre.*

**D** *THE WARRE between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians beginneth now, from the time they had no longer commerce one with another without a Herald, and that having once begun it, they warred without intermission. And it is written in order by Summers and Winters, according as from time to time the seuerall matters came to passe.*  
**E** *The Peace, which after the winning of Eubœa, was concluded*

THE FIRST YEERE  
OF THE WARRE.



\* Briefest of Iuno. By which I understand they reckon their yeeres.

\* The Athenians began their yeeres about the Summer 5<sup>th</sup> Dec.

\* The Athenians surprised by the Boeotians in their Warres, in Iunus.

\* The Athenians executed the designe of the Traitors.

But offer composition.

The Plataeans accept it.

The Plataeans take heart.

concluded for thirty yeeres, lasted foureteene yeeres; but A  
in the fifteenth yeere, being the forty eighth of the Priest-  
hood of \* *Chrysis*, in *Argos*: *Aeneias* being the *Ephore* at *Sparta*,  
and *Pythadorus* *Archon* of *Athens*, hauing then two moneths  
of his gouernment to come, in the sixth moneth after the  
Battell at *Potidea*, and in the beginning of the Spring, three  
hundred and odd *Thebans*, led by *Pythangelus* the Sonne of  
*Philides*, and *Diemporus*, the sonne of *Oenotoridas*, \* *Boeotian*  
Rulers, about the first Watch of the night, entred with  
their Armes into *Plataea*, a Citie of *Boeotia*, and Confederate  
of the *Athenians*. They were brought in, and the Gates B  
opened vnto them, by *Nauclicides* and his Complices, men  
of *Plataea*, that for their owne priuate ambition, intended  
both the destruction of such Citizens as were their ene-  
mies, and the putting of the whole City vnder the sub-  
iection of the *Thebans*. This they negotiated with one  
*Eurymachus*, the Sonne of *Leontidas*, one of the most po-  
tent men of *Thebes*. For the *Thebans* foreseeing the Warre,  
desired to praeoccupate *Plataea*, (which was alwayes at  
variance with them) whilest there was yet Peace, and the  
Warre not openly on foot. By which meanes, they more C  
easily entred vndiscovered, there being no order taken be-  
fore for a Watch. And \* making a stand in their Armes  
in the Market place, did not (as they that gaue them en-  
trance would haue had them) fall presently to the busi-  
nesse, and enter the Houses of their Aduersaries, but re-  
solved rather to make fauourable Proclamation, and to in-  
duce the Cities to composition and friendship. And the  
Herald proclaimed, *That if any man, according to the ancient*  
*custome of all the Boeotians, would enter into the same league of*  
*Warre with them, hee should come, and bring his Armes to* D  
*theirs*: supposing the Citie by this meanes, would easily  
be drawne to their side. The *Plataeans*, when they perceiued  
that the *Thebans* were already entred, and had surprized the  
Citie, through feare, and opinion that more were entred  
then indeed were, (for they could not see them in the  
night) came to composition, and accepting the condi-  
tion, rested quiet; and the rather, for that they had  
yet done no man harme. But whilest that these things  
were treating, they obserued that the *Thebans* were not  
many, and thought that if they should set vpon them, E  
they might easily haue the victory. For the *Plataean* Com-  
mons

A mons were not willing to haue revolted from the *Atheni-  
ans*. Wherefore it was thought fit to vndertake the mat-  
ter; and they vnted themselves, by digging through the  
Common Wall, betweene house and house, that they  
might not be discovered as they passed the Streets. They  
also placed Carts in the Streets (without the Cattell that  
drew them) to serue them in stead of a Wall; and euery  
other thing they put in readinesse, as they severally seem-  
ed necessary for the present enterprize. When all things  
according to their meanes, were ready, they marched from  
B their Houses, towards the enemies; taking their time  
whilest it was yet night, and a little before breake of day;  
because they would not haue to charge them, when they  
should bee emboldned by the light, and on equall termes,  
but when they should by night bee terrified, and inferior  
to them in knowledge of the places of the Citie. So they  
forthwith set vpon them, and came quickly vp to hand-  
stroakes. And the *Thebans* seeing this, and finding they  
were deceiued, cast themselves into a round figure, and  
beat them backe in that part where the assault was made:  
C and twice or thrice they repulsed them: But at last,  
when both the *Plataeans* themselves charged them with  
a great clamour, and their Wiues also and Families  
shouted, and screeched from the Houses, and withall  
threw stones and Tyles amongst them; the night hauing  
beene also very wet; they were afraid, and turned their  
backes, and fled heere and there about the Cittie; ig-  
norant for the most part, in the darke and durt, of the  
wayes out, by which they should haue beene saued (for  
this accident fell out vpon the change of the Moone)  
D and pursued by such as were well acquainted with the  
wayes to keepe them in; insomuch as the greatest part  
of them perished. The Gate by which they entred,  
and which onely was left open, a certaine *Plataean* shut  
vp againe, with the head of a Iaveline, which hee  
thrust into the Staple, in stead of a bolt: so that this  
way also their passage was stopped. As they were  
chaſed vp and downe the City, some climbed the Wall, and  
cast themselves out; and for the most part dyed;  
some came to a desert Gate of the City, and with a  
E Hatchet given them by a Woman, cut the staple, and  
got forth vnscene: but these were not many: for the  
M 2 thing

And vnted themselves by digging through the Common Wall of their Houses.

They assault the Thebans.

The Thebans fly, but cannot get out.



The Thebans penned up in a House, which they entered into, by mistaking the doore for the City Gate.

They yeeld to discretion

The whole power of Thebes came to rescue their Fellowes.

The Thebans seek to intercept the Plataeans in the Villages.

The Plataeans send to the Thebans, to be gone, and promise to release their prisoners.

thing was soone discovered: others againe were slaine, A dispersed in severall parts of the Citie. But the greatest part, and those especially who had cast themselves before into a Ring, happened into a great Edifice, adioyning to the Wall, the doores whereof being open, they thought had bene the Gates of the Citie, and that there had bene a direct way through to the other side. The Plataeans seeing them now pend vp, consulted whether they should burne them as they were, by firing the House, or else resolve of some other punishment. At length, both these, and all the rest of the Thebans that were straggling in the Citie, agreed to yeeld themselves and their Armes to the Plataeans, at discretion. And this successe had they that entred into Plataea.

But the rest of the Thebans, that should with their whole power haue bene there before day, for feare the surprize should not succeed with those that were in, came so late with their ayde, that they heard the newes of what was done, by the way. Now Plataea is from Thebes, 70. Furlongs, and they marched the slowlier, for the raine which had fallen the same night. For the Riuer Asopus was swollen so high, that it was not easily passable; so that what by the foulness of the way, and what by the difficulty of passing the Riuer, they arrived not, till their men were already some slaine, and some taken prisoners. When the Thebans understood how things had gone, they lay in waite for such of the Plataeans as were without: (for there were abroad in the Villages, both men, and household stuffe, as was not unlikely, the euill happening vnexpectedly, and in time of peace;) desiring, if they could take any Prisoners, to keepe them for exchange for those of theirs within, which (if any were so) were saved alive. This was the Thebans' purpose. But the Plataeans, whilst they were yet in Councell, suspecting that some such thing would be done, and fearing their case without, sent a Herald vnto the Thebans; whom they commanded to say, That what they had already done, attempting to surprize their Citie in time of Peace, was done wickedly, and to forbid them to doe any injury to those without, and that otherwise they would kill all those men of theirs that they had alive; which, if they would withdraw their forces out of their Territory, they would againe restore vnto them. Thus the Thebans say, and that the

A the Plataeans did sweare it. But the Plataeans confesse not that they promised to deliuer them presently, but vpon treaty, if they should agree, and deny that they swore it. Vpon this the Thebans went out of their Territory; and the Plataeans, when they had speedily taken in whatsoever they had in the Countrey, immediately slew their Prisoners. They that were taken were 180. and Eurymachus, with whom the Traytors had practised, was one. When they had done, they sent a Messenger to Athens, and gaue truce to the Thebans to fetch away the bodies of their dead, B and ordered the City as was thought conuenient for the present occasion.

The newes of what was done, coming straightway to Athens, they instantly laid hands on all the Boeotians then in Attica, and sent an Officer to Plataea, to forbid their further proceeding with their Theban Prisoners, till such time as they also should haue aduised of the matter: for they were not yet aduertised of their putting to death. For the first Messenger was sent away when the Thebans first entred the Towne; and the second, when they were overcome, and taken prisoners. But of what followed after, they knew nothing. So that the Athenians when they sent, knew not what was done, and the Officer arriving, found that the men were already slaine. After this, the Athenians sending an Armie to Plataea, victualled it, and taking Garrison in it, andooke thence both the Women and Children, and also such men as were vnsecurable for the Warre.

This action falling out at Plataea, & the Peace now clearly dissolved; the Athenians prepared themselves for Warre; D so also did the Lacedaemonians and their Confederates, intending on either part to send Ambassadors to this King, and to other Barbarians, wherefoeuer they had hope of succours; and contracting Leagues with such Cities as were not vnder their owne command. Their Lacedaemonians besides those Gallies which they had in Italy, and Sicily, (of the Cities that adioke part with them) they were ordered to furnish proportionably to the same, of their severall Cities, so many more, as the whole number might amount to; and to provide a Summe of money E affected, and in other things not to hinder, but that they receive the Athenians, committing iurisdiction onely at once,

The Thebans goe off, and the Plataeans fetch in their men and goods, and kill their prisoners.

The Athenians lay hands on such Boeotians as were in Attica.

They victuall Plataea, and put a Garrison into it, and take out their vnecessary people.

Preparation of both sides for the Warre.

The Lacedaemonians and their Confederates prepare themselves for Warre.

The Lacedaemonian League, or Lacedaemonian party, not particularly that State.



once, till such time as the same should be ready. The *Athenians* on the other side, suruayed their present Confederates, and sent Ambassadors to those places that lay about *Peloponnesus*, as *Coreyra*, *Cephalonia*, *Acarnania*, and *Zacynthus*, knowing that as long as these were their friends, they might with the more security make Warre round about vpon the Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

Neither side conceiued small matters, but put their whole strength to the Warre. And not without reason. For all men in the beginnings of enterprises, are the most eager. Besides, there were then in *Peloponnesus* many youngmen, and many in *Athens*, who for want of experience, not unwillingly vnderooke the Warre. And not onely the rest of *Greece* stood at gaze, to behold the two principall States in Combate, but many \* Prophecies were told, and many \* sung by the Priests of the Oracles, both in the Cities about to warre, and in others.

There was also a little before this, an Earthquake in *Delos*, which in the memory of the *Grecians*, neuer shooke before; and was interpreted for, and seemed to bee a signe of what was to come afterwards to passe. And whatsoever thing then chanced of the same nature, it was all sure to bee enquired after. But mens affections for the most part went with the *Lacedemonians*; and the rather, for that they gaue out, they would recouer the *Grecians* liberty. And every man, both priuate and publike person, endeououred as much as in them lay, both in word and deede to asist them; and thought the businesse so much hindred, as himself was not present at it. In such passiō were most men against the *Athenians*; some for desire to be deliuered from vnder their gouernment; and others for feare of falling into it. And these were the preparations and affections brought vnto the Warre.

But the Confederates of either party, which they had when they began it, were these: The *Lacedemonians* had all *Peloponnesus* within the Isthmus, except the *Argines* and *Acchaens*; (for these were in amity with both, saue that the *Pellonians* at first, onely of all *Acchaia*, took their part; but afterwards all the rest did so likewise) and without *Peloponnesus*, the *Megarians*, *Locrians*, *Baotians*, *Phocians*, *Ambraciotes*, *Lencadians*, and *Anactorians*: Of which the *Corinthians*, *Megareans*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellonians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciotes*, and

Prophecies and Oracles  
preceding the Warre.  
\* ἄλλα προφητεία ἔστι  
\* ὅσοι, ὅσοι, ἔστι. For those  
Prophecies which the Oracles de-  
clared by their Priests, were  
in verse, and were not called  
ἄλλα, but ὅσοι.

The affections of the  
Grecians to wards the  
combatant States.

The Confederates of the  
Lacedemonians.

A and *Lencadians* found Shipping. The *Baotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians*, Horsemen; and the rest of the Cities, Footmen. And these were the Confederates of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Athenian* Confederates were these: The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plataeans*, the *Messenians* in *Naupactus*, most of the *Acarnanians*, the *Coreyreans*, *Zacynthians*, and other Cities their Tributaries amongst those Nations. Also that part of *Caria* which is on the Sea Coast, and the *Dorians* adioyning to them, *Ionia*, *Hellepoint*, the Cities bordering on *Thrace*, all the Hands from *Peloponnesus* to *Crete* on the East, and all the rest of the *Cyclades*, except *Melos* and *Thera*. Of these the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Coreyreans* found Gallies, the rest Footmen and money. These were their Confederates, and the preparation for the Warre on both sides.

The *Lacedemonians*, after the businesse of *Plataea*, sent Messengers presently vp and downe *Peloponnesus*, and to their Confederates without, to haue in readinesse their Forces, and such things as should bee necessary for a Forraigne expedition, as intending the inuasion of *Attica*. And when they were all ready, they came to the Rendezuous in the Isthmus, at a day appointed, two thirds of the Forces of every Citie. When the whole Army was gotten together, *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, General of the Expedition, called together the Commanders of the severall Cities, and such as were in authority, and most worthy to bee present, and spake vnto them as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

D Men of *Peloponnesus*, and Confederates, not onely our Fathers haue had many Warres; both within and without *Peloponnesus*, but wee our selues also, (such as are any thing in yeeres, haue bene sufficiently acquainted therewith; yet did wee neuer before set forth with so great a preparation as at this present. And now, not onely wee are a numerous and puissant Army that inuade; but the State also is puissant, that is inuaded by vs. Wee haue reason therefore to shew our selues, neither worse then our Fathers, nor short of the opinion conceiued of our selues. For all *Greece*, is vp at this Commotion, observing vs: and through their hatred to the *Athenians*, doe wish that we may accomplish whatsoeuer

The Confederates of the  
Athenians.

The Lacedemonians league  
meets in the Isthmus,  
inuade Attica.

The Oration of Archidamus  
in the Councell of  
Warre, in the Army of  
the League.



whatsoever we intend. And therefore though we seeme to invade them with a great Army, and to have much assurance, that they will not come out against us, to battell, yet we ought not for this, to march the lesse carefully prepared, but of every City, as well the Captaine, as the Souldier, to expect alwayes some danger or other, in that part wherein wee himselfe is placed. For the accidents of Warre are uncertaine; and for the most part the Onset begins from the lesser number, and upon passion. And oftentimes the lesser number, being afraid, hath beaten backe the greater with the more ease, for that through contempt they have gone vnprepared. And in the Land of an Enemy, though the Souldier ought alwayes to have bold hearts, yet for action, they ought to make their preparations, as if they were afraid. For that will give them both more courage to goe upon the enemy, and more safety in fighting with him. But we invade not now a Citie that cannot defend it selfe, but a City every way well appointed. So that we must by all meanes expect to be fought withall, though not now, because we be not yet there, yet hereafter, when they shall see us in their Countrey, wasting and destroying their possessions: For all men, when in their owne fight, and on a sudden, they receive any extraordinary hurt, fall presently into choler; and the lesse they consider, with the more stomach they assault. And this is likely to hold in the Athenians somewhat more then in others; for they thinke themselves worthy to have the command of others, and to invade and waste the territory of their neighbours, rather then to see their neighbours waste theirs. Wherefore, as being to Warre against a great Citie, and to procure, both to your Ancestours and your selves, a great fame, eyther good or bad, as shall bee the event; follow your Leaders in such sort, as above all things you esteeme of order and watchfulness. For there is nothing in the world more comely, nor more safe, then when many men are seene to observe one and the same order.

Archidamus sends before him an Ambassadour to the Athenians.

And tries all other meanes to right his Countrey, before Warre.

Archidamus having thus spoken, and dismissed the Council, first sent Melesippus, the Sonne of Diacritus, a man of Sparta, to Athens, to try if the Athenians, seeing them now on their journey, would yet in some degree remit of their obstinacy. But the Athenians neither received him into their Citie, nor presented him to the State: for the opinion of Pericles had already taken place, not to receive from the Lacedaemonians neither Herald nor Ambassadour, as long as their Armie was abroad. Therefore they sent him E backe without audience, with commandment to be out of their

A their borders the selfe-same day; and that hereafter if they would any thing with them, they should returne every one to his home, and send their Ambassadours from thence. They sent with him also certaine persons, to convey him out of the Countrey, to the end that no man should conferre with him: who when hee came to the limits, and was to bee dismissed, vttered these words: *This day is the beginning of much euill vnto the Grecians: and so departed.*

The Ambassadors from Archidamus conveyed backe without Conference.

B When hee returned to the Campe, Archidamus perceived that they would not relent, dislodged, and marched on with his Armie into their Territory. The Boeotians with their appointed part, and with Horsemen, ayded the Peloponnesians; but with the rest of their Forces, went and wasted the Territorie of Plataea.

Archidamus marcheth forward.

C Whilest the Peloponnesians were comming together in the Isthmus, and when they were on their March, before they brake into Attica, Pericles the sonne of Xanthippus, (who with nine others was Generall of the Athenians) when he saw they were about to breake in, suspecting that Archidamus, either of priuate courtelie, or by command of the Lacedaemonians, to bring him into ieaousie (as they had before for his sake commanded the excommunication) might oftentimes leaue his Lands vtouched, told the Athenians before-hand in an Assembly, That though Archidamus had bene his guest, it was for no ill to the State, and howsoever, if the Enemy did not waste his Lands and Houses, as well as the rest, that then hee gaue them to the Common wealth. And therefore desired That for this hee might not bee suspected. Also hee aduised them concerning the businesse in hand, the same things hee had done before, That they should make preparation for the Warre, and receive their goods into the City; that they should not goe out to Battell, but come into the City, and guard it. That they should also furnish out their Navy, wherein consisted their power, and hold a carefull hand ouer their Confederates, telling them, how that in the money that came from these, lay their strength, and that the Victory in Warre consisted wholly in Counsell, and store of money. Further, hee bade them bee confident, in that there was yeerely comming in to the State, from the Confederates, for Tribute, besides other revenue \* 600. Talents, and remaining yet then in the Citadell

Pericles imagining Archidamus might spare his grounds, promise, if he did, to give them to the State.

The speech of Pericles to the Assembly at Athens, touching the meanes of the Warre, &c.

E \* 6000. Talents of silver coine. (for the greatest summe there had bene, was \* 10000. Talents, wanting 300. out of which

This Treasure of the people of Athens.

\* 600. Talents, of our money about 112500. pounds.  
\* 6000 Talents, of our money about 1125000. pounds.  
\* 9700. Talents, 18.87500. pounds sterling.



which was taken that which had been expended upon the Gate-houses of the Cittadell, and upon other buildings, and for the charges of Potidea.) Besides the unconyoned gold and silver of private and publique Offerings; and all the dedicated Vessels, belonging to the Shewes and Games, and the spoiles of the Persian, and other things of that nature, which amounted to no lesse then \* 500. Talents. Hee added further, that much money might be had out of other Temples without the Citie, which they might use; And if they were barred the use of all these, they might yet use the ornaments of gold about the \* Goddesse her selfe; and said, that the Image had about it, the weight of \* 40. Talents of most pure Gold, and which might all be taken off; but having made use of it for their safety, hee said, they were to make restitution of the like quantity againe. Thus hee encouraged them, touching matter of money. Men of Armes he said they had 13000. besides the 16000. that were employed for the guard of the Citie, and upon the Wall, (for so many at the first kept watch at the comming in of the Enemy, young and old together, and Strangers that dwelt amongst them, as many as could beare Armes.) For the length of the Phalerian Wall, to that part of the circumference of the Wall of the City where it ioyned, was 35. Furlongs; and that part of the circumference which was guarded (for some of it was not kept with a Watch, namely the part betwene the Long Wall and the Phalerian) was 42. Furlongs: and the length of the Long-Wall downe to Piræus, (of which there was a Watch onely on the outmost) was 40. Furlongs: and the whole compass of Piræus, together with Munychia, was 60. Furlongs, (whereof that part that was watched, was but halfe.) He said further, they had of Horsemen, accounting Archers on horsebacke, 1200, and 1600. Archers, and of Gallies fit for the Sea, 300. All this and no lesse had the Athenians, when the invasion of the Peloponnesians was first in hand, and when the warre beganne. These and other words spake Pericles, as hee used to doe, for demonstration, that they were likely to outlast this Warre.

When the Athenians had heard him, they approved of his words, and fetcht into the Citie their Wiues and Children, and the furniture of their houses, pulling downe the very Timber of the houses themselves. Their sheepe and Oxen they sent over into Eubœa, and into the Islands over against them. Neuertheless this remouall, in respect they

\* 500. Talents. 93750 pound.

\* Minerva.

\* The weight of 40. Talents in all, at 3. pound an ounce, comes to 9000. pound.

The length of the walls to which the Watchmen were appointed.

Their Gallies.

The Athenians fetch in their Wiues and Children and substance into the Citie.

A they had most of them beene accustomed to the Countrey life, grieved them very much.

This custome was from great antiquity, more familiar with the Athenians, then any other of the rest of Greece. For in the time of Cecrops, and the first Kings, downe to Theseus, the Inhabitants of Attica had their severall \* Bourghes, and therein their \* Common-Halles, and their Gouvernours; and, vlesse they were in feare of some danger, went not together to the King for aduice, but euery City administered their owne affaires, and deliberated by themselves. And

B some of them had also their particular Warres, as the Eleansians, who ioyned with Eumolpus against \* Eretheus. But after Theseus came to the Kingdome, one who besides his wisdom, was also a man of very great power; hee not onely set good order in the Countrey in other respects, but also dissolved the Councils and Magistracies of the rest of the Townes; and assigning them all one Hall, and one Councell-house, brought them all to cohabite in the Citie that now is; and contrained them, enioying their owne as before, to \* use this one for their Citie, which (now,

C when they all paid their duties to it) grew great, and was by Theseus so deliuered to posterity. And from that time to this day, the Athenians keepe a holiday at the publique charge to the \* Goddesse, and call it \* Synæcia. That which is now the Cittadell, and the part which is to the South of the Cittadell, was before this time the Citie. An argument whereof is this, That the Temples of the Gods are all set either in the Cittadell it selfe; or, if without, yet in that quarter. As, that of Iupiter Olympius, and of Apollo Pythius, and of Tellus, and of Bacchus in Lymne, (in honour of

D whom, the old \* Bacchanals were celebrated on the twelfth day of the moneth of \* Anthesterion, according as the Ionians, who are deriued from Athens, doe still obserue them besides other ancient Temples situate in the same part. Moreouer, they serued themselves with water for the best uses, of the Fountaine, which, now the Nine-pipes, built so by the Tyrants, was formerly, when the Springs were open, called Callirœe, and was neere. And from the old custome, before Marriages, and other holy Rites, they ordaine the use of the same water to this day. And the

E Cittadell, from the ancient habitation of it, is also by the Athenians still called the Citie.

The Athenians accustomed to live in the Countrey.

\* Synæcia, places where those that administered the State did meet: were also houses, for honours and service, were allowed diet, and whereon Vesta was worshipped, so that some there divine the name, making synæcia quasi synæcia.

\* Kings of the Athenians; Theseus first brought the inhabitants of Attica to make Athens their capitall Citie.

\* Not that they must needs dwell in it, but make it the seat of the government, and pay their duties to it. Thus caused the Citie to grow both populous and potent, because now the whole Nation united into one Citie, made use of the Sea, which deuided they could not have done.

\* Minerva.  
\* Colubation.

\* There were in Athens 3. Bacchanals; whereof that of Bacchus in Lymæ (that is, in the Starfish) was principally; another were the Rural Bacchanals, and the third the City Bacchanals.  
\* This Month fell about our January, and was the second of their Winter quarter.



The Athenians therefore had lived a long time, governed by Lawes of their owne in the Countrey Townes; and after they were brought into one, were neuertheless (both for the custome which most had, as well of the ancient time, as since, till the Persian Warre, to live in the Countrey with their whole families; and also especially, for that since the Persian Warre, they had already repayed their Houses and furniture) unwilling to remoue. It pressed them likewise, and was heauily taken; besides their Houses, to leaue the things that pertained to their Religion, (which, since their old forme of government, were become patriall,) and to change their manner of life, and to bee no better then banished euery man his Citie. After they came into Athens, there was habitation for a few, and place of retire, with some friends or kindred. But the greatest part seated themselves in the empty places of the City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappells of the Heroes, (saying in such as were in the Cittadell, and the Eucosmum, and other places strongly shut vp.) The Pelagicius also, vnder the Cittadell, though it were a thing accursed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a verse in a Pythian Oracle, in these words, — Best is the Pelagicon empty, was neuertheless for the present necessity inhabited. And in my opinion, this Prophecie now fell out contrary to what was lookt for. For the vnlawfull dwelling there, caused not the calamities that befell the Citie, but the Warre caused the necessity of dwelling there: which Warre the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that it should one day bee inhabited vnfortunately. Many also furnished the Turrets of the Walles, and whatsoever other place they could any of them get. For when they were come in, the Citie had not place for them all: But afterwards they had the Long-Walles diuided amongst them, and inhabited there, and in most parts of Piræum. Withall they applyed themselves to the businesse of the Warre, leuying their Confederates, and making ready a hundred Gallies to send about Peloponnesus. Thus were the Athenians preparing.

• Altari, Chappels, House-hold gods.

Athen thronged with the crowding in of the Countrey.

• Pelagicius, a place by the Cittadell, where the Pelagians once fortified themselves against the Athenians, and for that cause there was laid a curse upon the habitation of it. Paulin Atticus.

• Pelagicius, a place by the Cittadell, where the Pelagians once fortified themselves against the Athenians, and for that cause there was laid a curse upon the habitation of it. Paulin Atticus.

An old Prophecy against dwelling in the Pelagici.

The Athenians make ready 100. Gallies to send about Peloponnesus.

The Peloponnesian Armie assault Oenoe, a frontier Towne of Attica, in vain.

The Athenians therefore had lived a long time, governed by Lawes of their owne in the Countrey Townes; and after they were brought into one, were neuertheless (both for the custome which most had, as well of the ancient time, as since, till the Persian Warre, to live in the Countrey with their whole families; and also especially, for that since the Persian Warre, they had already repayed their Houses and furniture) unwilling to remoue. It pressed them likewise, and was heauily taken; besides their Houses, to leaue the things that pertained to their Religion, (which, since their old forme of government, were become patriall,) and to change their manner of life, and to bee no better then banished euery man his Citie. After they came into Athens, there was habitation for a few, and place of retire, with some friends or kindred. But the greatest part seated themselves in the empty places of the City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappells of the Heroes, (saying in such as were in the Cittadell, and the Eucosmum, and other places strongly shut vp.) The Pelagicius also, vnder the Cittadell, though it were a thing accursed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a verse in a Pythian Oracle, in these words, — Best is the Pelagicon empty, was neuertheless for the present necessity inhabited. And in my opinion, this Prophecie now fell out contrary to what was lookt for. For the vnlawfull dwelling there, caused not the calamities that befell the Citie, but the Warre caused the necessity of dwelling there: which Warre the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that it should one day bee inhabited vnfortunately. Many also furnished the Turrets of the Walles, and whatsoever other place they could any of them get. For when they were come in, the Citie had not place for them all: But afterwards they had the Long-Walles diuided amongst them, and inhabited there, and in most parts of Piræum. Withall they applyed themselves to the businesse of the Warre, leuying their Confederates, and making ready a hundred Gallies to send about Peloponnesus. Thus were the Athenians preparing.

The Armie of the Peloponnesians marching forward, came first to Oenoe, a Towne of Attica, the place where they intended to breake in; and encamping before it, prepared with Engines, and by other meanes, to assault the Wall.

A Wall. For Oenoe lying on the Confinnes betweene Attica and Bœotia, was walled about, and the Athenians kept a Garrison in it for defence of the Countrey; when at any time there should bee Warre; for which cause they made preparation for the assault of it; and also spent much time about it otherwise.

And Archidamus for this was not a little taxed, as thought to haue bin both slow in gathering together the forces for the Warre, and also to haue fauoured the Athenians, in that he encouraged not the Army to a forwardnesse in it. And afterwards likewise, his stay in the Isthmus, and his slownesse in the whole iourney, was laid to his charge, but especially his delay at Oenoe. For in this time the Athenians retired into the Citie: whereas it was thought, that the Peloponnesians marching speedily, might but for his delay, haue taken them all without. So passionate was the Armie of Archidamus, for his stay before Oenoe. But expecting that the Athenians, whilst their Territory was yet unhurt, would relent; and not endure to see it wasted, for that cause (as it is reported) hee held his hand. But after, when they had assaulted Oenoe, and tryed all meanes, but could not take it, and seeing the Athenians sent no Herald to them, then at length arising from thence, about 80. dayes after that which happened to the Thebans that entered Platae, the Summer, and Come being now at the highest, they fell into Attica; led by Archidamus, the soine of Zeuxidamus, King of the Lacedæmonians. And when they had pitched their Campe, they fell to wasting of the Countrey, first about Eleusis, and then in the plaine of Thriasia; and put to flight a few Athenian Horsemen; at the Brookes called Rhoiti.

After this, leaving the Ægæon on the right hand, they passed through Cécropia, till they came vnto Acharnæ, which is the greatest towne in all Attica, of those that are called Demoi; and pitching thereby both fortified their Campe, and staid a great while wasting the Countrey thereabout.

Archidamus was said to haue staid so long at Acharnæ, with his Armie in Bartell array, and not to haue come downe all the time of his invasion, into the Champaigne, with this intention. Hee hoped that the Athenians flourishing in number of young men, and better furnished for Warre, then euer they were before, would perhaps haue come

Archidamus taxed of backwardnesse, and slownesse in the iourney.

Archidamus with his Army entrench into Attica.

And comes to Acharnæ, and stays there long, cutting downe their Come and Trees. \* Burnt.

The Designe of Archidamus in staying so long at Acharnæ.



come forth against him, and not endured to see their fields A cut downe and wasted; and therefore seeing they met him not in *Thracia*, hee thought good to try if they would come out against him lying now at *Acharnas*. Besides, the place seemed unto him commodious for the Army to lye in; and it was thought also that the *Acharnans* being a great piece of the Citie (for they were 3000. men of Armes) would not haue suffered the spoiling of their Lands, but rather haue urged all the rest to goe out and fight. And if they came not out against him at this inuasion, they might hereafter more boldly, both waste the B Champaign Countrey, and come downe euen to the Wallles of the Citie. For the *Acharnans*, after they should haue lost their owne, would not bee so forward to hazard themselves for the goods of other men: But there would bee thoughts of Sedition in one towards another in the Citie. These were the cogitations of *Archidamus*, whilest he lay at *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians*, as long as the Armie of the Enemie lay about *Eleusis*, and the Fields of *Thirus*, and as long as they had any hope it would come on no further, (remembering C that also *Plistoanax* the sonne of *Paulanias*, King of *Lacedaemon*, when 14. yeeres before this Warre, hee entred *Attica* with an Armie of the *Peloponnesians*, as farre as *Eleusis*, and *Thracia*, retired againe, and came no further; for which hee was also banished *Sparta*, as thought to haue gone backe for money) they stirred not. But when they saw the Army now at *Acharnas*, but 60. Furlongs from the Citie, then they thought it no longer to bee endured; and when their Fields were wasted (as it was likely) in their fight, (which the yonger sort had neuer seene before, nor D the elder, but in the *Persian* Warre) it was taken for a horrible matter, and thought fit, by all, especially by the youth, to goe out, and not to endure it any longer. And holding Councils apart one from another, they were at much contention, some to make a sally, and some to hinder it. And the Priests of the Oracles, giuing out Prophecies of all kinds, every one made the interpretation according to the sway of his owne affection. But the *Acharnans* conceiuing themselves to bee no small part of the *Athenians*, were they that whilest their owne Lands were wasting, E most of all urged their going out. Inasmuch as the Citie was

The *Athenians* hardly containe themselves from going out to fight.

A was euery way in tumult, and in choler against *Pericles*, remembering nothing of what hee had formerly admonished them; but reuiled him, for that being their Generall, hee refused to leade them into the Field, and imputing vnto him the cause of all their euill: but *Pericles* seeing them in passion for their present losse, and ill aduised, and being confident hee was in the right touching not falling, assembled them not, nor called any Councell, for feare left being together, they might vpon passion rather then iudgement commit some error: But looked to the guarding of the Citie, and as much as hee could, to keepe it in quiet. Neuertheless he continually sent out Horse-men, to keepe the Scowts of the Armie from entring vpon, and doing hurt to the Fields neere the Citie. And there happened at *Phrygi* a small Skirmish, between one troope of Horse of the *Athenians* (with whom were also the *Thessalians*) and the Horsemen of the *Baotians*; wherein the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* had not the worse, till such time as the *Baotians* were ayded by the comming in of their men of Armes, and then they were put to flight, and a few of C the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* slaine; whose bodies notwithstanding they fetcht off the same day, without leaue of the Enemie: and the *Peloponnesians* the next day erected a Trophie. This ayde of the *Thessalians* was vpon an ancient League with the *Athenians*, and consisted of *Larissians*, *Pharsalians*, *Parasians*, *Cranonians*, *Peirassians*, *Gyrtonians*, *Pheareans*. The Leaders of the *Larissians*, were *Polymedes* and *Aristonius*, men of contrary factions in their Citie. Of the *Pharsalians*, *Meno*. And of the rest, out of the seuerall Cities, seuerall Commanders.

A Skirmish betwene the *Athenian* and *Baotian* Horle.

D The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, dislodging from *Acharnas*, wasted certaine other Villages, betwene the Hills *Parnethus*, and *Brelissus*.

*Archidamus* remoues from *Acharnas*.

Whilest these were in *Attica*, the *Athenians* sent the hundred Gallies which they had provided, and in them 1000. men of Armes, and 400. Archers, about *Peloponnesus*; the Commanders whereof were *Charcinus*, the sonne of *Xenotimus*; *Protem*, the sonne of *Epicles*; and *Socrates*, the sonne of *Antigenes*: who thus furnished, weighed Anchor, and went their way.

The *Athenians* send too. Gallies to infect the Sea-Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

E The *Peloponnesians*, when they had stayd in *Attica* as long as their prouision lasted, went home through *Baotia*, not the

The *Peloponnesians* goe home.



the way they came in; but passing by *Oropus*, wasted the Country (called *Pearice* which is of the tillage of the *Oropians*, Subjects to the People of *Athens*; and when they were come backe into *Peloponnesus*, they disbanded, and went every man to his owne Citie.

When they were gone, the *Athenians* ordained Watches both by Sea and Land, such as were to continue to the end of the Warre. And made a Decree, to take out a thousand Talents of the money in the Cittadell, and set it by, so as it might not bee spent, but the charges of the Warre bee borne out of other monies, and made it capitall for any man to moue, or giue his vote for the stirring of this money, for any other vse, but onely (if the Enemy should come with an Armie by Sea to invade the Citie) for necessity of that defence. Together with this money, they likewise set apart 100. Gallies, and those to be every yeere the best; and Captaines to be appointed ouer them, which were to bee employed for no other vse then the money was, and for the same danger, if need should require.

The *Athenians* that were with the 100. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, and with them the *Corycraens* with the ayde of 50. Sayle more, and certaine others of the Confederates thereabout, amongst other places which they infested in their course, landed at *Methone*, a Towne of *Laconia*, and assaulted it; as being but weake, and few men within. But it chanced that *Brasidas*, the sonne of *Tellis*, a *Spartan*, had a Garrison in those parts, and hearing of it, succoured those of the Towne with 100. men of Armes: wherewith running through the *Athenian* Army, dispersed in the Fields, directly towards the Towne, hee put himselfe into *Methone*; and with the losse of few of his men in the passage, hee saued the place, and for this aduenture, was the first that was praised at *Sparta*, in this Warre. The *Athenians* putting off from thence, failed along the Coast, and put in at *Pheia*, of *Elis*, where they spent two dayes in wasting the Country, and in a Skirmish ouerthrew 300. choice men of the lower *Elis*, together with other *Eleans* thereabouts, that came forth to defend it. But the Wind arising, and their Gallies being tossed by the weather, in a harbourlesse place, the most of them imbarqued, and sayled about the Promontory called *Icthyus*, into the Hauē of *Pheia*. But the *Messenians* and certaine others that could

not

The *Athenians* set by 1000 Talents and 100. Gallies, for defence against an invasion by Sea.

The *Athenians* assault *Methone*.

*Brasidas* defendeth it.

They take *Pheia*, a Town of *Elis*.

A not get aboard, went by Land to the Towne of *Pheia*, and rifled it: and when they had done, the Gallies that now were come about tooke them in; and leauing *Pheia*, put forth to Sea againe: by which time a great Army of *Eleans* was come to succour it; but the *Athenians* were now gone away, and wasting some other Territory.

About the same time the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies about \* *Locri*, which were to serue also for a Watch about *Eubœa*. Of these, *Cleopompus* the sonne of *Clinias* had the conduct, and landing his Souldiers in diuers parts, both wasted some places of the Sea-coast, and won the Towne of *Throsum*, of which hee tooke Hostages; and ouercame in fight at *Alope*, the *Locrians* that came out to ayde it.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* put the *Æginetæ*, man, woman, and childe, out of *Ægina*, laying to their charge, that they were the principall cause of the present Warre. And it was also thought the safer course to hold *Ægina*, being adjacent to *Peloponnesus*, with a Colonie of their owne people; and not long after they sent Inhabitants into the same. When the *Æginetæ* were thus banished, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them *Thyræa* to dwell in; and the occupation of the Lands belonging vnto it, to liue on; both vpon hatred to the *Athenians*, and for the benefits receiued at the hands of the *Æginetæ*, in the time of the Earthquake; and insurrection of their *Helotes*. This Territory of *Thyræa*, is in the border betweene *Argolica* and *Laconica*, and reacheth to the Sea side. So some of them were placed there, and the rest dispersed into other parts of *Greece*.

Also the same Summer, \* on the first day of the Moone, according to the Moone, (at which time it seemes onely possible) in the afternoone, happened an Eclipse of the Sunne; the which after it had appeared in the forme of a crescent, and withall some Starres had been discerned, came afterwards againe to the former brightnesse.

The same Summer also the *Athenians* made *Nymphodorus* the sonne of *Pythos*, of the Citie of *Abdera*, (whose Sister was married to *Sitalces*, and that was of great power with him) their \* Host, though before they tooke him for an Enemy, and sent for him to *Athens*, hoping by his meanes to bring *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, into their League. This *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, was the

O

first

\* That *Locri* whose chief Citie is *Opus*, yet that where the *Locri Ozolæ* dwell.

The Inhabitants of *Ægina* removed by the *Athenians*.

And receiued by the *Lacedæmonians*.

Eclipse of the Sonne and Starres discerned. \* *Pythias* is *Pythias*. The first day of the Moone, according to the Moone, in distinction of the Moone's Circle, though their yeere were lunar, yet was it not so exact, as that the Moone changed often on the first day.

The *Athenians* seeke the fauour of *Sitalces*, King of *Thrace*, and *Pardicæus*, King of *Macedonia*.

\* That is, the man at whose house, and by whom any publick person was to be entertained (they came from *Athens* to *Abdera*).



\* See the Fall of Tereus  
and Procne in Ovids  
Metam.

\* King of Macedonia.

Sadocus the Sonne of Si-  
taller, King of Thracia,  
made a Citizen of Athens.  
\* The Warre about Euboea.

The Athenians take Salamis  
and Aegina, and the Ile  
of Cephalonia.

The Athenians invade Me-  
gara.

first that advanced the Kingdome of the *Odryssians*, about A  
the power of the rest of *Thrace*. For much of *Thrace* con-  
sisteth of free States; And \* *Tereus* that tooke to wife  
(out of *Athens*) *Procne* the Daughter of *Pandion*, was no  
kinne to this *Tereus*, nor of the same part of *Thrace*. But  
that *Tereus* was of the Citie of *Daulia*, in the Countrey now  
called *Phocis*, then inhabited by the *Thracians*. (And the  
fact of the Women concerning *Irys* was done there; and  
by the Poets, where they mention the Nightingall, that  
Bird is also called *Daulias*. And it is more likely that *Pan-  
dion* matched his Daughter with this man for vicinity, and B  
mutuall succour, then with the other, that was so many  
dayes journey off, as to *Odryssa*.) And *Tereus*, which is al-  
so another name, was the first that seized on the King-  
dome of *Odryssa*. Now *Sitalces*, this mans sonne, the *Athe-  
nians* got into their League, that they might haue the  
Townes lying on *Thrace*, and \* *Perdiccas* to bee of their  
party. *Nymphodorus*, when hee came to *Athens*, made this  
League betweene them and *Sitalces*, and caused *Sadocus*,  
the sonne of *Sitalces*, to bee made free of *Athens*, and also  
vndertooke to end the Warre in \* *Thrace*. For hee would C  
perswade *Sitalces* to send vnto the *Athenians*, a *Thracian* Ar-  
mie of Horsemen and Targettiers. Hee likewise reconcil-  
led *Perdiccas* to the *Athenians*, and procured of him the re-  
stitution of *Therme*. And *Perdiccas* presently ayded the *A-  
thenians* and *Phormio*, in the Warre against the *Chalcideans*.  
Thus were *Sitalces*, the sonne of *Tereus*, King of *Thrace*, and  
*Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, made  
Confederates with the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* being yet with their hundred Gallies a-  
bout *Peloponnesus*, tooke *Solium*, a Towne that belonged to D  
the *Corinibians*, and put the *Palirenses* onely of all the *Acar-  
nians*, into the possession both of the Towne and Terri-  
torie. Hauing also by force taken *Astacus*, from the Ty-  
rant *Euarchus*, they draue him thence, and ioyned the place  
to their League. From thence they sayled to *Cephalonia*,  
and subdued it without battell. This *Cephalonia* is an I-  
land lying ouer against *Acarnania*, and *Leucas*, and hath in  
it these foure Cities, the *Pallenses*, *Cranij*, *Samei*, and *Pronci*.  
And not long after returned with the Fleet to *Athens*.

About the end of the Autumne of this Summer, the E  
*Athenians*, both themselves, and the Strangers that dwell  
amongst

A amongst them, with the whole power of the Citie, vnder  
the conduct of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanippus*, invaded the  
Territory of *Megara*. And those *Athenians* likewise that  
had bene with the hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, in  
their returne (being now at *Egina*) hearing that the whole  
power of the Citie was gone into \* *Megara*, went and ioyn-  
ed with them. And this was the greatest Armie that e-  
uer the *Athenians* had together in one place before; the  
Citie being now in her strength, and the Plague not yet a-  
mongst them; (For the *Athenians* of themselves were no  
B lesse then 10000. men of Armes, (besides the 1000. at *Pe-  
tidon*) and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, and ac-  
companyed them in this inuasion, were no fewer then  
3000. men of Armes more, besides other great numbers  
of light-armed Souldiers. And when they had wasted the  
greatest part of the Countrey, they went backe to *Athens*.  
And afterwards, yeere after yeere, during this Warre, the  
*Athenians* often inuaded *Megara*, sometimes with their  
Horsemen, and sometimes with their whole Armie, vntill  
such time as they had wonne \* *Nisaea*.

C Also in the end of this Summer, they fortified *Atalante*,  
an Island lying vpon the *Locrians* of *Opus*, desolate till then;  
for a Garrison against *Theues*, which passing ouer from  
*Opus*, and other parts of *Locris*, might annoy *Euboea*. These  
were the things done this Summer, after the retreat of the  
*Peloponnesians* out of *Attica*.

The Winter following, *Euarchus* of *Acarnania*, desirous  
to returne to *Astacus*, preuaileth with the *Corinthians*,  
to goe thither with 40. Gallies, and 1500. men of Armes,  
to re-establish him; to which he hired also certaine other

D Mercenaries for the same purpose. The Commanders of  
this Armie were *Euphamidas* the sonne of *Aristonymus*, *Ti-  
moxenes* the sonne of *Timocrates*, and *Eumachus* the sonne of  
*Chrysis*. When they had re-established him, they ende-  
uoured to draw to their party some other places on the  
the Sea-Coast of *Acarnania*, but missing their purpose, they  
set sayle homeward. As they passed by the Coast of *Ce-  
phalonia*, they disbarqued in the Territory of the *Cranij*,  
where, vnder colour of Compulsion, they were deceived,  
and lost some part of their Forces. For the assault made  
E vpon them by the *Cranij*, being unexpected, they got off,  
with much adoe, and went home.

O 2

The

\* The Territory of Megara.  
The Athenians greatest  
Armie.

The Athenians duely once  
a yeere inuade Megara.

\* The Assault of Megara.

The end of the first  
Summer.

*Euarchus*, the Tyrant re-  
couereth *Astacus*.



The manner of the Athenians, in burying the bones of the first slain in the Warres.

\* The custom was when a man dyed, to beacne him, and the Buriall was made with one of his bones, or one part of them, for office.

\* Offering, Incense, and rites of buriall.

\* To his owne friends flaine.

\* The Ceramick.

\* By the first flaine in the Warre, as was custom either the first or any person in the same Warre, as also the Ceramick all out of this great Warre, and the first flaine in any of them, had the honour of this buriall.

The same Winter the Athenians, according to their ancient custome, solemnized a publike Funerall of the first flaine in this Warre, in this manner: Having set vp a Tent, they put into it the \* bones of the dead, three dayes before the Funerall, and euery one bringeth \* whatsoeuer he thinks good to his \* owne. When the day comes of carrying them to their buriall, certaine Cypress Coffins are carried along in Carts, for euery Tribe one, in which are the bones of the men of euery Tribe by themselves. There is likewise borne an empty Hearse couered ouer, for such as appeare not, nor were found amongst the rest B when they were taken vp. The Funerall is accompanied by any that will, whether Citizen or Stranger, and the Women of their Kindred are also by. at the buriall, lamenting and mourning. Then they put them into a publike Monument, which standeth in the fairest \* Suburbs of the Citie, (in which place they haue euer interred all that dyed in the Warres, except those that were flaine in the Fields of Marabon; who, because their vertue was thought extraordinary, were therefore buried there-right) and when the earth is throwne C ouer them, some one, thought to exceede the rest in wisdom and dignity, chosen by the Citie, maketh an Oration, wherein hee giueth them such praises as are fit: which done, the Companie depart: And this is the forme of that Buriall; and for the \* whole time of the Warre, whentoeuer there was occasion, they obserued the same. For these first, the man chosen to make the Oration, was Pericles, the sonne of Xanthippus, who when the time serued, going out of the place of buriall into a high Pulpit, to be heard the further off by the multitude D about him, spake vnto them in this manner:

### THE FVNERALL ORATION made by PERICLES.

Though most that haue spoken formerly in this place, haue commended the man that added this Oration to the Law; as honourable for those that dye in the Warres; yet to mee it seemeth sufficient; that they who haue shewed their valour by action, should also by an action haue their honour, as now you see they haue; in this their sepulture performed by the State; and not to haue the vertue of many

A many hazarded on one, to be beleeued as that one shall make a good or bad Oration. For, so speake of men in a iust measure, is a hard matter, and though one do so, yet he shall hardly get the truth firmly beleued. the fauourable hearer, and hee that knowes what was done, will perhaps thinke what is spoken, short of what hee would haue is, and what it was; and hee that is ignorant, will finde somewhat on the other side, which hee will thinke too much extolled; especially if hee heare ought about the pitch of his owne nature. For to heare another man praised, findes patience so long onely, as each man shall thinke he could himselfe haue done somewhat of that hee beares. And if one exceed in their praises, the hearer presently through enuie thinks it false. B But since our Ancestors haue so thought good, I also, following the same ordinance, must endenour to be answerable to the desires and opinions of euery one of you, as farre forth as I can. I will beginne at our Ancestours, being a thing both iust and honest, that to them first bee given the honour of remembrance in this kinde: For they hauing bene alwayes the inhabitants of this Region, by their valour haue delineated the same to succession of posterity, hitherto, in the state of liberty: For which they deserue commendation; but our Fathers deserue yet more; for that besides what descended on them, not C without great labour of their owne, they haue purchased this our present Dominion, and deliuered the same over to vs that now are. Which in a great part also, wee our selves, that are yet in the strength of our age here present, haue enlarged; and so furnished the Citie with every thing, both for peace and warre, as it is now sufficient in itselfe. The actions of Warre, whereby all this was attained, and the deedes of Armes, both of our selves and our Fathers, in valiant opposition to the Barbarians, or Grecians, in their Warres against vs, amongst you that are well acquainted with the summe, to auoid prolixity, I will passe ouer. But by what institutions wee arrived at this, by what D forme of gouernment, and by what meanes we haue advanced the State to this greatnesse, when I shall haue laide open this, I will then descend to these mens praises. For I thinke they are things both fit for the purpose in hand, and profitable to the whole company, both of Citizens and Strangers, to beare related. These being a forme of gouernment, not fetched by imitation from the Lawes of our neighbours in States, (nay, wee are rather a pattern to others, than they are to vs) which, because in the administration, in the dispatch, and in the few, due to the multitude, is called a Democracie. Wherein, though there be an equality amongst all men in point of Law, yet in private controuersies; yet in conferring of dignities, one man is preferred before another to publike charge, and that according to the reputation, not



\* *Asp.* A part. But here he means a part or family in the Common wealth, caring secretly at the Lacedæmonians, that had none came to the supreme Office, but the Heracleides.

\* He himself againe at the Lacedæmonians, because they ever looked severely on soft and loose behaviour.

The Athenians had Sacrifices and Games, publique or private, for every day of the yeere.

\* This is spoken with envie towards the Lacedæmonians that prohibited Strangers to dwell amongst them.

of his \* House, but of his vertue, and is not put backe through pover-  
 A tie, for the obscurity of his person, as long as hee can doe good service to the Common wealth. And we live not onely free in the administration of the State, but also one with another, voyd of jealousy, touching each others daily course of life; not offended at any man for following his owne humour, nor casting on any man \* censorious looks, which though they bee no punishment, yet they grieve. So that conversing one with another for the private without offence, wee stand chiefly in feare to transgresse against the publique; and are obedient alwayes to those that governe, and to the Lawes, and principally to such Lawes as are written for protection against iniurie, and such unwritten, as bring undeniable shame to the transgressors. Wee have also found out many wayes to give our mindes recreation from labour, by publique institution of Games and Sacrifices for all the dayes of the yeere, with a decent pompe and furniture of the same by private men; by the daily delight whereof, wee expell sadness. Wee have this further, by the greatnesse of our City, that all things, from all parts of the Earth are imported hither; whereby we no lesse familiarly enjoy the commodities of all other Nations, then our owne. Then in the studies of Warre, wee excell our Enemies in this: wee leave our Citie open to all men, nor was it ever seene, that by \* banishing of strangers, we denied them  
 C the learning or sight of any of those things, which if not hidden, an Enemy might reape advantage by, not relying on secret preparation and deceit, but upon our owne courage in the action. They in their discipline hunt after valour, presently from their youth, with laborious exercise; and yet wee that live remissly, undertake as great dangers as they. For example, the Lacedæmonians invade not our dominion by themselves alone, but with the ayde of all the rest. But when  
 D wee invade our neighbours, though wee fight in hostile ground, against such as in their owne ground, fight in defence of their owne substance, yet for the most part wee get the victorie. D  
 Neuer Enemy yet fell into the hands of our whole Forces at once; both because wee apply our selves much to Navigation, and by Land also send many of our men into divers Countries abroad. But when fighting with a part of it, they chance to get the better, they boast they have beaten the whole; and when they get the worse, they say they are beaten by the whole. And yet when from ease, rather then  
 E studious labour, and upon naturall rather then doctrinall valour, wee come to undertake any danger, wee have this adde by it, that we shall not faint before hand with the meditation of future trouble; and in the action wee shall appeare no lesse confident then they that are ever  
 E toylings, procuring admiration to our Citie, as well in this, as in  
 duers

A divers other things. For we also give our selves to bravery, and yet with thrift; and to Philosophy, and yet without mollification of the minde. And we use riches rather for opportunities of action, then for verbal ostentation: And hold it not a shame to confesse pover-  
 ty, but not to have avoided it. Moreover there is in the same men, a care, both of their owne, and of the publique affaires, and a sufficient \* knowledge of State matters, even in those that labour with their hands. For we onely thinke one that is utterly ignorant there-  
 in, to be a man not that meddles with nothing, but that is good for nothing. We likewise weigh what we undertake, and apprehend it  
 B perfectly in our mindes; not accounting words for a hindrance of action, but that it is rather a hindrance to action, to come to it without instruction of words before. For also in this we excell others; daring to undertake as much as any, and yet examining what wee undertake; whereas with other men, ignorance makes them dare, and consideration, daunts; and they are most rightly reputed valiant, who though they perfectly apprehend, both what is dangerous, and what is easie, are neuer the more thereby diverted from adventuring. Again, we are contrary to most men in matter of bounty. For we purchase our friends, not by receiving, but by bestowing benefits. And he that bestoweth a good turne, is ever the most constant  
 C friend, because hee will not lose the thanks due unto him, from him whom he bestowed it on. Whereas the friendship of him that oweth a benefit is dull and flat, as knowing his benefit not to be taken for a favour, but for a debt; So that we onely, doe good to others, not upon computation of profit, but freeness of trust. In summe, it may be said, both that the City is in generall a Schoole of the Grecians, and that the men here, have every one in particular, his person disposed to most diversity of actions, and yet all with grace and decency. And that this is not now, rather a bravery of words, upon  
 D the occasion, then real truth, this power of the Citie, which by these institutions we have obtained, maketh evident. For it is the onely power now found greater in proofs, then fame; and the onely power, that neither grieveth the invader when he miscarries, with the quality of those he was hurt by, nor giveth cause to the subiect States to murmur, as being in subjection to men unworthy. For both  
 E with present and future Ages we shall be in admiration for a power, not without testimony, but made evident by great arguments, and which needeth not either a Homer to praise it, or any other such, whose Poems may indeed for the present, bring delight, but the truth  
 E will afterwards confute the opinion conceived of the actions. For we have opened unto us by our courage, all Seas, and Lands, and  
 [et]

\* In Athens no man so poor but was a Statesman. So S. Luke, A.C. 19. 15. All the Athenians spend their time in nothing but hearing and telling of news; be true Character of politicians without employment.

How magnifies the Athenian power above that which the Grecian had at Troy, which needed Homer to make it thew great, but this power would seeme great by Tropies and real monuments of their actions.



set vp eternall Monuments on all sides, both of the euill we haue done **A** to our enemies, and the good wee haue done to our friends. Such is the Citie for which these men (thinking it no reason to lose it) valiantly fighting, haue dyed. And it is fit that euery man of you that bee left, should bee like minded, to vndergoe any trauell for the same. And I haue therefore spoken so much concerning the Citie in generall, as well to shew you, that the stakes betwene vs and them, whose Citie is not such, are not equall; as also to make knowne by effects, the worth of these men I am to speake of; the greatest part of their praises being therein already deliuered. For what I haue spoken of the Citie, bath by these and such as these beene atchieued: Neither would praises **B** and actions appeare so leuelly concurrent in many other of the Grecians, as they doe in these; the present revolution of these mens lines seeming vnto mee an argument of their vertues, noted in the first act thereof, and in the last confirmed. For euen such of them as were worse then the rest, doe neuertheless deserue that for their valour shewne in the Warres for defence of their Countrey, they should bee preferred before the rest. For hauing by their good actions abolished the memory of their euill, they haue profited the State thereby, more then they haue hurt it by their priuate behauiour. Yet there was none of these, that preferring the further fruition of his wealth, was there- **C** by growne cowardly, or that for hope to overcome his pouerty at length, and to attaine to riches, did for that cause withdraw himselfe from the danger. For their principall desire was not wealth, but reuenge on their Enemies, which esteeming the most honourable cause of danger, they made account through it, both to accomplish their reuenge, and to purchase wealth withall; putting the vncertainty of successe, to the account of their hope; but for that which was before their eyes, relying vpon themselves in the Action; and therein chusing rather to fight and dye, then to shrink and bee saued. They fled from shame, but with their bodies, they stood out the Battell; and so in a moment, **D** whilest Fortune inclineth neither way, lest their lines not in feare, but in opinion of victory. Such were these men, worthy of their Countrey; and for you that remaine, you may pray for a safer fortune; but you ought not to bee lesse venturously minded against the enemy; not weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying, may recount, to you that know as well as bee, the many commodities that arise by fighting valiantly against your enemies, but contemplating the power of the Citie in the actions of the same from day to day performed, and thereby becoming enamoured of it. And when this power of the Citie shall seeme great to you, consider then, that the same **E** was purchased by valiant men, and by men that know their duty, and by

**A** by men that were sensible of dishonour when they were in fight; and by such men, as though they failed of their attempt, yet would not bee wanting to the Citie with their vertue, but made vnto it a most honourable contribution. For hauing euery one giuen his body to the Common-wealth, they receiue in place thereof, an vndeaying commendation, and a most remarkable Sepulcher, not wherein they are buried so much, as wherein their glory is laid vp, vpon all occasions, both of speech and action, to bee remembred for euer. For to famous men, all the earth is a Sepulcher: and their vertues shall bee testified, not onely by the inscription in stone at home, but by an vnrwritten record of the minde, which more then of any Monument, will remaine with euery one for euer. In imitation therefore of these men, and placing happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, bee forward to encounter the dangers of Warre. For the miserable and desperate men, are not they that haue the most reason to bee prodigall of their lines, but rather such men, as if they liue, may expect a change of fortune, and whose losses are greatest, if they miscarry in ought. For to a man of any spirit, Death, which is without sense, arriuing whilest hee is in vigour, and common hope, is nothing so bitter, as after a tender life to bee brought into miserie. Wherefore I will not so much bewaile, as comfort you **C** the parents, that are present; of these men. For you know that whilest they liued, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas whilest you are in griefe, they onely are happy, that dye honourably, as these haue done: and to whom it hath beene granted, not only to liue in prosperity, but to dye in it. Though it bee a hard matter to dissuade you from sorrow, for the losse of that, which the happiness of others, wherein you also when time was, reioyced your felues, shall so often bring into your remembrance (for sorrow is not for the want of a good neuer tasted, but for the priuation of a good wee haue beene vsed to) yet such of you as are of the age to haue children, may beare the losse **D** of these, in the hope of more. For the later children will both draw on with some the obliuion of those that are slaine, and also doubly conduce to the good of the Citie, by population and strength. For it is not likely that they should equally giue good counsell to the State, that haue not children to bee equally exposed to danger in it. As for you that are past hauing of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your life, to the account of your gaine, and supposing the remainder of it will bee but short, you shall haue the glory of these for a consolation of the same. For the loue of honour neuer groweth old, nor doth that vnprofitable part of our life take delight (as some haue said) in gathering of wealth, so much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the children or brethren of these men, I see you shall haue a difficult taske **E**

\* children.



of emulation. For euery man vsesh to praise the dead; so that A with odde of vertue you will hardly get an equall reputation, but still be thought a little short. For men enuy their Competitors in glory, while they liue, but to stand out of their way, is a thing honoured with an affection free from opposition. And since I must say somewhat also of feminine vertue, for you that are now Widdowes: I shall expresse it all in this short admonition. It will bee much for your honour, not to recede from your Sexe, and to giue as little occasion of rumour amongst the men, whether of good or euill, as you can. Thus also haue I, according to the prescript of the Law, deliuered in word what was expedient; and those that are here interred, haue in fact bene already honoured; and further, their children shall be maintained till they be at mans estate, at the charge of the Citie, which hath therein propounded both to these, and them that liue, a profitable Garland in their matches of valour. For where the rewards of vertue are greatest, there liue the worthiest men. So now hauing lamented euery one his owne, you may be gone. Such was the Funerall made this Winter, which ending, ended the first yeere of this Warre.

The children of such as were the first slaine in any Warre, were kept at the charge of the Citie, till they came to mans estate,

#### THE SECOND YEERE.

The second inuasion of Attica, by the Lacedaemonians.

The plague at Athens.

It began in Ethiopia.

\* of Persia;

In the very beginning of Summer, the Peloponnesians, and their Confederates, with two thirds of their forces, as before C invaded Attica, vnder the conduct of Archidamus, the sonne of Zeuxidamas, King of Lacedaemon, and after they had encamped themselves, wasted the countrey about them.

They had not bene many dayes in Attica, when the plague first began amongst the Athenians, said also to haue seized formerly on diuers other parts, as about Lemnos, and elsewhere; but so great a plague, and mortality of men, was neuer remembred to haue hapned in any place before. For at first, neither were the Physicians able to cure it, D through ignorance of what it was, but dyed fastest themselves, as being the men that most approached the sicke, nor any other art of man auailed whatsoeuer. All supplications to the Gods, and enquiries of Oracles, and whatsoeuer other meanes they vsed of that kind, proued all vnprofitable; inso much as subdued with the greatnesse of the euill, they gaue them all ouer. It began (by report) first, in that part of Ethiopia that lyeth vpon Egypt, and thence fell downe into Egypt and Afrique, and into the greatest part of the Territories of the \* King. It invaded Athens on a E sudden; and touched first vpon those that dwelt in

Piraeus;

A Pyraeus; inso much as they reported that the Peloponnesians had cast poyson into their Welles, for Springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came vp into the high City, and then they dyed a great deale faster. Now let euery man, Physitian, or other, concerning the ground of this sickenesse, whence it sprung, and what causes hee thinkes able to produce so great an alteration, speake according to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will deliuer but the manner of it, and lay open onely such things, as one may take his marke by, to discover the same

B if it come againe, hauing bene both sicke of it my selfe, and seene others sicke of the same. This yeere, by confessions of all men, was of all other, for other diseases, most free and healthfull: If any man were sicke before, his disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly, without any apparant cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extreame ache in their heads, rednesse and inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats and tongues, grew presently bloody, and their breath noysome, and vnsauory. Vpon this, followed a sneezing and

C hoarsenesse, and not long after, the paine, together with a mighty cough, came downe into the breast. And when once it was settled in the \* stomacke, it caused vomit, and with great torment came vp all manner of bilious purgation that Physitians euer named. Most of them had also the Hickeyxe, which brought with it a strong convulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gaue ouer. Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hote nor pale, but reddish liuid, and beset with little pimples and wheelkes, but so burned inwardly, as not to endure any the lightest cloathes or linnen garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere nakednesse, but rather, most willingly, to haue cast themselves into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ranne vnto the Welles, and to drinke much, or little, was indifferent, being still, from ease, and power to sleepe, as farre as euer.

As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, inso much, as the most of them either dyed of their inward E burning, in nine or seuen dayes, whilst they had yet strength, or if they escaped that, then the disease falling

P<sub>2</sub>

The Peloponnesians supposed to haue poysoned their Welles

The Author sicke of this disease.

The description of the Disease.

Ache of the head.

Rednesse of the eyes.  
Sore throat.  
Vnlausourie breath.

Vomitings.  
\* copious. were taken for the Quicke.

Hickeyxe.

Extreme heate of their bodies.  
Liuid pustules.

Insatiate thirst.

Want of sleepe.

After 7, or 9, dayes, death.



Disease in the belly.

Loosenesse.

Lesse of the parts where  
the diseases brake out.Obliuion of all things  
done before their sick-  
nesse.Birds and Beasts perished  
that fed on Carcasses.

Want of attendance.

Dejection of mind.

downe into their bellies, and causing there great exulcerations, and immoderate loosenesse; they dyed many of them afterwards through weakenesse. For the disease (which tooke first the head) began about, and came downe, and passed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worst of it, was yet marked with the lesse of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their pitty members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the lesse of these escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes; and many that presently vpon their recovery, were taken with such an obliuion of all things whatsoeuer, as they neither knew themselves, nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of sicknesse which farre surmounted all expresion of words, and both exceeded humane nature, in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one; and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst vs, and that especially by this. For all both birds and beasts, that vs to feed on humane flesh, though many men lay abroad vnburied, either came not at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, is the manifest defect of such fowle, which were not then seene, neither about the Carcasses, or any where else. But by the dogges, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seene much clearer. So that this disease (to passe over many strange particulars, of the accidents; that some had differently, from others) was in generall such as I haue shewne, and for other vsuall sicknesse, at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some againe with all the care and Physicke that could be vsed. Nor was there any to say, certaine medicine, that applied must haue helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harme to another; nor any difference of body, for strength or weaknesse that was able to resist it; but it carried all away, what Physicke soeuer was administred. But the greatest misery of all was, the dejection of mind, in such as found themselves beginning to be sicke; for they grew presently desperate, and gaue themselves ouer without making any resistance, as also their dying thus like sheepe, infected by mutuall visitation; for the greatest mortality proceeded that way. For if men forbore to visit them, for feare, then they dyed forlorne, whereby many

Any Families became empty, for want of such as should take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the honestest men. For out of shame, they would not spare themselves, but went in vnto their friends, especially after it was come to this passe, that euen their domestiques, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatnesse of the calamity, were no longer moued therewith. But those that were recovered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sicke, as hauing both knowne the misery themselves, and now no more subiect to the danger. For this disease neuer tooke any man the second time, so as to be mortall. And these men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselves, through excessse of present ioy, conceiued a kind of light hope, neuer to die of any other sicknesse hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the countrey people, and of their substance into the Citie, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For hauing no houses, but dwelling at that time of the yeere in stifling boothes, the mortality was now without all forme; and dying men lay tumbling one vpon another in the streetes, and men halfe dead, about every Conduit through desire of water. The Temples also where they dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the Calamitie, and not knowing what to doe, men grew careless both of holy, and prophane things alike. And the Lawes which they formerly vsed touching Funerals, were all now broken, every one burying where hee could finde roome. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deathes before, were forced to become impudent in the Funerals of their friends. For when one had made a Funeral Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his dead, and giue it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and hauing cast thereon him whom he carried, goe his way againe. And the great licentiousnesse, which also in other kindes was vsed in the Citie, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousnesse, he durst now doe freely, seeing before his eyes such quicke reuolution, of the rich dying, and men worth

No man sicke of it mortally the second time.

Men dyed in the streets.

Disorder in their Funerals.

\* A pile of wood, which when they had laid the Carpes on it, they fired, and afterwards buried the bones.

Licentiousnesse of life increased.



worth nothing, inheriting their estates; inſomuch as they A  
juſtified a ſpeedy fruition of their goods, euen for their  
pleaſure; as men that thought they held their liues  
but by the day. As for paines, no man was forward in any  
action of honour, to take any, becauſe they thought it vn-  
certaine whether they ſhould dye or not, before they at-  
chieued it. But what any man knew to bee delightfull,  
and to bee profitable to pleaſure, that was made both pro-  
fitable and honourable. Neither the feare of the Gods,  
nor Lawes of men, awed any man. Not the former, be-  
cauſe they concluded it was alike to worſhip or not wor- B  
ſhip, from ſeeing that alike they all periſhed: nor the lat-  
ter, becauſe no man expected that liues would laſt, till he  
receiued puniſhment of his crimes by iudgement. But  
they thought there was now ouer their heads, ſome farre  
greater Iudgement decreed againſt them; before which  
fell, they thought to enioy ſome little part of their liues.  
Such was the miſery into which the Athenians being ſalne,  
were much oppreſſed; hauing not onely their men killed  
by the Diſeaſe within, but the enemy alſo laying waſte  
their Fields and Villages without. In this ſickneſſe alſo, C  
(as it was not vnlikely they would) they called to minde  
this Verſe, ſaid alſo of the elder ſort to haue bene vttered  
of old:

*A Dorique Warre ſhall fall,  
And a great \* Plague withall.*

Now were men at variance about the word, ſome ſay-  
ing it was not *νομῆς*, (i. the *Plague*) that was by the An-  
cients, mentioned in that verſe, but *πείνης*, (i. *Famine*.) But D  
vpon the preſent occaſion the word *νομῆς*, deſeruedly ob-  
tained. For as men ſuffered, ſo they made the Verſe to  
ſay. And I thinke, if after this, there ſhall euer come an-  
other *Dorique Warre*, and with it a *Famine*, they are like  
to recite the Verſe accordingly. There was alſo reported  
by ſuch as knew, a certaine anſwer giuen by the Oracle to  
the *Lacedæmonians*, when they enquired whether they  
ſhould make this Warre, or not, *That if they warred with all*  
*their power, they ſhould haue the Victorie, and that the \* God him-*  
*ſelfe would take their parts:* and thereupon they thought E  
the preſent miſery to bee a fulfilling of that Prophecie.

The

A The *Peloponneſians* were no ſooner entred *Attica*, but the  
ſickneſſe preſently began, and neuer came into *Peloponneſus*,  
to ſpeake of, but raigned principally in *Athens*, and in ſuch  
other places afterwards as were moſt populous. And thus  
much of this Diſeaſe.

After the *Peloponneſians* had waſted the *Champaigne*  
Country, they fell vpon the Territory called \* *Paralos*,  
as farre aſto the Mountaine *Lawrium*, where the *Athenians*  
had Siluer Mines, and firſt waſted that part of it which  
looketh towards *Peloponneſus*, and then that alſo which ly-  
B eth toward *Andros* and *Eubœa*: and *Pericles*, who was alſo  
then Generall, was ſtill of the ſame minde hee was of in  
the former inuaſion, that the *Athenians* ought not to goe  
out againſt them to battell.

Whilſt they were yet in the Plaine, & before they entred  
into the Maritime Country, he furniſhed an hundred Gal-  
lies to goe about *Peloponneſus*, and as ſoone as they were  
ready, put to Sea. In theſe Gallies hee had foure thou-  
ſand men of Armes; and in Veſſels then purpoſely firſt  
made to carry Horſes, three hundred Horſemen. The *Chi-*  
C *ans* and *Leſbians* ioyned likewise with him with fiftie Gal-  
lies. This Fleet of the *Athenians*, when it ſet forth, left  
the *Peloponneſians* ſtill in *Paralia*, and comming before *Epidau-*  
*rus*, a Citie of *Peloponneſus*, they waſted much of the Coun-  
try therabout, and aſſaulting the Citie, had a hope to take it,  
though it ſucceeded not. Leaving *Epidaurus*, they waſted  
the Territories about, of *Træzene*, *Halias*, and *Hermione*, places  
all on the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*. Putting off from hence,  
they came to *Præſia*, a ſmall maritime Citie of *Laconica*, and  
both waſted the Territory about it, and tooke and razed  
the Towne it ſelfe: and hauing done this, came home, and  
found the *Peloponneſians* not now in *Attica*, but gone backe.

All the while the *Peloponneſians* were in the Territorie  
of the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* abroad with their Fleet,  
the ſickneſſe, both in the Armie and Citie, deſtroyed ma-  
ny, in ſo much as it was ſaid, that the *Peloponneſians*, fea-  
ring the ſickneſſe (which they knew to bee in the Citie,  
both by fugitiues, and by ſeeing the *Athenians* burying their  
dead) went the ſooner away out of the Country. And  
yet they ſtayed there longer in this inuaſion, then they  
E had done any time before; and waſted euen the whole  
Territory: for they continued in *Attica* almoſt forty daies.

The

Neglect of Religion and Law.

Predictions called to minde.

\* *νομῆς*.

An ambiguous Prophecie expounded by the euent.

\* *Apollon*, to whom the *Athenians* then attributed the immiſſion of all epidemicke or ordinary diſeaſes.\* *by the Sea-coaſt**Pericles* with 100. Gaile of *Athenians*, about *Peloponneſus*.The *Peloponneſians* depa out of *Attica*.



The Athenian Fleet returned from Epidaurus, and of the plague to Potidea with all weakness, by reason of the sickness.

The same Summer, Agnon the sonne of Nicias, and Cleopompus the Sonne of Clinias, who were ioynt Commanders with Pericles, with that Arme which hee had employed before, went presently and made Warre vpon the Chalcidians of Thrace, and against Potidea, which was yet besieged. Arriuing, they presently applyed Engins, and tryed all meanes possible to take it; but neither the taking of the Citie, nor any thing else, succeeded worthy so great preparation. For the sicknesse comming amongst them, afflicted them mightily indeed, and euen deuoured the Army. And the Athenian Souldiers which were there before, and in health, caught the sicknesse from those that came with Agnon. As for Phormio, and his 1600. they were not now amongst the Chalcidians; and Agnon therefore came backe with his Fleet, hauing of 4000 men in lesse then 40. dayes, lost 1030. of the plague. But the Souldiers that were there before, staid vpon the place, and continued the siege of Potidea.

The Athenian people vexed at once both with the Warre & Pestilence, grow impatient toward Pericles.

After the second inuasion of the Peloponnesians, the Athenians (hauing their fields now the second time wasted, and both the sicknesse, and warre, falling vpon them at once) changed their mindes, and accused Pericles, as if by his meanes they had been brought into these calamities, and desired earnestly to compound with the Lacedaemonians, to whom also they sent certaine Ambassadors, but they returned without effect. And being then at their wits end, they kept a stirre at Pericles. And hee, seeing them vexed with their present calamity, and doing all those things which he had before expected, called an Assembly (for he was yet Generall) with intention to put them againe into heart, and asswaging their passion, to reduce their mindes to a more calme, and lesse disuayed temper; and standing forth, he spake vnto them, in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

Y Our anger towards me, commeth not vnlooked for, (for the causes of it I know) and I haue called this Assembly therefore, to remember you, and reprehend you for those things, wherein you haue either beene angry with me, or giuen way to your aduersity, without reason. For I am of this opinion, that the publike prosperity of the Citie,

A Citie, is better for priuate men, then if the priuate men themselves were in prosperity, and the publike wealth in decay. For a priuate man, though in good estate, if his Countrey come to ruine, must of necessity be ruined with it; whereas hee that mis-carrieth, in a flourishing Common-wealth, shall much more easily be preferred. Since then the Common-wealth is able to beare the calamities of priuate men, and every one cannot support the calamities of the Common-wealth, why should not every one strue to defend it? and not (as you now, astonished with domestique misfortune) forsake the common safety, and fall a censuring both me that counselled the Warre, and your selues, that decreed the same as well as I. And it is I you are angry withall, one, as I thinke my selfe, inferiour to none, either in knowing what is requisite, or in expressing what I know, and a louer of my Countrey, and superior to money. For he that hath good thoughts, and cannot cleerely expresse them, were as good to haue thought nothing at all. He that can do both, and is ill affected to his Countrey, will likewise not giue it faithfull counsell. And he that will doe that to, yet if he be superable by money, will for that alone set all the rest to sale. Now if you followed my aduice in making this Warre, as esteeming these vertues to bee in mee, somewhat about the rest, there is sure no reason I should now be accused of doing you wrong. For though to such as haue it in their owne election (being otherwise in good estate) it were madnesse to make choise of Warre; yet when we must of necessitie, either giue way, and so without more adoe, be subiect to our Neighbours, or else saue our selues from it by danger, he is more to be condemned that declineth the danger, then he that standeth to it. For mine owne part, I am the man I was, and of the minde I was, but you are changed, wonne to the Warre, when you were entire, but repenting it vpon the dammage, and condemning my counsell, in the weakenesse of your owne iudgement. The reason of this is, because you feelee already every one in particular, that which afflicts you, but the euidence of the profit to accrew to the Citie in generall, you see not yet. And your mindes delected with the great and sudden alteration, cannot constantly maintaine what you haue before resolved. For that which is sodaine and vnexpected, and contrary to what one hath deliberated, enslaueth the spirit; which by this disease principally, in the necke of the other incommodities, is now come to passe in you. But you that are borne in a great Citie, and with education, suitable, how great soeuer the affliction be, ought not to shrink at it, and eclipse your reputation (for men doe no lesse condemne those that through cowardize lose the glory they haue, then hate those that through impudence, arrogate the glory they haue not) but to set aside the griefe of your priuate losses, and lay your hands to the common safety.



afety. As for the toyle of the Warre, that it may perhaps be long, A  
and we in the end neuer the nearer to the victory, though that may  
iustice which I haue demonstrated at other times, touching your  
causelesse iustition that way; yet this I will tell you moreover, tou-  
ching the greatnesse of your meanes for dominion, which neither you  
your selues seeme to haue euer thought on, nor I touched in my for-  
mer Orations; nor would I also haue spoken it now, but that I see  
your mindes delected more then there is cause for. That though you  
take your dominion to extend onely to your Confederates, I asseme  
that of the two parts of the world of manifest rise, the Land and the  
Sea, you are of the one of them, entire Masters, both of as much of it, B  
as you make use of, and also of as much more as you shall thinke fit  
your selues. Neither is there any King or Nation whatsoever, of  
those that now are, that can impeach your Navigation, with the Fleet  
and strength you now goe. So that you must not put the rise of  
Houses, and Lands, (wherein you now thinke your selues deprived  
of a mighty matter) into the ballance with such a power as this, nor  
take the losse of these things heauily in respect of it, but rather let lit-  
tle by them, as but a light ornament and embellishment of wealth, and  
thinke, that our libertie, as long as we hold fast that, will easily reco-  
uer vnto vs, these things againe; whereas subiected once to others, C  
euen that which we possesse besides will be diminished. Shew not  
your selues both wayes inferiour to your Ancestors, who not onely  
held this (gotten by their owne labours, not left them) but haue also  
preserued, and deliuered the same vnto vs, (For it is more dishonour  
to lose what one possesseth, then to miscarry in the acquisition of it)  
and encounter the enemy not onely with magnanimitie, but also with  
disdaine: for a coward may haue a high minde, vpon a prosperous  
ignorance, but he that is confident vpon iudgement to be superiour  
to his enemy, doth also disdain him, which is now our case. And con-  
rage (in equall fortune) is the safer for our disdain of the enemy, D  
where a man knowes what he doth. For he trusteth lesse to hope,  
which is of force onely in vncertainties, and more to iudgement vpon  
certainties, wherein there is a more sure foresight. You haue reason  
besides to maintaine the dignitie the Citie hath gotten for her Domi-  
nion, (in which you all triumph) and either not decline the paines, or  
not also pursue the honour. And you must not thinke the question  
is now of your liberty, and seruitude onely; Besides the losse of your  
rule ouer others, you must stand the danger you haue contracted, by  
offence giuen in the administration of it. Nor can you now giue it  
ouer (if any fearing at this present, that that may come to passe, en-  
courage himselfe with the intension of not to meddle hereafter) for  
already

A already your government is in the nature of a tyranny, which is both vn-  
iust for you to take vp, and vnwise to lay downe. And such men as these, if  
they could perswade others to it, or liued in a free Citie by themselves,  
would quickly ouerthrow it. For the quiet life can neuer be preserued,  
if it be not ranged with the active life; nor is it a life conducible to a  
Citie that reigneth, but to a subiect Citie, that it may safely serue. Be  
not therefore seduced by this sort of men, nor angry with me, to-  
gether with whom your selues did decree this Warre, because the ene-  
my invading you hath done what was likely he would, if you obeyed  
him not. And as for the sicknesse (the onely thing that exceeded  
B the imagination of all men) it was vnlooked for, and I know you hate  
me somewhat the more for that, but vnjustly, vnlesse when any thing  
falleth out above your expectation fortunate, you will also dedicate vn-  
to me that. Evils that come from heauen, you must beare necessarily,  
and such as proceed from your enemies valiantly; for so it hath beene  
the custome of this Citie to doe heretofore, which custome let it not bee  
your part to reuerse: Knowing that this Citie hath a great name  
amongst all people, for not yeelding to aduersity, and for the mighty  
power it yet hath, after the expence of so many liues, and so much la-  
bour in the Warre, the memory whereof, though we should now at  
C length miscarry (for all things are made with this Law, to decay  
again) will remaine with posterity for euer. How that being Gre-  
cians, most of the Grecians were our subiects; That we haue abidden  
the greatest Warres against them, both vniuersally and singly, And  
haue inhabited the greatest and wealthiest Citie; Now this;  
bee with the quiet life will condemne, the active man will emulate;  
and they that haue not attained to the like, will enuy. But to be hated,  
and to displease, is a thing that happeneth for the time to whosoever bee  
be that hath the command of others; and he does well that vndergoeth  
hatred, for matters of great consequence. For the hatred lasteth not,  
D and is recompensed both with the present splendor, and an immortal gló-  
ry hereafter. Seing then you foresee both what is honourable for the fu-  
ture, and not dishonourable for the present, procure both the one, and  
the other by your obuage now. Send no more Herasids to the Lace-  
dæmonians; nor let them know that the euill present does any  
way afflict you; for they whose mindes least feele, and whose actions  
most oppose a calamity, both amongst States, and priuate persons are  
the best.

In this speech did Pericles endeavour to appease the an-  
ger of the Athenians towards himselfe, and withall to with-  
draw their thoughts from the present affliction; But they,



they, though for the State in generall, they were won, and A sent to the *Lacedæmonians* no more, but rather enclined to the Warre, yet they were every one in particular, grieved for their severall losses. The poore, because entering the Warre with little, they lost that little, and the rich, because they had lost faire possessions, together with goodly houses, and costly furniture in them, in the Countrey; but the greatest matter of all was, that they had Warre in stead of Peace. And altogether, they deposed not their anger, till they had first fined him in a summe of money. Neuerthelesse, not long after, (as is the fashion of the B multitude) they made him Generall againe, and committed the whole State to his administration. For the sense of their domestique losses was now dulled, and for the need of the Common-wealth, they prized him more then any other whatsoever. For as long as he was in authority in the Citie, in time of Peace, he governed the same with moderation, and was a faithfull watchman of it, and in his time it was at the greatest. And after the Warre was on foot, it is manifest that he therein also fore-saw what it could doe. Hee lived after the Warre began, two yeeres C and fixe moneths. And his foresight in the Warre was best knowne after his \* death. For he told them, that if they would be quiet, and looke to their Nauy, and during this Warre, seeke no further dominion, nor hazzard the Citie it selfe, they should then haue the vpper hand. But they did contrary in all, and in such other things besides, as seemed not to concerne the Warre, managed the State, according to their priuate ambition and couetousnesse, perniciously both for themselves, and their Confederates. What succeeded well, the honour and profit of it, came D most to priuate men; and what miscarried, was to the Cities detriment in the Warre. The reason whereof, was this, that being a man of great power, both for his dignity and wisdom, & for bribes, manifestly the most incorrupt, he freely controuled the multitude, and was not so much led by them, as he led them. Because (having gotten his power by no euill Artes) he would not humour them in his speeches, but out of his authority, durst anger them with contradiction. Therefore whensoever he saw them out of season insolently bold; he would with his Orations put them into a feare, and againe, when they were afraid E without

*Pericles fined in a summe of money,*

*Athen at the greatest in the time of Pericles,*

*The death of Pericles. \* Plutarch says, he dyed of the Plague.*

*The commendation of Pericles,*

A without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits, and imbolden them. It was in name a State *Democraticall*, but in fact, *A government of the principall Man*. But they that came after, being more equall amongst themselves, and affecting every one to be the chiefe, applied themselves to the people, and let goe the care of the Common-wealth. From whence, amongst many other errours, as was likely in a great and dominant Citie, proceeded also the voyage into *Sicily*, which was not so much vpon mistaking those whom they went against, as for want of knowledge in the B senders, of what was necessary for those that went the voyage. For through priuate quarrels about, who should beare the greatest sway with the people, they both abated the vigour of the Armie, and then also first troubled the State at home with diuision. Being ouerthrowne in *Sicily*, and having lost, besides other ammunition, the greatest part of their Nauy, and the Citie being then in sedition, yet they held out 3 yeeres, both against their first enemies, and the *Sicilians* with them, and against most of their reuolted Confederates besides, and also afterwards against *Cyrus* C the *Kings* sonne, who tooke part with, and sent money to the *Peloponnesians*, to maintaine their Fleet; and neuer shrunke till they had ouerthrowne themselves with priuate dissentions. So much was in *Pericles* about other men at that time, that he could foresee by what meanes the Citie might easily haue out-lasted the *Peloponnesians* in this Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, made Warre the same Summer with 100 Gallies, against *Zacynthus*, an Island lying ouer against *Elis*. The Inhabitants whereof D were a Colony of the *Achaens* of *Peloponnesus*, but Confederates of the people of *Athens*. There went in this Fleet, 1000 men of Armes, and *Cnemius* a *Spartan* for Admirall, who, landing, wasted the greatest part of the Territory. But they of the Island not yeelding, they put off againe, and went home.

In the end of the same Summer, *Aristophanes* of *Corinth*, and *Anaristus*, *Nicolaus*, *Praxodemus*, and *Timagoras* of *Tegea*, Ambassadors of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Polis* of *Argos*, a priuate man, as they were travelling into *Asia* to the King; to E get money of him, and to draw him into their league, tooke *Thrace* in their way; and came vnto *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*.

*The Lacedæmonian Warre against Zacynthus.*

*The Lacedæmonian Ambassadors taken by the Athenian Ambassadors in Thrace and went to Athens.*



Tyrus, with a desire to get him also, if they could, to forsake the league with *Athens*, and to send his forces to *Potidea*, which the *Athenian* Army now besieged, and not to aide the *Athenians* any longer: and withall to get leaue to passe through his Countrey to the other side of *Hellepont*, to goe, as they intended, to *Pharnabazus*, the sonne of *Pharnaces*, who would conuoy them to the King. But the *Ambraciots* of *Athens*, *Learchus*, the sonne of *Calimachus*, and *Ameiniades* the sonne of *Philemon*, then resident with *Sitalces*, perswaded *Sadocus* the sonne of *Sitalces*, who was now a Citizen of *Athens*, to put them into their hands, that they might not goe to the King, and doe hurt to the Citie, whereof hee himselfe was now a member. Whereunto condiscending, as they journeyed thorow *Thrace*, to take ship to crosse the *Hellepont*,\* he apprehended them before they got to the ship, by such others as he sent along with *Learchus*, and *Ameiniades*, with command to deliuer them into their hands; And they, when they had them, sent them away to *Athens*. When they came thither, the *Athenians* fearing *Aristeus*, left escaping, he should doe them further mischief, (for he was manifestly the authour of all the businesse of *Potidea*, and about *Thrace*) the same day put them all to death, vniudged; and desirous to haue spoken; and threw them into the Pits, thinking it but iust, to take reuenge of the *Lacedemonians* that began it, and had slaine and throwne into Pits, the Merchants of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates, whom they tooke sayling in \* Merchants ships, about the Coast of *Peloponnesus*. For in the beginning of the Warre, the *Lacedemonians* slew, as enemies, whomsoever they tooke at Sea; whether Confederates of the *Athenians*, or neutrall, all alike.

About the same time, in the end of Summer, the *Ambraciots*; both they themselues, and diuers Barbarian Nations by them raised, made Warre against *Argos* of *Amphilochia*; and against the rest of that Territory. The quarrell betweene them and the *Argives*, arose first from hence. This *Argos* and the rest of *Amphilochia*, was planted by *Amphilochus* the sonne of *Amphirauus*, after the *Troian* Warre; who at his returne, misliking the then State of *Argos*, built this Citie in the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, and called it *Argos*, after the name of his owne Countrey. And it was the greatest Citie, and had the most wealthy Inhabitants of all *Amphilochia*.

\* A vile act of *Sadocus*, to gratifie the *Athenians*, because they had made him free of their Citie.

The *Athenians* put them to death.

\* In x. x. ships of the round forme of building: for the use of Merchants; not for the use of Warre, as were Gallies, and other Vessels of the long forme of building.

The *Ambraciots* warre on *Acarnania*.

*Amphilochia*. But many generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their Citie with the *Ambraciots*, bordering vpon *Amphilochia*. And then they first learned the *Greece* language now vsed, from the *Ambraciots*, were liued among them. For the rest of the *Amphilochians*, were Barbarians. Now the *Ambraciots* in proceesse of time, draue out the *Argives*, and held the Citie by themselues. Whereupon the *Amphilochians* submitted themselues to the *Acarnanians*, and both together called in the *Athenians*, who sent 30 Gallies to their aide, and *Phormio* for Generall. *Phormio* being arriued, tooke *Argos* by assault; and making slaues of the *Ambraciots*, put the Towne into the ioynt possessions of the *Amphilochians* and *Acarnanians*; and this was the beginning of the League betweene the *Athenians* and *Acarnanians*. The *Ambraciots* therefore deriuing their hatred to the *Argives* from this their captiuitie, came in with an Armie partly of their owne, and partly raised amongst the *Chaonians*, and other neighbouring Barbarians now in this Warre. And comming to *Argos*, were masters of the field; but when they could not take the Citie by assault, they returned, and disbanding, went euery Nation to his owne. These were the Acts of the Summer.

In the beginning of Winter, the *Athenians* sent 20 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Phormio*, who comming to lie at \* *Naupactus*, guarded the passage that none might goe in, or out, from *Corinth*, and the *Crissean* Gulfe. And other 6 Gallies, vnder the Conduet of *Melesander*, they sent into *Caria*, and *Lycia*, as well to gather tribute in those parts, as also to hinder the *Peloponnesian* Pirates, lying on those Coasts, from molesting the Nauigation of such \* Merchant-ships as they expected to come to them from *Phaselis*, *Phoenicia*, and that part of the Continent. But *Melesander* landing in *Lycia*, with such forces of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, as he had aboard, was ouercome in battaile, and slaine, with the losse of a part of his Army.

The same Winter, the *Potidea* vnable any longer to endure the siege, seeing the inuasion of *Attica* by the *Peloponnesians*, could not make them rise, and seeing their victuall failed, and that they were forced, amongst diuers other things done by them, for necessity of food, to eate one another, propounded at length to *Xenophon* the sonne of *Eurypides*,

The end of the second Summer.

\* *Leptaia*.

\* *Phaselis*.

*Potidea* rendered to the *Athenians*.



375000. pound Sterling.

THE THIRD  
YEERE.  
The siege of Plataea.The Plataean Speech to  
Archidamus.

*Eupeides, Heliadonius, the sonne of Aristoclidus, and Theno- Amachus, the sonne of Callimachus, the Athenian Commanders that lay before the Citie, to giue the same into their hands. And they, seeing both that the Armie was already afflicted by lying in that cold place, and that the State had already spent \* 2000. Talents vpon the Siege, accepted of it. The conditions agreed on, were these: To depart, they and their Wines and Children, and their auxiliar Souldiers, euery man with one sute of clothes, and euery woman with two; and to take with them euery one a certaine summe of money for his charges by the way. Hereupon a Truce was granted them to depart; and they went, some to the Chalcideans, and others to other places, as they could get to. But the people of Athens called the Commanders in question, for compounding without them; conceiuing that they might haue gotten the Citie to discretion. And sent afterwards a Colonie to Potidea of their owne Citizens. These were the things done in this Winter. And so ended the second yeere of this War, written by Thucydides.*

*The next Summer, the Peloponnesians and their Confederates came not into Attica, but turned their Armes against Plataea, led by Archidamus the sonne of Zeuxidamus, King of the Lacedaemonians, who hauing pitched his Campe was about to waste the Territory thereof. But the Plataeans sent Ambassadors presently vnto him, with words to this effect: Archidamus, and you Lacedaemonians, you doe neither iustly, nor worthy your selues and Ancestours, in making Warre vpon Plataea. For Pausanias of Lacedaemon, the sonne of Cleombrotus, hauing (together with such Grecians as were content to vndergoe the danger of the battell that was fought in this our Territory) deliuered all Greece from the slavery of the Persians, when hee offered Sacrifice in the Market place of Plataea, to Iupiter the deliuerer, called together all the Confederates, and granted to the Plataeans this priuiledge; That their Citie and Territory should bee free: That none should make any vniust Warre against them, nor goe about to subiect them; and if any did, the Confederates then present, should to their vtmost ability, reuenge their quarell. These priuiledges your Fathers granted vs for our valour, and zeale in those dangers. But now doe you the cleane contrary; for you ioyne with our greatest enemies, the Thebans, to bring vs into subiection. Therefore calling to witnesse the Gods then sworne by, and the Gods*

your

*A your and our Country, we require you, that you doe no damiage to the Territory of Plataea, nor violate those Oathes; but that you suffer vs to enioy our libertie in such sort as was allowed vs by Pausanias.*

*The Plataeans hauing thus said, Archidamus replied, and said thus. Men of Plataea, If you would doe as ye say, you say what is iust. For as Pausanias hath granted to you, so also bee you free; and helpe to set free the rest, who hauing beene partakers of the same dangers then, and being comprized in the same oath with your selues, are now brought into subiection by the Athenians. And this so great preparation and Warre is only for the deliuerance of them, and others:*

*B of which if you will especially participate, keepe your oathes, at least (as we haue also aduised you formerly) be quiet, and enioy your owne, in neutrality; receiuing both sides in the way of friendship, neither side in the way of faction. Thus said Archidamus. And the Ambassadors of Plataea, when they had heard him returned to the Citie, and hauing communicated his answer to the people, brought word againe to Archidamus, That what hee had aduised, was impossible for them to performe, without leaue of the Athenians, in whose keeping were their wines and children; and that they feared also, for the whole Citie, lest when the Lacedaemonians were gone, the Athenians should come and take the custody of it out of their hands; or that the Thebans comprehended in the oath of receiuing both sides, should againe attempt to surprize it. But Archidamus to encourage them, made this answer: Deliuere you vnto vs Lacedaemonians, your Citie and your houses, shew vs the bounds of your Territory, giue vs your trees by tale, and whatsoeuer else can be numbred, and depart your selues whither you shall thinke good, as long as the Warre lasteth, and when it shall be ended, we will deliuer it all vnto you againe: in the meane time, we will keepe them as deposited, and will cultivate your ground, and pay you rent for it, as much as shall suffice for your maintenance.*

*Hereupon the Ambassadors went againe into the Citie, and hauing consulted with the people, made answer, That they would first acquaint the Athenians with it; and if they would consent, they would accept the condition: till then, they desired a suspension of armes, and not to haue their Territory wasted. Vpon this he granted them so many dayes truce, as was requisite for their returne, and for so long, forbore to waste their Territory. When the Plataean Ambassadors were arrived at Athens, and had aduised on the matter with the Athenians, they returned to the Citie with this answer: The Athenians say thus: That neither in former times, since wee were their*

The Answer of Archidamus to the Plataeans.

The reply of the Plataeans.

The answer of Archidamus to their reply.

The Plataeans reply again, and desire to know the pleasure of the people of Athens.

The Athenians message to the Plataeans.

R



their Confederates, did they ever abandon vs to the injuries of any, A nor will they now neglect vs, but give vs their utmost assistance. And they continue vs by the oath of our Fathers, not to make any alienation touching the league.

When the Ambassadors had made this report, the Plateans resolved in their councils, not to betray the Athenians, but rather to endure, if it must be, the wasting of their Territory before their eyes, and to suffer whatsoever misery could befall them; and no more to goe forth, but from the Wall to make this Answer: That it was impossible for them to doe as the Lacedæmonians had required. B When they had answered so, Archidamus the King, first made a protestation to the Gods and Heroes of the Countrey, saying thus: All ye Gods and Heroes, protectors of Platea, be witnesses, that wee neither invade this Territory, wherein our Fathers, after their vowes unto you, overcame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Grecians to fight in, unjustly now in the beginning; because they have first broken the League they had sworn: nor what wee shall further doe will be any injury, because, though we have offered many and reasonable conditions, they have yet bene all refused. Assent ye also to the punishment of the beginners of injury, C and to the revenge of those that beare lawfull armes.

Having made this protestation to the Gods, hee made ready his Armie for the Warre. And first having felled Trees, he therewith made a Palizado about the Towne, that none might goe out. That done, he raised a Mount against the Wall, hoping with so great an Armie all at worke at once, to have quickly taken it. And having cut downe Wood in the Hill Cithæron, they built a Frame of Timber, and walled it about on either side, to serve in stead of Wall, to keepe the Earth from falling too much D away, and cast into it Stones, and earth, and whatsoever else would serve to fill it up. 40. dayes and nights continually they powred on, dividing the worke between them for rest in such manner, as some might be carrying, whilest others took their sleepe and food. And they were urged to labour, by the Lacedæmonians that commanded the Mercenaries of the severall Cities, and had the charge of the worke. The Plateans seeing the Mount to rise, made the frame of a Wall with Wood, which having placed on the Wall of the Citie, in the place where E the Mount touched, they built it within full of Bricks, taken

The Plateans last answer to Archidamus from the Wall.

Archidamus protestation.

A mount raised against Platea.

The Plateans raise their Wall higher against the mount, by a frame of Timber, in which they layed their Bricks.

A taken from the adjoining Houses, for that purpose demolished, the Timber serving to binde them together, that the building might not be weakened by the height. The same was also covered with Hides and Quilts, both to keepe the Timber from shot of wilde-fire, and those that wrought, from danger. So that the height of the Wall was great on one side, and the Mount went vp as fast on the other. The Plateans used also this device; they brake a hole in their owne Wall, where the Mount joyned, and drew the earth from it into the Citie. But the Peloponnesians, when they found it out, tooke clay, and therewith daubing Hurdles of Reeds, cast the same into the chunke, which mouldring not, as did the earth, they could not draw it away. The Plateans excluded heere, gave over that Plot, and digging a secret mine, which they carried under the mount from within the Citie by conjecture, fetched away the earth againe, and wera a long time undiscovered, so that still casting on the Mount grew still lesse, the earth being drawne away below, and settling over the part where it was voyded. The Plateans nevertheless, fearing C that they should not be able even thus to hold out, beeing few against many, devised this further: they gave over working at the high Wall, against the Mount, and beginning at both ends of it, where the Wall was low, built another Wall in forme of a Crescent, inward to the Citie, that if the great Wall were taken, this might resist, and put the Enemy to make another Mount, and by comming further in, to be at double paines, and withall, more encompassable with shot. The Peloponnesians, together with the raising of their Mount, brought to the Citie their Engines of battery; one of which, by helpe of the Mount, they applied to the high Wall, wherewith they much shooke it, and put the Plateans into great feare; and others to other parts of the Wall, which the Plateans partly turned aside, by casting Ropes about them, and partly with great beames, which being hung in long iron chaines, by either end vpon two other great beames, letting ouer, and enclining from above the Wall, like two homes, they drew vp to them athwart, and where the Engine was about to light, slacking the chaines, and letting their hands E goe, they let fall with violence, to breake the beake of it. After this, the Peloponnesians seeing their Engines a-  
R 2  
uated

The Plateans device to draw the earth from the Mount throw the Wall. The Peloponnesians remedy that cull.

The Plateans fetch the earth away from vnder the Mount by a Mine.

The Plateans make another Wall within that which was to the Mount.

The Peloponnesians assault the Wall with Engines.

The Plateans defence against the Engines.



The Peloponnesians throw  
Faggots and fire into the  
Towne, from the Mount.

A great Fire.

\* In the beginning of Sep-  
tember.  
The Siege laid to Plataea.

tailed not, and thinking it hard to take the City by any A  
present violence; prepared themselves to besiege it. But  
first they thought fit to attempt it by fire, being no great  
Citie; and when the Wind should rise if they could, to  
burne it. For there was no way they did not thinke on, to  
haue gained it without expence and long siege. Having  
therefore brought Faggots, they cast them from the  
Mount, into the space betweene it and their new Wall,  
which by so many hands was quickly filled; and then in-  
to as much of the rest of the Citie, as at that distance they  
could reach: and throwing amongst them fire, together B  
with Brimstone and Pitch, kindled the Wood, and raised  
such a flame, as the like was neuer seen before, made by the  
hand of man. For as, for the woods in the Mountaines, the  
trees haue indeed taken fire but it hath bin by mutuall at-  
trition; and haue flamed out of their own accord. But this  
fire was a great one, and the Plataeans that had escaped o-  
ther mischiefes, wanted little of being consumed by this.  
For neere the Wall they could not get by a great way;  
and if the Wind had bene with it (as the enemy hoped C  
it might) they could neuer haue escaped. It is also repor-  
ted, that there fell much raine then, with great Thunder,  
and that the flame was extinguished, and the danger cea-  
sed by that. The Peloponnesians, when they failed like-  
wise of this, retayning a part of their Armie, and dismis-  
sing the rest, enclosed the Citie about with a Wall, diui-  
ding the circumference thereof to the charge of the seue-  
rall Cities. There was a Ditch both within and without  
it, out of which they made their Bricks; and after it was  
finished, which was about the \* rising of *Arcturus*, they  
left a guard for one halfe of the Wall, (for the other was D  
guarded by the *Bacotians*) and departed with the rest of  
their Armie, and were dissolved according to their Cities.  
The Plataeans had before this, sent their Wiues and Chil-  
dren, and all their vsfertileable men to *Athens*. The rest  
were besieged, beeing in number, of the Plataeans them-  
selues, 400. of *Athenians*, 80. and 100 Women to dresse  
their meate. These were all when the Siege was first  
laid, and not one more, neither free nor bond in the Citie.  
In this manner was the Citie besieged.

The same Summer, at the same time that this Journey E  
was made against *Plataea*, the *Athenians* with 2000. men of  
Armes

A Armes of their owne Citie; and 100. Horsemen, made  
Warre vpon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and the *Bacotians*,  
when the Corne was at the highest, vnder the conduct of  
*Xenophon* the sonne of *Boisipides*, and two others. These  
coming before *Spartolus* in *Bottia*, destroyed the Corne,  
& expected that the Town should haue bin rendered by the  
practice of some within. But such as would not haue it  
so hauing sent for aid to *Olynthus* before, there came into the  
Citie for safegard thereof, a supply both of men of Armes,  
and other Souldiers from thence. And these issuing forth  
B of *Spartolus*, the *Athenians* put them selues into order of Bat-  
tell vnder the Towne it selfe. The men of Armes of the  
*Chalcideans*, and certaine auxiliaries with them, were ouer-  
come by the *Athenians*, and retired within *Spartolus*. And  
the Horsemen of the *Chalcideans*, and their light-armed  
Souldiers, ouercame the Horsemen, and light armed of  
the *Athenians*; but they had some few Targettiers besides,  
of the Territory called *Chrysus*. When the Battell was  
now begun, came a supply of other Targettiers from *O-*  
*lynthus*; which the light armed Souldiers of *Spartolus* per-  
ceiuing, emboldned both by this addition of strength, and  
also as hauing had the better before, with the *Chalcidean*  
Horse, and this new supply, charged the *Athenians* afresh.  
The *Athenians* hereupon retired to two companies they  
had left with the Carriages; and as oft as the *Athenians*  
charged, the *Chalcideans* retired; and when the *Athenians*  
retired, the *Chalcideans* charged them with their shot. E-  
specially the *Chalcidean* Horsemen rode vp, and charging  
them where they thought fit, forced the *Athenians* in ex-  
treme affright, to turne their backs, and chased them a  
D great way. The *Athenians* fled to *Poidaea*, and hauing af-  
terwards fetched away the bodies of their dead vpon truce,  
returned with the remainder of their Armie, to *Athens*.  
Foure hundred and thirty men they lost; and their chiefe  
Commanders all three. And the *Chalcideans* and *Bacotians*,  
when they had set vp a Trophie, and taken vp their dead  
bodies, disbanded and went euery one to his Citie.

Not long after this, the same Summer, the *Ambraciotes*  
and *Chonians*, desiring to subdue all *Acarnania*; and to make  
it reuolt from the *Athenians*, perswaded the *Lacedaemonians*  
E to make ready a Fleet out of the Confederate Cities; and  
to send 1000. men of Armes into *Acarnania*, saying, that  
if

The *Athenians* send an  
Armie against the *Chalci-*  
*deans*.

The *Athenians* foughten  
with the losse of 3. Comman-  
ders.

And ouerthrowne, with  
the losse of 3. Comman-  
ders.

The *Ambraciotes* invade  
*Acarnania*, together with  
the *Lacedaemonians*.



if they ayded them both with a Fleet, and a Land Armie A  
at once, the *Acarnanians* of the Sea-coast being thereby dis-  
abled to assilt the rest, having easily gained *Acarnania*, they  
might be Masters afterward both of *Zacynthus* and *Cephalo-*  
*nia*, and the *Athenians* hereafter lesse able to make their voy-  
ages about *Peloponnesus*; and that there was a hope besides,  
to take *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* assenting, sent thi-  
ther *Cnemus*, who was yet Admirall; with his men of  
Armes, in a few Gallies immediately; and withall sent  
word to the Cities about, as soone as their Gallies were  
ready, to sayle with all speed to *Leucas*. Now the *Corin-* B  
*thians* were very zealous in the behalfe of the *Ambraciotes*,  
as being their owne Colony. And the Gallies which  
were to goe from *Corinth*, *Sicyonia*, and that part of the  
Coast, were now making ready; and those of the *Leucadi-*  
*ans*, *Anactorians*, and *Ambraciotes*, were arriued before, and  
stayed at *Leucas* for their comming. *Cnemus* and his 1000  
men of Armes, when they had crossed the Sea vndiscryed  
of *Phormio*, who commanded the 20. *Athenian* Gallies that  
kept watch at *Naupactus*, presently prepared for the War  
by Land. He had in his Army, of *Grecians*, the *Ambraci-* C  
*otes*, *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*, and the thousand *Peloponnes-*  
*ians* he brought with him; and of *Barbarians*, a thousand  
*Chaonians*, who haue no King, but were led by *Photius* and  
*Nicanor*, which two being of the Families eligible had  
now the annuall gouernment. With the *Chaonians* came  
also the *Thesprotians*, they also without a King. The *Mo-*  
*lossians*, and *Antitanians* were led by *Sabylanthus*, protector of  
*Tharaps* their King, who was yet in minority. The *Para-*  
*ueans* were led by their King *Oradus*; and vnder *Oradus*,  
serued likewise, by permission of *Antiochus* their King, a D  
thousand *Orestians*. Also *Perdiccas* sent thither, vn-  
knowne to the *Athenians*, a thousand *Macedonians*; but these  
last were not yet arriued. With this Armie began *Cnemus*  
to march, without staying for the Fleet from *Corinth*.  
And passing through *Argia*, they destroyed *Limnaea*, a  
Towne vnwalld. From thence they marched towards  
*Stratus*, the greatest Citie of *Acarnania*; conceiuing that if  
they could take this first, the rest would come easily in.  
The *Acarnanians* seeing a great Army by Land was entred  
their Country already, and expecting the enemy also by E  
Sea, ioynd not to succour *Stratus*, but guarded euery one  
his

Lepanto.

The Armie of the *Ambraciotes* and their Con-  
federates.They goe toward *Stratus*.  
*Stratus* the greatest Citie  
of *Acarnania*.

A his owne, and sent for *ayddes* to *Phormio*. But he answered  
them, that since there was a subject to bee set forth from  
*Corinth*, he could not leaue *Naupactus* without a guard.  
The *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, with their Ar-  
mie diuided into three, marched on towards the Citie of  
the *Stratians*, to the end that being encamped neere it, if  
they yeelded not on parley, they might presently assault  
the Walles. So they went on, the *Chorians* and other  
*Barbarians* in the middle; the *Leucadians*; and *Anactorians*,  
and such others as were with these, on the right hand; B  
and *Cnemus*, with the *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciotes* on the  
left; each Armie at great distance, and sometimes out of  
sight one of another. The *Grecians* in their march, kept  
their order, and went warily on; till they had gotten a  
conuenient place to encampe in. But the *Chaonians* con-  
fident of themselves, and by the inhabitants of that Conti-  
nent accounted not warlike, had none patience to take  
in any ground for a Campe, but carried furiously on; toge-  
ther with the rest of the *Barbarians*, thought to haue taken  
the Towne by their clamour, and to saue the Action as  
scribed onely to themselves. But they of *Stratus*, aware of C  
this, would they were yet in their way, and imagining if  
they could ouercome these, thus diuided from the other  
two Armies; that the *Grecians* also would be the lesse for-  
ward to come on; placed diuers Ambushes not farre from  
the Citie; and when the enemies approached, fell vpon  
them, both from the Citie, and from the Ambushes at  
once; and putting them into affright, slew many of the  
*Chaonians* vpon the place. And the rest of the *Barbarians*  
seeing these so slaine, staid no longer, but fled but right.  
Neither of the *Grecian* Armies had knowledge of this D  
Skirmish; because they were gone so farr before, to chuse  
(as they then thought) a commodious place to pitch in.  
But when the *Barbarians* came backe vpon them running,  
they recoiled thomy and ioyning both Camps together,  
staid no more for that day. And the *Grecians* assaulted  
them not for want of the order of their *Stratians*, but  
because they thought against them, and rebuked them  
much that way. For without their men of Armes, there  
was no stirring for them. And in this kind the *Grecians*  
E  
are held excellent. And when night came, *Cnemus* withdrew his Armie to the  
Riuier

Wariness of the *Grecians*.Rashness of the *Chaoni-*  
*ans*.Stratagem of the *Strat-*  
*ians*.The *Stratians* and  
the *Chaonians*.The *Stratians* and  
the *Chaonians*.



The Peloponnesians and Ambraciotas retire without effect.

Phormio with 20 Gallies of Athens, overcometh 49 of the Peloponnesian Gallies.

The order of the Peloponnesian Gallies.

The order of the Athenian Gallies, and the Stratagem of Phormio.

River *Anapus*, from *Stratus* 80. Furlongs, and fetched off A the dead bodies vpon truce, the next day. And, whereas the Citie *Oeniades* was come in of it selfe, he made his retreat thither, before the *Acarnanians* should assemble with their succours; and from thence went every one home. And the *Stratians* set vp a Trophie of the Skirmish against the *Barbarians*.

In the meane time the Fleet of *Corinth*, and the other Confederates, that was to set out from the *Crissan* Gulfe, and to ioyne with *Cnemus*, to hinder the lower *Acarnanians* from ayding the vpper, came not at all; but were B compelled to fight with *Phormio*, and those twenty *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, about the same time that the Skirmish was at *Stratus*. For as they sayled along the shore, *Phormio* waited on them till they were out of the streight, intending to set vpon them in the open Sea. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates went not as to fight by Sea, but furnished rather for the Land-service in *Acarnania*; and neuer thought that the *Athenians* with their twenty Gallies, durst fight with theirs; that were seuen and forty. Neuerthelesse, when they saw that the *Athenians*, as themselves sayled by one shore, kept C over against them on the other, and that now when they went off from *Patra* in *Achaia*, to goe ouer to *Acarnania* in the opposite Continent, the *Athenians* came towards them from *Chalcis*, and the River *Euenus*, and also knew that they had come to anchor there the night before, they found they were then to fight of necessity, directly against the mouth of the Straight. The Commanders of the Fleet were such as the Cities that set it forth, had seuerally appointed; but of the *Corinthians*, these; *Macbon*, *Isoctates*, and *Agatharchidas*. The *Peloponnesians* ordered their Fleet in such manner, as they made thereof a Circle, as great as, without leauing the spaces so wide as for the *Athenians* to passe through, they were possibly able; with the sternmes of their Gallies outward, and sternes inward, and into the midst thereof, receiued such small Vessels as came with them; and also suite of their swiftest Gallies, the which were at narrow passages to come forth in what-soeuer part the Enemy should charge.

But the *Athenians* with their Gallies ordered one after E one in file, went round them, and shrunke them vp together,

A ther, by wiping them euer as they past, and putting them in expectation of present fight. But *Phormio* had before forbidden them to fight, till he himselfe had giuen them the signall. For he hoped that this order of theirs would not last long, as in an Army on Land, but that the Gallies would fall foule of one another, and be troubled also with the smaller vessels in the midst. And if the wind should also blow out of the Gulfe, in expectation whereof he so went round them, and which \* vually blew there every morning, hee made account they would then instantly be B disordered. As for giuing the onset, because his Gallies were more agile then the Gallies of the enemy, he thought it was in his owne election, and would bee most opportune on that occasion. When this wind was vp, and the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* being already contracted into a narrow compasse, were both waies troubled, by the wind, and withall by their owne lesser vessels that encumbered them; and when one Gallie fell foule of another, and the Mariners laboured to set them cleere with their poles, and through the noyse they made, keeping off, and reuiling C each other, heard nothing, neither of their charge, nor of the Gallies direction; and through want of skill, vnable to keepe vp their Oares in a troubled Sea, rendred the Gallie vntactable to him that fate at the Helme. Then, and with this opportunity he gaue the signall. And the *Athenians* charging, drowned first one of the Admirall Gallies, and diuers others after it, in the seuerall parts they assaulted; and brought them to that passe at length, that not one applying himselfe to the fight, they fled all towards *Patra* and *Dyme*, Cities of *Achaia*. The *Athenians*, after they D had chased them, and taken twelue Gallies, and slain most of the men that were in them, fell off, and went to *Molycrium*; and when they had there set vp a Trophie, and consecrated one Gallie to *Neptune*, they returned with the rest to *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* with the remainder of their Fleet, went presently along the Coast of *Cyllene*, the Arsenall of the *Eleans*; and thither, after the Battell at *Stratus*, came also *Cnemus*, from *Leucas*, and with him those Gallies that were there, and with which this other Fleet should haue bene ioyned.

E After this, the *Lacedemonians* sent vnto *Cnemus* to the Fleet, *Timocrates*, *Brasidas*, and *Lycophron* to be of his Council,

\* A set wind which blowe-  
uery moving there from the  
East, caused, as it seemeth, by  
the approach of the Summe.

The Peloponnesians fly.

Preparation for another  
fight,



cell, with command to prepare for another better fight, A and not to suffer a few Gallies to deprive them of the use of the Sea. For they thought this accident (especially being their first proofe by sea) very much against reason; and that it was not so much a defect of the Fleet, as of their courage: neuer comparing the long practice of the Athenians, with their own short study in these businesses. And therefore they sent these men thither in passion: who being arrived with Cnemus, intimated to the Cities about, to provide their Gallies, and caused those they had before, to be repayed. Phormio likewise sent to Athens, to make B knowne both the Enemies preparation, and his owne former victory; and withall to will them to send speedily unto him, as many Gallies as they could make ready; because they were every day in expectation of a new fight. Heereupon they sent him twenty Gallies, but commanded him that had the charge of them, to goe first into Crete.

Twenty saile of Athenians, sent to ayde Phormio, stay in Crete.

For Nicias a Cretan of Gortys, the publike Host of the Athenians, had perswaded them to a voyage against Cydonia, telling them they might take it in, being now their Enemy. Which he did, to gratifie the Polichnites, that bordered vpon the Cydonians. Therefore with these Gallies hee sailed into Crete, and together with the Polichnites, wasted the Territory of the Cydonians; where also, by reason of the Winds, and weather unfit to take Sea in, hee wasted not a little of his time.

The Peloponnesians saile by the Coast of Panormus.

In the meane time, whilst these Athenians were Wind-bound in Crete, the Peloponnesians that were in Cyllene, in order of Battell sailed along the Coast to Panormus of Achaia, to which also were their Land-forces come to ayde them. D Phormio likewise sailed by the shore to Rhium Molychricum, and anchored without it, with twenty Gallies, the same hee had used in the former Battell. Now this Rhium was of the Athenians side, and the other Rhium in Peloponnesus, lyes on the opposite shore, distant from it at the most but seven furlongs of Sea; and these two make the mouth of the Crissean Gulfe. The Peloponnesians therefore came to an anchor at Rhium of Achaia, with 77. Gallies, not farre from Panormus, where they left their Land Forces. After they saw the Athenians, and had lye fixe or seven daies one E against the other, meditating and providing for the Battell, the

A the Peloponnesians not intending to put off without Rhium into the wide Sea, for feare of what they had suffered by it before; nor the other to enter the Streight, because to fight within, they thought to be the Enemies aduantage. At last, Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other Commanders of the Peloponnesians, desiring to fight speedily, before a new supply should arrive from Athens, called the Soldiers together, and seeing the most of them to be fearefull through their former defeat, and not forward to fight againe, encouraged them first with words to this effect.

B

### THE ORATION OF C N E M V S.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If any of you be afraid of the Battell at hand, for the successe of the Battell past, his feare is without ground. For you know, wee were inferiour to them then in preparation, and set not forth as to a fight at Sea, but rather to an expedition by Land. Fortune likewise crossed vs in many things; and somewhat wee miscarried by unskilfulnesse: so C as the losse can no way be ascribed to cowardise. Nor is it iust, so long as we were not overcome by meere force, but haue somewhat to alledge in our excuse, that the mind should bee dejected for the calamity of the event. But we must thinke, that though Fortune may faile men, yet the courage of a valiant man can neuer faile, and not that we may iustifie cowardise in any thing, by pretending want of skill, and yet bee truly valiant. And yet you are not so much short of their skill, as you exceede them in valour. And though this knowledge of theirs, which you so much feare, is joined with courage, will not bee without a memory also, to put what they D know in execution, yet without courage, no act in the world is of any force in the time of danger. For feare confoundeth the memory, and skill without courage availeth nothing. To their oddes therefore of skill, oppose your oddes of valour; and to the feare caused by your overthrow, oppose your being then unprovided. You haue further now a greater Fleet, and to fight on your owne shore; with your aydes at hand, of men of Armes: and for the most part, the greatest number, and best provided, get the victory. So that E wee can neither see any one cause in particular, why wee should miscarry; and whatsoever were our wants in the former Battell, supplied in this, will now turne to our instruction. With courage therefore, both Masters and Mariners, follow every man in his



his order, not forsaking the place assigned him. And for vs, wee A shall order the battails as well as the former Commanders; and leaue no excuse to any man of his cowardize. And if any will needes be a coward, hee shall receiue condigne punishment, and the valiant shall be rewarded according to their merit. Thus did the Commanders encourage the Peloponnesians.

Phormio doubteth of the courage of his Souldiers,

And Phormio, he likewise doubting that his Souldiers were but faint-hearted, and obseruing they had consultations apart, and were afraid of the multitude of the enemies Gallies, thought good, hauing called them together, to encourage, and admonish them vpon the present occasion. For though he had alwayes before told them, and predisposed their mindes to an opinion, that there was no number of Gallies so great, which setting vpon them, they ought not to vndertake, and also most of the Souldiers had of long time assumed a conceit of themselves, that being Athenians, they ought not to decline, any number of Gallies whatsoeuer, of the Peloponnesians; yet when he saw that the sight of the enemy present had dejected them, he thought fit to reuiue their courage, and C hauing assembled the Athenians, said thus.

And encourageth them,

### THE ORATION OF PHORMIO.

Souldiers, hauing obserued your feare of the enemies number, I haue called you together, not enduring to see you terrified with things that are not terrible. For first, they haue prepared this great number, and oddes of Gallies for that they were overcome before, and because they are euen in their owne opinions too weake for vs. And D next, their present boldnesse proceeds onely from their knowledge in Land-service, in confidence whereof (as if to be valiant, were peculiar vnto them) they are now come vs, wherein hauing for the most part prospered, they thinke to doe the same in service by Sea. But in reason the oddes must be ours in this, as well as it is theirs in the other kinde. For in courage they exceed vs not, and as touching the aduantage of either side, we may better be bold now, then they. And the Lacedæmonians, who are the leaders of the Confederates, bring them to fight for the greatest part (in respect of the opinion they haue of vs) against their wills. For else they would neuer haue vndertaken a new E battaille, after they were once so cleuely overthrowne. Feare not there-

fore

A fore any great boldnesse on their part. But the feare which they haue of you, is farre, both greater, and more certaine, not onely for that you haue overcome them before, but also for this, that they would neuer beleeue you would goe about to resist, vnlesse you had some notable thing to put in practice vpon them. For when the enemy is the greater number as these are now, they invade chiefly vpon confidence of their strength. But they that are much the fewer must haue some great and sure designe when they dare fight vnconstrained. Wherewith these men now amazed, feare vs more for our unlikely preparation, then they would if it were more proportionable. Besides, many great B Armies haue beene overcome by the lesser, through vnskillfulnesse, and some also by timorousnesse, both which we our selues are free from. As for the battaile, I will not willingly fight it in the Gulfe, nor goe in thither; seeing that to a few Gallies with nimblenesse and art, against many without art, streightnesse of roome is disaduantage. For neither can one charge with the beake of the Gallie as is fit, vnlesse hee haue sight of the enemy a farre off; or if he be himselfe over-pressed, againe get cleere. Nor is there any getting through them, or turning to and fro, at ones pleasure, which are all the workes of such Gallies, as haue their aduantage in agility; but the Sea-fight would of necessitie be the C same with a battaile by Land, wherein the greater number must haue the better. But of this, I shall my selfe take the best care I am able. In the meane time keepe you your order well in the Gallies, and euery man receiue his charge readily; and the rather because the enemy is as Anchor so neere vs. In the fight, haue in great estimation, order and silence, as things of great force in most Military actions, especially in a fight by Sea; and charge these your enemies according to the worth of your former Acts. You are to fight for a great wager, either to destroy the hope of the Peloponnesian Nauies, or to bring the feare of the Sea neerer home to the Athenians. Again, let mee D tell you, you haue beaten them once already; and men once overcome, will not come againe to the danger so well resolu'd as before. Thus did Phormio also encourage his Souldiers.

The Peloponnesians, when they saw the Athenians would not enter the Gulfe, and Streight, desiring to draw them in against their willes, weighed Anchor, and betime in the morning hauing arranged their Gallies by foure and foure in a ranke, sayled along their owne Coast, within the Gulfe, leading the way, in the same order as they had lien E at Anchor with their right wing. In this wing they had placed 20 of their swiftest Gallies, to the end that if Phor-

The stratagem of the Peloponnesians.

mio,



The Peloponnesians give the onset.

Phormio, thinking them going to Naupactus, should for safeguard A of the Towne, sayle along his owne Coast likewise, within the Straight, the Athenians might not be able to get beyond that wing of theirs, and auoyd the impression, but be enclosed by their Gallies on both sides. Phormio, fearing (as they expected) what might become of the Towne now without guard, as soone as he saw them from Anchor, against his will, and in extreme haste, went aboard, and sayled along the Shoare, with the Land forces of the Messenians, marching by to ayde him. The Peloponnesians, when they saw them sayle in one long File, B Gally after Gally, and that they were now in the Gulfe, and by the Shoare, (which they most desired) vpon one signe giuen, turned suddenly, euery one as fast as he could vpon the Athenians, hoping to haue intercepted them euery Gallee. But of those, the eleuen formost, auoyding that wing, and the turne made by the Peloponnesians, got out into the open Sea. The rest they intercepted, and driuing them to the Shoare, sunke them.

The men, as many as swamme not out, they slew, and the Gallies, some they tyed to their owne, and towed C them away empty, and one with the men and all in her they had already taken. But the Messenian succours on Land, entring the Sea with their Armes, got aboard of some of them, and fighting from the Deckes, recouered them againe, after they were already towing away. And in this part, the Peloponnesians had the victory, and ouercame the Gallies of the Athenians. Now the 20 Gallies that were their right wing, gaue chase to those eleuen Athenian Gallies, which had auoyded them when they turned, and were gotten into the open Sea. These flying D toward Naupactus, arriued there before the enemies, all saue one, and when they came vnder the Temple of Apollo, turned their beake heads, and put themselues in readinesse for defence, in case the enemy should follow them to the Land. But the Peloponnesians as they came after, were \* Paeanizing, as if they had already had the victory; and one Gallee which was of Leucas, being farre before the rest, gaue chase to one Athenian Gallee, that was behind the rest of the Athenians. Now it chanced that there lay out into the Sea, a certaine Ship at Anchor, to which the Athenian E Gally first comming, fercht a compasse about her, and came

\* Singing the hymne of victory.

A came backe full butt against the Leucadian Gallie that gaue her chase, and sunke her. Vpon this vnexpected and vnlkely accident they began to feare, and hauing also followed the chase, as being victors, disorderly, some of them let downe their Oares into the water, and hindered the way of their Gallies (a matter of very ill consequence, seeing the enemy was so neere) and staid for more company. And some of them through ignorance of the Coast, ranne vpon the Shelues. The Athenians seeing this, tooke heart againe, and together with one clamour, set vpon them; B who resisted not long, because of their present errors committed, and their disarray, but turned, and fled to Panormus, from whence at first they set forth. The Athenians followed, and tooke from them sixe Gallies, that were hindmost, and recouered their own which the Peloponnesians had sunke by the Shoare, and tyed a sterne of theirs. Of the men, some they slew, and some also they tooke aliue. In the Leucadian Gally that was sunke neere the ship, was Timocrates, a Lacedaemonian, who, when the Gally was lost, runne himselfe thorow with his sword, and his C body draue into the Hauen of Naupactus. The Athenians falling off, erected a Trophy in the place from whence they set forth to this victory, & took vp their dead, and the wracke, as much as was on their own shore, and gaue truce to the enemy to doe the like. The Peloponnesians also set vp a Trophy, as if they also had had the victory, in respect of the flight of those Gallies which they sunke by the Shoare; and the Gally which they had taken, they consecrated to Neptune, in Rbium of Achaia, hard by their Trophy. After this, fearing the supply which was expected from Athens, they sayled by night into the Crissean D Gulfe, and to Corinth, all but the Leucadians. And those Athenians, with twenty Gallies out of Crete, that should haue bene with Phormio before the battaile, not long after the going away of the Gallies of Peloponnesus, arriued at Naupactus; And the Summer ended.

But before, the Fleet gone into the Crissean Gulfe, and to Corinth, was disperfed. Cnemus, and Brasidas, and the rest of the Commanders of the Peloponnesians, in the beginning of Winter, instructed by the Megareans, thought good to E make an attempt vpon Piræus, the Hauen of the Athenians. Now it was without guard, or barre, and that vpon very

The Athenians haue the victory.

Timocrates a Lacedaemonian Commander slayeth himselfe.

The end of the third Summer.

The Peloponnesians resolve to attempt the surprize of Piræus.



\* It may be hence gathered, that in the Gallies of old, there was but one man to one Oare.

\* Secondly, a piece of Land, whereon their Oare stood.

The Peloponnesians dare not execute their designe, but turne to Salamis.

\* Fires lifted up, if they were still, signified friends coming, if raised, enemies, Scholiastes.

very good cause, considering how much they exceeded others in the power of their Navy. And it was resolved, that every Mariner with \*his Oare, his Cushion, and \* one Thong for his Oare to turne in, should take his way by Land from Corinth, to the other Sea, that lyeth to Athens, and going with all speed to Megara, lanch forty Gallies out of Nisæa, the Arsenall of the Megareans, which then were there, and sayle presently into Piræus. For at that time, there neither stood any Gallies for a watch before it, nor was there any imagination, that the enemies would on such a sudden come vpon them. For they durst not haue attempted it openly, though with leasure, nor if they had had any such intention, could it but haue been discovered. As soone as it was resolved on; they set presently forward, and arriuing by night, lanchd the said Gallies of Nisæa, and set Sayle, not now towards Piræus, as they intended, fearing the danger, and a wind was also said to haue risen, that hindred them, but toward a Promontory of Salamis, lying out towards Megara.

Now, there was in it, a little Fort, and vnderneath in the Sea, lay three Gallies that kept watch, to hinder the importation and exportation of any thing, to or from the Megareans. This Fort they assaulted, and the Gallies they towed empty away after them. And being come vpon the Salaminians vnawares, wasted also other parts of the Island.

By this time the fires \* signifying the comming of enemies, were lifted vp towards Athens, and affrighted them more then any thing that had happened in all this Warre. For they in the Citie thought the enemies had been already in Piræus. And they in Piræus thought the Citie of the Salaminians had been already taken, and that the enemy would instantly come into Piræus. Which, had they not been afraid, nor been hindred by the wind, they might also easily haue done. But the Athenians, as soone as it was day, came with the whole strength of the Citie, into Piræus, and lanchd their Gallies, and imbarcking in halte, and tumult, set sayle toward Salamis, leauing for the guard of Piræus, an Army of Foot. The Peloponnesians vpon notice of those succours, hauing now ouer-runne most of Salamis, and taken many prisoners, and much other booty, besides the three Gallies from the Fort of Budorus, went

A went backe in all halte to Nisæa. And somewhat they feared the more, for that their Gallies had lyen long in the water, and were subiect to leaking. And when they came to Megara, they went thence to Corinth againe by Land. The Athenians likewise, when they found not the Enemy at Salamis, went home, and from that time forward, looked better to Piræus, both for the shutting of the Ports, and for their diligence otherwaies.

About the same time, in the beginning of the same Winter, Syntaces an Odrysian, the sonne of Teres, King of Thrace, made Warre vpon Perdiccas the sonne of Alexander King of Macedonia, and vpon the Chalcideans bordering on Thrace; vpon two promises; one of which hee required to be performed to him, and the other hee was to performe himselfe. For Perdiccas had promised somewhat vnto him, for reconciling him to the Athenians, who had formerly oppressed him with Warre, and for not restoring his Brother Philip to the Kingdome, that was his Enemy, which hee neuer paid him; And Syntaces himselfe had couenanted with the Athenians, when he made League with them, that he would end the Warre which they had against the Chalcideans of Thrace. For these causes therefore hee made this Expedition; and tooke with him both Amyntas, the sonne of Philip, (with purpose to make him King of Macedonia) and also the Athenian Ambassadors then with him for that businesse, and Agnon the Athenian Commander. For the Athenians ought also to haue ioyned with him against the Chalcideans, both with a Fleet, and with as great Land-forces as they could prouide.

The King of Thrace maketh Warre on the King of Macedonia.

D Beginning therefore with the Odrysians, he leuied first those Thracians that inhabite on this side the Mountaines Emus and Rhodope, as many as were of his owne dominion; downe to the shore of the Euxine Sea, and the Hellespont. Then beyond Emus he leuied the Geter, and all the Nations betweene Ister and the Euxine Sea. The Geter, and people of those parts, are borderers vpon the Scythians, and furnished as the Scythians are; all Archers on Horsebacke. He also drew forth many of those Scythians that inhabite the Mountaines; and are free States, all Sword-men, and are called Dii, the greatest part of which are on the Mountaine Rhodope, whereof some he hyred, and some went as

T

Volun-



The description of  
Thrace.

Voluntaries. He leuied also the *Agrianes*, and *Leaeans*, and *A* all other the Nations of *Peonia*, in his owne Dominion. These are the vtmost bounds of his Dominion, extending to the *Greeks* and *Leaeans*, Nations of *Peonia*, and to the Riuer *Strymon*, which rising out of the Mountaine *Scomius*, passeth through the Territories of the *Greeks* and *Leaeans*, who make the bounds of his Kingdome toward *Peonia*, and are subiect onely to their owne Lawes. But on the part that lyeth to the *Triballians*, who are also a free people, the *Treres* make the bound of his Dominion, and the *Tilataeans*. These dwell on the North side of the Mountaine *Scomius*, and reach Westward, as farre as to the Riuer *Osciws*, which commeth out of the same Hill *Nessus* and *Hebrus* doth; a great and desart Hill adioyning to *Rhodope*.

The Dimension of the Dominion of the *Odryssians* by the Sea side, is from the Citie of the *Abderites*, to the mouth of *Ister* in the *Euxine* Sea; and is, the neereſt way, foure dayes, and as many nights Sayle for a \* round Ship; with a continuall fore-wind. By Land likewise, the neereſt way, it is from the Citie *Abdera*, to the mouth of *Ister*, *C* eleuen dayes iourney for an expedite Footman. Thus it lay in respect of the Sea.

Now for the Continent, from *Byzantium* to the *Leaeans*, and to the Riuer *Strymon* (for it reacheth this way farthest into the maine Land) it is for the like Footman, thirteene dayes iourney. The Tribute they received from all the *Barbarian* Nations, and from the Cities of *Greece*, in the reigne of *Seuthes*, (who reigned after *Sitalces*, and made the most of it) was in gold and siluer, by estimation, \* 400. Talents by yeere. And Presents of gold and siluer came *D* to as much more. Besides Vestures; both wrought and plaine, and other furniture, presented not onely to him, but also to all the men of authority; and *Odryssian* Nobility about him. For they had a custome, which also was generall to all *Thracas*, contrary to that of the Kingdome of *Persia*, to receiue rather then to giue: and it was there a greater shame to be asked and deny, then to aske and goe without. Neuerthelesse they held this custome long, by reason of their power: for without gifts, there was nothing to be gotten from amongst them: so that this Kingdome arrived thereby to great powers: for of all the Nations

\* A Ship that vsith onely  
Sails, of the round forme of  
building, and serving for bur-  
then, in distinction to Gallies,  
and all other vessels of the  
long forme of building, ser-  
uing for the warres.

475000 pound sterling.

Actions of Europe, that lye betweene the \* *Ionian* Gulfe, and the *Euxine* Sea, it was, for reuenue of money, and other wealth, the mightiest; though indeed for strength of an Army, and multitudes of Souldiers, the same be farre short of the *Scythians*: For there is no Nation, not to say of Europe, but neither of Asia, that are comparable to this, or that as long as they agree, are able, one Nation to one, to stand against the *Scythians*: and yet in matter of counsell and wisdom in the present occasions of life, they are not like to other men.

*B* *Sitalces* therefore, King of this great Countrey, prepared his Armie, and when all was ready, set forward, and marched towards *Macedonia*. First, through his owne Dominion; then ouer *Cercine*, a desart Mountaine diuiding the *Sintians* from the *Peonians*, ouer which he marched the same way himselfe had formerly made with Timber, when he made Warre against the *Peonians*. Passing this Mountaine, out of the Countrey of the *Odryssians*, they had on their right hand the *Peonians*, and on the left, the *Sintians* and *Modes*, and beyond it, they came to the Citie of *Doberus* in *Peonia*. His Army, as hee marched, diminished not any way, except by sicknesse, but increased, by the accession of many free Nations of *Thrace*, that came in vncalled, in hope of Booty. Inſomuch as the whole number is said to haue amounted to no lesse then 150000. men. Whereof the most were foot, the Horse being a third part, or thereabouts. And of the Horse, the greatest part were the *Odryssians* themselves, and the next most, the *Getae*. And of the Foot, those Sword-men, a free Nation, that came downe to him out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*, were most warlike. The rest of the promiscuous multitude, were formidable onely for their number. Being all together at *Doberus*, they made ready to fall in, from the Hilles side, into the lower *Macedonia*, the dominion of *Perdiccas*. For there are in *Macedonia*, the *Lyncestians*, and the *Helimietes*, and other High-land Nations, who though they be Confederates, and in subiection to the other, yet haue their severall Kingdomes by themselves. But of that part of the now *Macedonia* which lyeth toward the Sea, *Alexander*, the Father of this *Perdiccas*, and his Ancestors, the *Temenides*, who came out of *Argos*, were the first possessors, and raigned in the same, hauing first driuen out of *Pieria* the *Pieri-*

\* The Adriatique Sea.  
*Mar Maggiore*.

The great power of the  
*Scythians*.

The beginning of the  
Kingdome of *Macedonia*.  
The *Macedonian* Kings  
descended of the *Temeni-*  
*des*, a Family in *Argos*, of  
the *Peloponnesus*.

T 2

ans,



ans, (which afterwards seated themselves in *Phagres*, and other Townes beyond *Strymon*, at the foot of *Pangeum*; From which cause, that Countrey is called the Gulfe of *Pieria* to this day, which lyeth at the foot of *Pangeum*, and bendeth toward the Sea) and out of that which is called *Bottia*, the *Bottians*, that now border vpon the *Chalcideans*. They possessed besides a certaine narrow portion of *Paeonia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Axiu*, reaching from aboue downe to *Pella*, and to the Sea. Beyond *Axiu* they possessed the Countrey called *Mygdonia*, as farre as to *Strymon*, from whence they haue driuen out the *Eidonians*. Furthermore they draue the *Bordians* out of the Territory, now called *Eorda*, (of whom the greatest part perished, but there dwell a few of them yet about *Physca*) and the *Almopians* out of *Almopia*. The same *Macedonians* subdued also other Nations, and hold them yet, as *Anthemus*, *Grestonia*, and *Bisaltia*, and a great part of the *Macedonians* themselves. But the whole is called *Macedonia*, and was the Kingdome of *Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander*, when *Sitalces* came to inuade it. The *Macedonians* vnable to stand in the Field against so huge an Armie, retired all within their strong Holds, and walled Townes, as many as the Countrey afforded; which were not many then; but were built afterwards by *Archelaus* the sonne of *Perdiccas*, when he came to the kingdome, who then also laid out the high wayes straight, and tooke order both for matter of Warre, as Horses and Armes, and for other prouision, better then all the other 8. Kings that were before him. The *Thracian* Army arising from *Doberus*, invaded that Territory first, which had bene the Principality of *Philip*, and tooke *Eidomene* by force; but *Gortynia*, *Aialania*, and some other Townes he had yeilded to him, for the loue of *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, who was then in the Armie. They also assaulted *Europu*, but could not take it. Then they went on further into *Macedonia*, on the part that lyes on the right hand of *Pella*, and *Cyrxbu*; but within these, into *Bottia* and *Pieria* they entred not, but wasted *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus*. Now the *Macedonians* had neuer any intention to make head against them with their Foot, but sending out their Horsemen, which they had procured from their Allyes of the higher *Macedonia*, they assaulted the *Thracian* Armie, in such places, where few against many,

The *Macedonians* retire into their walled towns.

*Archelaus* the sonne of *Perdiccas*, the ninth King of *Macedon*, of the Family of the *Temnide*.

A many, they thought they might doe it with most conuenience; and where they charged, none was able to resist them, being both good Horsemen, and well armed with Breſtplates; but enclosed by the multitude of the Enemies, they fought against manifold oddes of number: so that in the end they gaue it ouer, esteeming themselves too weake to hazard Battell against so many.

After this, *Sitalces* gaue way to a conference with *Perdiccas*, touching the moriues of this Warre. And forasmuch as the *Athenians* were not arriued with their Fleet, (for they thought not that *Sitalces* would haue made the Journey) but had sent Ambassadors to him with Presents, he sent a part of his Army against the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, wherewith hauing compelled them within their walled Townes, he wasted and destroyed their Territory. Whilest he stayed in these parts, the *Thessalians* Southward, and the *Magneſians*, and the rest of the Nations subiect to the *Thessalians*, and all the *Grecians* as far as to *Thermopylae*, were afraid he would haue turned his Forces vpon them, and stood vpon their guard. And Northward those *Thracians* that inhabite the *Champaigne* Countrey beyond *Strymon*, namely the *Panaeans*, *Odomanians*, *Draons*, and *Dersseans*, all of them free States, were afraid of the same. He gaue occasion also to a rumour, that hee meant to leade his Army against all those *Grecians* that were enemies to the *Athenians*, as called in by them to that purpose, by vertue of their League. But whilest hee stayed, hee wasted the *Chalcidean*, *Bottian*, and *Macedonian* Territories; and when hee could not effect what hee came for, and his Army both wanted victuall, and was afflicted with the coldnesse of the season, *Seuthes* the sonne of *Spartocus*, his cousin German, and of greatest authority next himselfe, perswaded him to make haste away. Now *Perdiccas* had dealt secretly with *Seuthes*, and promised him his Sister in marriage, and money with her: and *Sitalces* at the perswasion of him, after the stay of full thirty dayes, wherof he spent eight in *Chalcidean*, retired with his Army, with all speed, into his owne Kingdome. And *Perdiccas* shortly after gaue to *Seuthes* his Sister *Synagmice* in marriage, as hee had promised. This was the issue of this Expedition of *Sitalces*.

The same Winter, after the Fleet of the *Paloponneseans* was

*Sitalces* and *Perdiccas* come to a conference about the moriues of the Warre.

The *Grecians*, at the coming of this Army, stand vpon their Guard, fearing they were called in by the *Athenians* to subdue them.

*Seuthes*, corrupted by *Perdiccas*, perswaded *Sitalces* to returne.

*Phormio* putteth suspected persons out of *Syracuse* and *Cortina*.



was dissolued, the Athenians that were at Naupactus, vnder A the conduct of Phormio, sayled along the Coast to Aistacum, and disbarking, marched into the inner parts of Acarnania. Hee had in his Army, 400. men of Armes that hee brought with him in his Gallies, and 400. more Messenians. With these he put out of Stratus, Corontia, and other places, all those whose fidelity hee thought doubtfull. And when he had restored Cynes the sonne of Theolytus to Corontia, they returned againe to their Gallies. For they thought they should not be able to make Warre against the Oeniades, (who onely of all Acarnania are the Athenians Enemies) in respect of the Winter. For the Riuer Achelous, springing out of the Mountaine Pindus, and running through Dolopia, and through the Territories of the Agraeans, and the Amphilochians, and through most part of the Champaigne of Acarnania, passing aboue by the City of Stratus, and falling into the Sea by the Citie of the Oeniades, which also it moateth about with Fens, by the abundance of Water, maketh it hard lying there for an Army in time of Winter. Also most of the Ilands Echinades lye iust ouer against Oenia, hard by the mouth of Achelous. And the Riuer being a great one, continually C heapeth together the grauell; insomuch that some of those Ilands are become Continent already, and the like in short time is expected by the rest. For not onely the streame of the Riuer is swift, broad, and turbidous, but also the Ilands themselues stand thicke, and because the Grauell cannot passe, are ioyned one to another, lying in and out, not in a direct line; nor so much as to giue the Water his course directly forward into the Sea. These Ilands are all Defart, and but small ones. It is reported, that Apollo by his Oracle did assigne this place for an habitation to Alcmaon the sonne of Amphirauus, at such time as D he wandred vp and downe for the killing of his Mother; telling him, That he should neuer be free from the terrors that haunted him, till he had found out, and seated himselfe in such a Land; as when he slew his Mother, the Sunne had neuer shene, nor was then Land, because all other Lands were polluted by him. Hereupon being at a Non-plus, as they say, with much adoe hee obserued this ground conuested by the Riuer Achelous, and thought there was enough cast vp to E serue his turne, already, since the time of the slaughter of his

The course of the Riuer Achelous.

The Fable of Alcmaon.

A his Mother, after which it was now a long time that hee had beene a Wanderer. Therefore seating himselfe in the places about the Oeniades, hee reigned there, and named the Countrey after the name of his sonne Acarnas. Thus goes the report, as we haue heard it concerning Alcmaon. But Phormio and the Athenians leauing Acarnania, and returning to Naupactus, in the very beginning of the Spring, came backe to Athens, and brought with them such Gallies as they had taken, and the Free-men they had taken Prisoners, in their fights at Sea, who were againe set at B liberty by exchange of man for man. So ended that Winter, and the third Yeere of the Warre

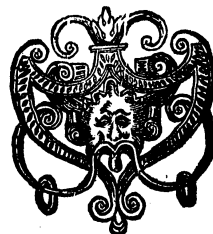
written by THUCYDIDES.

(\*)

Acarnania whence so called.

The end of the third yeere of the Warre.

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B

# THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

## The principall Contents.

Attica invaded by the Peloponnesians. The Mitylenians revolt, and are received by the Peloponnesians at Olympia, into their league. The Athenians send Paches to Mitylene to besiege it. Part of the besieged Plateans escape through the fortifications of the enemy. The Commons of Mitylene, armed by the Nobility for a sally on the enemy, deliver the town to the Athenians. The residue of the Plateans yeeld to the besiegers and are put to the sword. The proceedings upon the Mitylenians, and their punishment. The sedition in Corcyra. Laches is sent by the Athenians into Sicily. And Nicias into Melos. Demosthenes fighteth against the Egeolians unfortunately, and afterwards against the Ambraciotes fortunately. Pythadorus is sent into Sicily to receive the fleet from Laches. In other three yeeres of this warre.

**T**he Summer following, the Peloponnesians, and their Confederates to the time when Come was at the height, entered with their Army into Attica, under the conduct of Archdamus, the son of Zenobadus, King of the Lacedaemonians, & there set them downe, and wasted the territory about. And the Athenian horsemen as they were wont, fell upon the enemy where they

THE FOURTH  
YEAR.  
The Peloponnesians invade  
Attica.

THE FIFTH  
YEAR.  
The Peloponnesians invade  
Attica.



they thought fit, and kept backe the multitude of A light-armed Souldiers, from going out before the men of Armes, and infesting the places neere the Citie. And when they had stayed as long as their victuall lasted, they returned, and were dissolued according to their Cities.

After the *Peloponnesians* were entred *Attica*, *Lebos* immediately, all but *Methymne*, reuolted from the *Athenians*; which though they would haue done before the Warre, and the *Lacedemonians* would not then receive them, yet euen now they were forced to re- B uolt sooner then they had intended to doe. For they stayed to haue first straightened the mouth of their Hauens with Dammes of Earth, to haue finished their Walles, and their Gallies then in building, and to haue gotten in all that was to come out of *Pontus*, as Archers, and Victuall, and whatsoever else they had sent for.

But the *Tenedians*, with whom they were at oddes, and the *Methymnians*, and of the *Mitylenians* them- C selves, certaine particular men, vpon Faction, beeing Hostes to the *Athenians*, made knowne vnto them, that the *Lesbians* were forced to goe all into *Mitylene*; that by the helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, and their Kindred the *Baotians*, they hastned all manner of prouision necessary for a Reuolt, and that vlesse it were presently preuented, all *Lesbos* would be lost.

The *Athenians* (afflicted with the Disease, and with the Warre now on foot, and at the hottest) thought it a dangerous matter, that *Lesbos*, which had a Nauie, and was of strength entire, should thus bee D added to the rest of their Enemies; and at first received not the accusations, holding them therefore the rather feigned, because they would not haue had them true.

But after, when they had sent Ambassadors to *Mitylene*, and could not perswade them to dissolue themselves, and vndoe their preparation, they then feared the worst, and would haue preuented them. And to that purpose, suddenly sent out the 40. Gallies made ready for *Peloponnesus* with *Cleippedes* and 2. other Commanders. For they had bin E aduertised, that there was a Holiday of *Apollo Maloeu* to be kept

The Reuolt of *Lebos*.

The intention of the  
*Lesbians* to reuolt, discou-  
ered to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* send 40.  
Gallies to *Lebos*.

A kept without the Citie, and that to the celebration thereof the *Mitylenians* were accustomed to come all out of the Towne; and they hoped, making haste, to take them there vnawares. And if the attempt succeeded, it was well; if not, they might command the *Mitylenians* to deliuer vp their Gallies, and to demolish their Walles; or they might make Warre against them, if they refused. So these Gallies went their way. And tenne Gallies of *Mitylene* which then chanced to be at *Athens*, by vertue of their League to ayde them, the *Athenians* stayed, and cast B into prison the men that were in them. In the meane time a certaine man went from *Athens* into *Euboea* by Sea, and then by Land to *Geraestus*, and finding there a Ship ready to put off, hauing the Wind fauourable, arriued in *Mitylene*, three dayes after he set forth from *Athens*, and gaue them notice of the comming of the Fleet. Hereupon they not onely went not out to *Maloeis*, as was expected, but also stopped the gappes of their Walles and Ports, where they were left vnfinished, and placed guards to defend them.

C When the *Athenians*, not long after, arriued, and saw this, the Commanders of the Fleet deliuered to the *Mitylenians* what they had in charge, which not harkened vnto, they presently fell to the Warre. The *Mitylenians* vnprovided, and compelled to a Warre on such a sudden, put out some few Gallies before the Hauens to fight: but being driuen in againe by the Gallies of *Athens*, they called to the *Athenian* Commanders to parly, desiring, if they could, vpon reasonable conditions, to get the Gallies for the present sent away.

D And the *Athenian* Commander allowed the Conditions, hee also fearing they should bee too weake to make Warre against the whole Island.

When a cessation of Armes was granted, the *Mitylenians* amongst others, sent to *Athens*, one of those that had giuen intelligence there of their Designe, and had repented him after of the same, to try if they could perswade them to withdrawe their Fleet from them, as not intending any innouation. Withall they sent Ambassadors at the same time to *Lacedemon*, vndif E covered of the Fleete of the *Athenians*, which was riding at Anchor in \* *Malea*, to the North of the Citie; being

The *Athenians* imprison  
such of *Mitylene* as were at  
*Athens*, and stay their  
Gallies.

The *Athenians* giue the  
*Mitylenians* time to purge  
themselves at *Athens*.

The *Mitylenians* sent to  
*Lacedemon* for ayde.  
\* This *Malea* is called not to  
be the Promontory of *Ma-  
lea*, according to the Schooll,  
which lyeth to the South of  
*Mitylene*, but some other  
nearer place, or on the North  
side of the Citie.



being without any confidence of their successe at Athens. A And these men after an ill voyage, through the wide Sea, arriuing at Lacedæmon, negotiated the sending of aide from thence. But when their Ambassadors were come backe from Athens, without effect, the Mitylenians, and the rest of Lesbos, saue only Methymne, (for these, together with the Imbrians, Lemnians, and some few other their Confederates, ayded the Athenians) prepared themselues for the Warre. And the Mitylenians with the whole strength of the City, made a sally vpon the Athenian Campe, and came to a Battell, wherein though the Mitylenians had not the worse, yet they lay not that night without the Walles, nor durst trust to their strength, but retrying into the Towne, lay quiet there, expecting to try their fortune, with the accession of such forces, as (if any came) they were to haue from Peloponnesus. For there were now come into the Citie, one Meleas a Laconian, and Hermiondas a Theban, who hauing bin sent out before the reuolt, but vnable to arriue before the comming of the Athenian Fleet, secretly, after the end of the Battell, entred the Hauen in a Gally, and perswaded them to send another Gally along with them, with other Ambassadors to Sparta; which they did. But the Athenians much confirmed by this the Mitylenians cessation, called in their Confederates, who because they saw no assurance on the part of the Lesbians, came much sooner in then it was thought they would haue done; & riding at Anchor to the South of the Citie, fortified two Camps, on either side one, and brought their Gallies before both the Ports, and so quite excluded the Mitylenians from the vse of the Sea. As for the Land, the Athenians held so much onely as lay neere their Campes, which was not much; And the Mitylenians and other Lesbians, that were now come to ayde them, were Masters of the rest. For Malea serued the Athenians for a station onely for their Gallies, and to keepe their Market in. And thus proceeded the Warre before Mitylene.

About the same time of the same Summer, the Athenians sent likewise thirty Gallies into Peloponnesus, vnder the conduct of Asopius the sonne of Phormio. For the Acarnanians had desired them to send some sonne or kinsman of Phormio for Generall into those parts. These, as they sayled by, wasted the maritime Countrey of Laconia, and then sending

The Mitylenia Ambassadors specd not at Athens.

They sally out vpon the Athenians, but without successe.

They lye still, expecting helpe from Peloponnesus.

The Athenians send for the aydes of their Confederates.

The Athenians send Asopius the sonne of Phormio, with 30. Gallies about Peloponnesus.

A ding backe the greatest part of his Fleet to Athens, Asopius himselfe with twelue Gallies, went onto \* Naupactus. And afterwards, hauing raised the whole power of Acarnania, he made Warre vpon the Oeniades, and both entred with his Gallies into the Riuer of Achelous, and with his Land-forces wasted the Territory. But when the Oeniades would not yeeld, hee disbanded his Land-forces, and sayled with his Gallies to Leucas, and landed his Souldiers on the Territory of Neritum, but in going off, was by those of the Countrey that came out to defend it, and by some few of the Garrison Souldiers there, both himselfe and part of his Company slaine. And hauing vpon truce receiued from the Leucadians their dead bodies, they went their wayes.

Now the Ambassadors of the Mitylenians, that went out in the first Gally, hauing beene referred by the Lacedæmonians to the generall meeting of the Grecians at Olympia, to the end they might determine of them, together with the rest of the Confederates, went to Olympia accordingly. It was that \* Olympiade wherein Doriaus of Rhodes was the second time Victor. And when after the solemnity, they were set in Councell, the Ambassadors spake vnto them in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of MITYLENE.

MEN of Lacedæmon, and Confederates, We know the receiued custome of the Grecians: For they that take into League such as reuolt in the Warres, and relinquish a former League, though they like them as long as they haue profit by them, yet accounting them but Traitors to their former Friends, they esteeme the worse of them in their iudgement. And to say the truth, this iudgement is not without good reason, when they that reuolt, and they from whom the reuolt is made, are mutually like-minded and affected, and equall in provision and strength, and no iust cause of their reuolt giuen. But now betweene vs and the Athenians it is not so. Nor let any man thinke the worse of vs, for that hauing beene honoured by them in time of peace, we haue now reuolted in time of danger. For the first point of our speech, especially now we seeke to come into League with you, shall bee to make good the iustice and honesty of our reuolt. For we know there can

\* Lepanto.

Asopius slaine.

The Mitylenian Ambassadors sent to Lacedæmon, are appointed to attend the generall Assembly of the Grecians at Olympia.

\* Olympiade 88.



bee neither firme friendship betweene man and man, nor any commu-  
 A nion betweene Citie and Citie to any purpose whatsoeuer, without a  
 mutuall opinion of each others honesty, and also a similitude of  
 customes otherwayes. For in the difference of mindes is grounded  
 the diuersity of actions. As for our League with the Athenians, it  
 was first made, when you gaue ouer the Median Warre, and they re-  
 mained to prosecute the reliques of that businesse: Yet wee entred not  
 such a League, as to be their helpers in bringing the Grecians into  
 the seruitude of the Athenians; but to set free the Grecians from  
 the seruitude of the Medes. And as long as they led vs as e-  
 B quals, wee followed them with much zeale; but when wee saw they  
 remitted their enmity against the Medes, and led vs to the subing-  
 ation of the Confederates, we could not then but bee afraid. And the  
 Confederates through the multitude of distinct Councels, unable to  
 unite themselves for resistance, fell all but our selues and the Chians  
 into their subiection; and wee hauing still our owne Lawes, and being  
 in name a free State, followed them to the Warres; but so, as by the  
 examples of their former actions, we held them not any longer for  
 faithfull Leaders. For it was not probable, when they had subdued  
 those, whom together with vs they tooke into league, but that, when  
 they should bee able, they would doe the like also by the rest. It is true  
 C that if we were now in liberty all, wee might bee the better assured,  
 that they would forbear to inuade; but since they haue vnder them  
 the greatest part already, in all likelihood they will take it ill, to deale  
 on equall termes with vs alone; and the rest yielding, to let vs onely  
 stand vp as their equals. Especially when by how much they are be-  
 come stronger by the subiection of their Confederates, by so much the  
 more are wee become desolate. But the equality of mutuall feare, is  
 the onely band of faith in Leagues. For hee that hath the will to trans-  
 gresse, yet when he hath not the odds of strength, will abstaine from  
 comming on. Now the reason why they haue left vs yet free, is no  
 D other, but that they may haue a faire colour to lay vpon their domina-  
 tion ouer the rest; and because it hath seemed vnto them more expe-  
 dient to take vs in by policy, then by force. For therein they made vse  
 of vs, for an argument, that hauing equall voice with them, wee  
 would neuer haue followed them to the Warres, if those against whom  
 they led vs, had not done the iniury. And thereby also they brought  
 the stronger against the weaker, and referuing the strongest to the last,  
 made them the weaker, by removing the rest. Whereas if they had  
 begunne with vs, when the Confederates had had both their owne  
 strength, and a side to adhere to, they had neuer subdued them so easi-  
 E ly. Likewise our Navy kept them in some feare, lest vnted and  
 added

A added to yours, or to any other, it might haue created them some dan-  
 ger. Partly also we escaped by our obseruance toward their Commons  
 and most eminent men from time to time. But yet we still thought we  
 could not doe so long, considering the examples they haue shewed vs in  
 the rest, if this Warre should not haue fallen out. What friendship  
 then or assurance of liberty was this, when we received each other  
 with alienated affections? when whilst they had Warres, they for  
 feare courted vs, and when they had Peace, we for feare courted them?  
 an t whereas in others, good will assureth loyalty, in vs it was the effect  
 of feare? So it was more for feare then loue, that we remained their  
 B Confederates; and whomsoeuer security should first embolden, he was  
 first likely by one meanes or other to breake the league. Now if any  
 man thinke we did vniustly, to reuolt vpon the expectation of euill in-  
 tended, without staying to be certaine, whether they would doe it  
 or not, he weigheth not the matter aright. For if we were as able to  
 contriue euill against them, and againe to deferre it, as they can against  
 vs, being thus equall, what needed vs to be at their discretion? But  
 seeing it is in their hands to inuade at pleasure, it ought to be in ours to  
 anticipate. Vpon these pretentions therefore, and causes, Men of  
 Lacedæmon & Confederates, we haue reuolted, the which are both  
 C cleare enough for the hearers to iudge vpon; that we had reason for it;  
 and weighty enough to affright, and compell vs to take some course for  
 our owne safety, which we would haue done before, when before the  
 Warre, we sent Ambassadors to you about our reuolt, but could not, be-  
 cause you would not then admit vs into your league. And now when  
 the Boeotians inuited vs to it, we presently obeyed. Wherein wee  
 thought we made a double reuolt, one from the Grecians, in ceasing  
 to doe them mischief with the Athenians, and helping to set them  
 free; and another from the Athenians, in breakeing first, and not  
 staying to be destroyed by them hereafter. But this reuolt of ours hath  
 D betene sooner then was fit, and before we were provided for it. For  
 which cause also the Confederates ought so much the sooner to admit  
 vs into the league, and send vs the speedier aide, thereby the better, at  
 once, both to defend those you ought to defend, and to annoy your ene-  
 mies. Whereof there was neuer better opportunity then at this pre-  
 sent. For the Athenians being both with the like necessity, and their  
 great expences consumed, and their Navy diuided, part vpon your own  
 Coasts, and part vpon ours, it is not likely they should haue many Gal-  
 lies spare, in case you against this Summer inuade them; both by Sea  
 and Land; but that they should either be unable to resist the inuasion  
 E of your Fleet, or be forced to come off from both our Coastes. And  
 see not any man conceiue that you shall herein, at your owne danger  
 bluntn



defend the Territory of another. For though Lesbos seeme remote, A the profit of it will be neere you. For the Warre will not be, as a man would thinke, in Attica, but there, from whence commeth the profit to Attica. This profit is the revenue they haue from their Confederates; which if they subdue vs, will still be greater. For neither will any other revolt, and all that is ours will accrew vnto them; and wee shall be worse handled besides, then those that were vnder them before. But aiding vs with diligence, you shall both adde to your league a (Citie, that hath a great Navy (the thing you most stand in need of) and also easily overthrow the Athenians by subduetion of their Confederates; because euery one will then be more confident to come in, and you shall auoyd the imputation of not asisting such as revolt vnto you. And if it appeare that your endenour is to make them free, your strength in this Warre will be much the more confirmed. In reuerence therefore of the hopes which the Grecians haue reposed in you, and of the presence of Iupiter Olympius, in whose Temple here, we are in a manner supplicants to you, receiue the Mitylenians into league, and ayde vs. And doe not cast vs off, who, (though, as to the exposing of our persons, the danger be our owne) shall bring a common profit to all Greece, if we prosper; and a more common detriment to all the Grecians, if through your inflexiblenesse we miscarry. Be you therefore men, such as the Grecians esteeme you, and our feares require you to be. In this manner spake the Mitylenians, C

The Mitylenians take into the Lacedemonian league,

And the Lacedemonians, and their Confederates, when they had heard, and allowed their reasons, decreed not onely a League with the Lesbians, but also againe to make an inuasion into Attica. And to that purpose, the Lacedemonians appointed their Confederates there present, to make as much speed as they could with two parts of their forces, into the Isthmus. And they themselves, being first there, prepared Engines in the Isthmus for the drawing vp of Gallies, with intention to carry the Navy from Corinth D to the other Sea that lyeth towards Athens, and to set vp on them both by Sea and Land. And these things diligently did they. But the rest of the Confederates assembled but slowly, being busied in the gathering in of their fruits, and weary of Warfare.

The Lacedemonians prepare for the inuasion of Attica, both by Sea and Land.

The Athenians, perceiving all this preparation to be made, vpon an opinion of their weaknesse, and desirous to let them see they were deceived, as being able without E stirring the Fleet at Lesbos, easily to master the Fleet that should

A should come against them out of Peloponnesus, manned with 100 Gallies, and imbarked therein generally, both Citizens (except those of the degree of \* Pentacosmedimni, and \* Horlemen) and also strangers that dwelt amongst them; And sayling to the Isthmus, made a shew of their strength, and landed their Souldiers in such parts of Peloponnesus, as they thought fit. When the Lacedemonians saw things so contrary to their expectation, they thought it false, which was spoken by the Lesbian Ambassadors; and esteeming the action difficult, seeing their Confederates B were not arriued, and that newes was brought of the wasting of the Territory neere their City, by the 30 Gallies formerly sent about Peloponnesus by the Athenians, went home againe; and afterwards prepared to send a Fleet to Lesbos, and intimated to the Cities rateably to furnish 40 Gallies, and appointed Alcidas, who was to goe thither with them, for Admirall. And the Athenians, when they saw the Peloponnesians gone, went likewise home with their hundred Gallies.

About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely C the most Gallies in action (besides the beauty of them) that euer they had at once. But in the beginning of the war, they had as good Gallies and also more in number. For 100 attended the guard of Attica, Bubon, and Shidmte, and another 100 were about Peloponnesus besides those that were at Potidea and in other places. So that in one Summer, they had in all, 250 Sayle. And this, together with Potidea, was it, that most exhausted their treasure. For the \* men of Armes that besieged the Citie, had each of them two drachmates a day, one for himselfe, and another for his man, D & were 3000 in number that were sent thither at first, and remained to the end of the Siege; besides 1600 more, that went with Phormio and came away before the Town was won. And the Gallies had all the same pay. In this manner was their money consumed, and so many Gallies employed, the most indeed that euer they had manned at once.

About the same time that the Lacedemonians were in the Isthmus, the Mitylenians marched by Land, both they and their auxiliaries, against Methymne, in hope to haue had it betrayed vnto them; and hauing assaulted the Citie, when E it succeeded not the way they looked for, they went thence to Amissa, Pyrrha, and Brissus, and after they had settled the affaires

The Athenians to make shew of their power, and to deterre the enemy from their enterprise, send 100 Gallies, not so much to waste Peloponnesus, as to confute the opinion which the Lesbian Ambassadors had put into the Lacedemonians of their weaknesse. A degree estimated by their wealth, as if one should say, men that had 500 Chaldians revenue, as they reckon in Scotland. \* Horlemen, such as kept a Horse to serue the State, and were valued at 300 Chaldians.

The greatnesse of the Athenian Navy, & occasion of their great expence of money.

\* Horlem, a man of Armes had double pay for himselfe and for a seruant.

The Mitylenians goe with a power to Methymne, hoping to haue it betrayed.



The Athenians send Paches  
with 1000 men of Armes  
to Mitylene.

The end of the fourth  
Summer.  
\* 37500 pound Sterling.

The escape of 320 men  
out of Plataea, throw the  
works of the enemy.

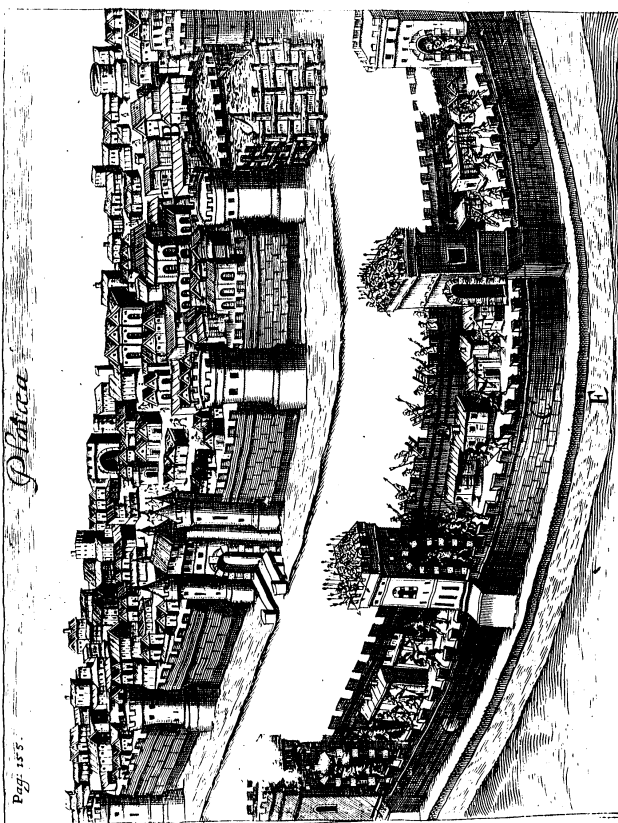
They make the length  
of their Ladders by con-  
jecture vpon counting  
the Layes of Bricke.

affaires of those places, and made strong their wals, returned A  
speedily home. When these were gone, the *Methymneans*  
likewise made War vpon *Antissa*, but beaten by the *Antis-  
sians*, and some auxiliaries that were with them, they made  
haste againe to *Methymne*, with the losse of many of their  
Souldiers. But the *Athenians* being aduertized hereof, and vn-  
derstanding that the *Mitylenians* were masters of the Land,  
and that their own Soldiers there, were not enough to keep  
them in, sent thither, about the beginning of Autumne,  
Paches, the sonne of *Epicurus*, with 1000 men of Armes, of  
their owne Citie, who supplying the place of Rowers B  
themselves, arriued at *Mitylene*, and ingirt it with a single  
wall. Saue that in some places, stronger by Nature then  
the rest, they onely built Turrets, and placed guards in  
them. So that the Citie was euery way strongly besieged,  
both by Sea and Land; And the Winter began.

The *Athenians* standing in need of money for the Siege,  
both contributed themselves, and sent thither \* 200 Ta-  
lents of this their first contribution, & also dispatched *Lys-  
icles*, and 4 others, with 42 Gallies, to leuie money amongst  
the Confederates. But *Lysicles*, after he had beene to and C  
fro, and gathered money in diuers places, as he was going  
vp from *Myu*, thorow the Plainēs of *Meander* in *Caria*,  
as farre as to the hill *Sandium*, was set vpon there by the  
*Carians* and *Anatians*, and himselfe with a great part of his  
Souldiers, slaine.

The same Winter the *Plataeans* (for they were yet be-  
sieged by the *Peloponnesians*, and *Boeotians*) pressed now with  
want of Victuall, and hopelesse of reliefe from *Athens*,  
and no other meanes of safety appearing, tooke Counsell,  
both they, and the *Athenians* that were besieged with D  
them, at first all to goe out, and, if they could, to passe ouer  
the wall of the enemy by force. The Authors of this  
attempt, were *Theanetus* the sonne of *Timidas*, a Soothsayer,  
and *Eupolpidas* the sonne of *Damachus*, one of their Comman-  
ders. But halfe of them afterwards, by one meanes or  
other, for the greatnesse of the danger, shrunke from it  
again. But 220 or thereabouts, voluntarily persisted, to  
goe out, in this manner. They made them Ladders, fit for  
the height of the enemies wall; the wall they measured  
by the Layes of Bricke, on the part toward the Towne. E  
where it was not Plaistered ouer; and diuers men at  
once





A. the mount of earth Cast up by the Peloponnesians. B. The wall built inwards by the Plataeans to frustrate the effect of the mount. C. The works of the Peloponnesians. D. The place where the Plataeans go over. E. The ditch w<sup>th</sup> out full of water.

A once numbered the layes of Bricke, whereof though some missed, yet the greatest part tooke the reckoning iust; especially, numbring them often, and at no great distalce; but where they might easily see the part, to which their Ladders were to bee applied; and so by guesse of the thicknesse of one Bricke, tooke the measure of their Ladders.

As for the Wall of the Peloponnesians, it was thus built. It consisted of a double Circle, one towards Plataea, and another outward, in case of an assault from Athens:

B These two Walles were distant one from the other about sixteene foot; and that sixteene foot of space which was betwixt them, was disposed and built into Cabines for the Watchmen, which were so ioyned and continued one to another, that the whole appeared to be one thicke Wall, with Battlements on either side. At every tenne Battlements, stood a great Tower of a iust breadth, to comprehend both Walles, and reach from the outmost to the inmost front of the whole, so that there was no passage by the side of a Towre, but through the midst of it. And

C such nights as there happened any storme of Raine, they vsed to quit the Battlements of the Wall, and to watch vnder the Towres, as being not farre asunder, and couered beside ouer-head. Such was the forme of the Wall wherein the Peloponnesians kept their Watch. The Plataeans, after they were ready, and had attended a tempestuous night, and withall Moonlesse, went out of the Citie, and were conducted by the same men that were the Authors of the Attempt. And first they passed the Ditch that was about the Towne, and then came vp close to the

D Wall of the Enemy, who, because it was darke, could not see them comming; and the noyse they made as they went could not be heard for the blustering of the wind. And they came on besides at a good distance one from the other, that they might not bee betrayed by the clashing of their Armes; and were but lightly armed, and not shod but on the left foot, for the more steddinesse in the wet. They came thus to the Battlements, in one of the spaces betweene Towre and Towre, knowing that there was now no Watch kept there. And first came they that carried the Ladders, and placed them to the Wall; then lightly armed, onely with a Dagger and a Breastplate, went

The description of the fortification of the Peloponnesians about Plataea.

The description of the Plataeans going over the Enemies Wall.



vp, led by *Ammeas*, the sonne of *Corabus*, who was the A  
first that mounted; and they that followed him, went vp  
into either Towre 6. To these succeeded others lightly-  
armed, that carryed the Darts, for whom they that came  
after, carried Targets at their backes, that they might bee  
the more expedite to get vp, which Targets they were to  
deliuer to them, when they came to the Enemy. At  
length, when most of them were ascended, they were  
heard by the Watchmen that were in the Towres; for one  
of the *Plateans* taking hold of the Battlements, threw  
downe a Tyle, which made a noyse in the fall; and pre- B  
sently there was an Alarme. And the Armie ran to the  
Wall; for in the darke and stormie night, they knew not  
what the danger was. And the *Plateans* that were left in  
the Citie, came forth withall, and assaulted the Wall of  
the *Peloponnesians*, on the opposite part to that where their  
men went ouer. So that though they were all in a tumult  
in their feuerall places, yet not any of them that watched,  
durst stirre to the ayde of the rest, nor were able to conie-  
cture what had happened. But \* those three hundred that  
were appointed to assilt the Watch vpon all occasions of C  
neede, went without the Wall, and made towards the  
place of the clamor. They also held vp the fires, by which  
they vsed to make knowne the approach of Enemies, to-  
wards *Thebes*. But then the *Plateans* likewise, held out  
many other fires from the Wall of the Citie, which for  
that purpose they had before prepared, to render the fires  
of the Enemy insignificant, and that the *Thebans* apprehending  
the matter otherwise then it was, might forbear to  
send help, till their men were ouer, and had recouered  
some place of safety.

In the meane time, those *Plateans*, which hauing scaled  
the Wall first, and slaine the Watch, were now masters  
of both the Towres, not onely guarded the passages,  
by standing themselves in the entries, but also applying  
Ladders from the Wall to the Towres, and conueying  
many men to the toppe, kept the enemies off with shot,  
both from aboue and below. In the meane space, the  
greatest number of them hauing reared to the Wall many  
Ladders at once, and beaten downe the Battlements, pas-  
sed quite ouer betweene the Towres, and euer as any of E  
them got to the other side, they stood still vpon the brinke  
of

\* There is no mention of these  
300. where the Author relateth  
the laying of the Siege:  
But it must be understood.

A of the Ditch without, and with Arrowes and Darts, kept  
off those that came by the outside of the Wall to hinder  
their passage. And when the rest were ouer, then last of  
all, and with much adoe, came they also downe to the  
Ditch, which were in the two Towres. And by this  
time, the three hundred that were to assilt the Watch,  
came and set vpon them, and had lights with them; by  
which meanes the *Plateans* that were on the further brinke  
of the Ditch, discerned them the better from out of the  
darke, and aimed their Arrowes and Darts at their most  
B disarmed parts. For, standing in the darke, the lights of  
the Enemy made the *Plateans* the lesse discernable. Inso-  
much as these last passed the Ditch, though with diffi-  
culty and force. For the Water in it was frozen ouer,  
though not so hard as to beare, but watrie, and such as  
when the Wind is at East, rather then at North: and the  
Snow which fell that night, together with so great a  
Wind as that was, had very much increased the Water,  
which they waded thorow, with scarce their heads aboue.  
But yet the greatnesse of the storme was the principall  
C meanes of their escape.

From the Ditch, the *Plateans*, in troope, tooke the way  
towards *Thebes*, leauing on the left hand the Temple of *Iuno*,  
built by *Androcrates*, both for that they supposed, they  
would least suspect the way that led to their Enemies,  
and also because they saw the *Peloponnesians* with their  
lights pursue that way, which by Mount *Citharon*, and the  
*Oake-heads*, led to *Athens*. The *Plateans*, when they had  
gone 6. or 7. Furlongs, forsooke the *Theban* way, and tur-  
ned into that which led towards the Mountaine, to *Bry-*  
D *thrae*, and *Hysia*, and hauing gotten the Hilles, escaped  
through to *Athens*, being 212. persons of a greater num-  
ber: for some of them returned into the Citie, before the  
rest went ouer; and one of their Archers was taken vpon  
the Ditch without. And to the *Peloponnesians* gave ouer  
the pursuite, and returned to their places. But the *Plate-*  
ans that were within the City, knowing nothing of the e-  
uent, and those that turned backe hauing told them, that  
not a man escaped, as soone as it was day, sent a Herald to  
entreat a Truce, for the taking vp of their dead bodies,  
E but when they knew the truth, they gave it ouer.  
And thus these men of *Plataea* passed through the  
Forti-



*Salathus a Lacedemonian, entereth secretly into Mitylene, and comforteth them with hope of speedy aide.*

THE FIFTH  
YEERE.

\* It should be 40.  
Attica the fourth time  
invasied.

*Pausanias King of Lacedemon.*

*Salathus armes the Commons for a Sally. They mutiny, and giue vp the Towne.*

Fortification of their Enemies, and were saued. A  
About the end of the same Winter, *Salathus* a *Lacedemonian*, was sent in a Gallie to *Mitylene*, and comming first to *Pyrria*, and thence going to *Mitylene* by Land, entred the Citie by the dry channell of a certaine Torrent, which had a passage through the Wall of the *Athenians*, undiscovered. And hee told the Magistrates, that *Attica* should againe be invaded, and that the 40. Gallies which were to aide them, were comming; and that himselfe was sent afore, both to let them know it, and withall to giue order in the rest of their affaires. Heereupon the *Mitylenians* grew confident, and hearkned lesse to composition with the *Athenians*. And the Winter ended, and the fourth yeere of this Warre written by *Thucydides*.

In the beginning of the Summer, after they had sent *Alcidas* away with the \* 42. Gallies, whereof he was Admirall, vnto *Mitylene*, both they and their Confederates invaded *Attica*; to the end, that the *Athenians* troubled on both sides, might the lesse send supply against the Fleet now gone to *Mitylene*. In this Expedition, *Cleomenes* was Generall, in stead of *Pausanias* the sonne of *Plisioanax*, who being King, was yet in minority, and *Cleomenes* was his Vncle by the Father. And they now cut downe, both what they had before wasted and began to grow againe, and also whatsoeuer else they had before pratermitted. And this was the sharpest inuasion of all but the second. For whilest they stayed to heare newes from their Fleet at *Lesbos*, which by this time they supposed to haue bene arriued, they went abroad, and destroyed most part of the Countrey. But when nothing succeeded according to their hopes, and seeing their Corne failed, they retyred againe, and were dissolued according to their Cities.

The *Mitylenians* in the meane time, seeing the Fleet came not from *Peloponnesus*, but delayed the time, and their victuals failed, were constrained to make their composition with the *Athenians*, vpon this occasion. *Salathus*, when hee also expected these Gallies no longer, armed the Commons of the Citie, who were before vnarmed, with intention to haue made a Sally vpon the *Athenians*; but they, as soone as they had gotten Armes, no longer obeyed the Magistrates, but holding Assemblies by themselves,

A selues, required the rich men, either to bring their Corne to light, and diuide it amongst them all, or else, they said, they would make their composition by deliuering vp the Citie to the *Athenians*.

Those that managed the State, perceiuing this, and vnable to hinder it, knowing also their owne danger, in case they were excluded out of the composition, they all ioyntly agreed to yeeld the Citie to *Paches*, and his Army; with these conditions, To be proceeded withall at the pleasure of the people of *Athens*; and to receiue the Armie into the Citie, and that the *Mitylenians* should send Ambassadors to *Athens*, about their owne businesse: And that *Paches* till their returne, should neither put in bonds, nor make Slaue of, nor slay any *Mitylenian*. This was the effect of that composition. But such of the *Mitylenians* as had principally practized with the *Lacedemonians*, being afraid of themselves, when the Army was entred the Citie, durst not trust to the Conditions agreed on, but tooke Sanctuary at the Altars. But *Paches* hauing raised them, vpon promise to doe them no iniury sent them to *Tenedos*, to be in custody there, till the people of *Athens* should haue resolved what to doe. After this, he sent some Gallies to *Anissa*; and tooke in that Towne, and ordered the affaires of his Armie as he thought conuenient.

In the meane time, those 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus* which should haue made all possible haste, trised away the time about *Peloponnesus*, and making small speed in the rest of their Nauigation, arriued at *Delos*, vnkowne to the *Athenians* at *Athens*. From thence sayling to *Icarus* and *Miconum*, they got first intelligence of the losse of *Mitylene*. But to know the truth more certainly, they went thence to *Embatu* in *Erythraea*. It was about the seuenth day after the taking of *Mitylene*; that they arriued at *Embatu*, where vnderstanding the certainty, they went to counsell, about what they were to doe vpon the present occasion and *Teutias* an *Elean*, deliuered his opinion to this effect.

*Alcidas*, and the rest that haue command of the *Peloponnesians* in this Army, it were not amisse, in my opinion, to goe to *Mitylene*, as we are, before aduise be giuen of our arriuall. (For in all probability, we shall find the Citie in respect they haue but lately won it, very weakly guarded) and so to the Sea, where they expect no enemy, and we are chiefly strong) not garded at all: It is also likely that

Some of the *Mitylenians* fearing the worst, take Sanctuary.

Whom *Paches* perswadeth to rise. And sendeth them to bee in custody at *Tenedos*.

The voyage of *Alcidas* with 40 Gallies into *Ionia*.

*Alcidas* with his Fleet, at *Embatu* is assured of the losse of *Mitylene*.

The aduise of *Teutias* in the Councell of Warre.



The aduice of certaine  
Outlawes of Ionia and  
Leibes.

The cowardly resolution  
of Alcidas.

He killeth his prisoners.

The Samians sharply re-  
prehend him.

Alcidas maketh hast from  
Ephesus homeward.  
\* The names of two Gallies  
of Athens.

their land Souldiers are disperſed, ſome in one houſe, and ſome in another, careleſſly as victors. Therefore if we fall vpon them ſuddenly, and by night, I thinke, with the helpe of thoſe within (if any bee left there that will take our part) we may be able to poſſeſſe our ſelues of the Citie. And we ſhall neuer feare the danger, if we but thinke this, that all Stratagems of Warre whatſoeuer, are no more, but ſuch occaſions as this, which if a Commander auoid in himſelfe, and take the aduantage of them, in the enemy, he ſhall for the moſt part haue good ſucceſſe. Thus ſaid he, but preuailed not with Alcidas. And ſome others, Fugitiues of Ionia, and thoſe Lesbians that were with him in the Fleet, gaue him counſell, That ſeeing he feared the danger of this, he ſhould ſeare ſome Citie of Ionia, or Cume in Aolia, that hauing ſome Towne for the ſeat of the Warre, they might from thence, force Ionia to reuolt, whereof there was hope, becauſe the Ionians would not be unwilling to ſee him there. And if they could withdraw from the Athenians this their great reuenue, and withall put them to maintaine a Fleet againſt them, it would be a great exhauſting of their treaſure. They ſaid beſides, that they thought they ſhould be able to get Piſſuthnes, to ioyne with them in the Warre.

But Alcidas reiected this aduice likewiſe, inclining rather to this opinion, that ſince they were come too late to Mitylene, they were beſt to returne ſpeedily into Peloponneſus. Whereupon putting off from Embatus, he ſayled by the Shoare to Myconneſus of the Teians, and there ſlew moſt of the priſoners he had taken by the way. After this hee put in at Ephesus, and thither came Ambaſſadours to him from the Samians of Aneæ, and told him, that it was but an ill manner of ſetting the Grecians at liberty, to kill ſuch as had not liſt vp their hands againſt him, nor were indeed enemies to the Peloponneſians, but Confederates to the Athenians by conſtraint. And that vneſſe he gaue ouer that courſe, he would make few of the enemies, his friends; but many now friends, to become his enemies. Wherefore vpon theſe words of the Ambaſſadours, he ſet the Chians, and ſome others, all that he had left aliue, at liberty. For when men ſaw their Fleet, they neuer fled from it, but came vnto them as to Athenians; little imagining that the Athenians being maſters of the Sea, the Peloponneſians durſt haue put ouer to Ionia.

From Ephesus, Alcidas went away in haſte, indeed fled; E for he had bin deſcried by the \* Salaminia, and the \* Paralus, (which

A (which by chance were then in their courſe for Athens,) whileſt he lay at Anchor about Claros, and fearing to bee chafed, kept the wide Sea, meaning by his good will, to touch no Land, till hee came into Peloponneſus. But the newes of them came to Paches from diuers places, eſpecially from Erythraea: for the Cities of Ionia being vnwall'd, were afraid extremely, left the Peloponneſians ſayling by, without intention to ſtay, ſhould haue pillaged them as they paſſed. But the Salaminia and the Paralus hauing ſcene him at Claros, brought the newes themſelues. And B Paches thereupon made great haſte after, and followed him as farre as Latmos \* the Iſland: but when he ſaw hee could not reach him, he came backe againe; and thought he had a good turne, ſeeing hee could not ouertake thoſe Gallies vpon the wide Sea, that the ſame were not compelled, by being taken in ſome place neere Land, to fortifie themſelues, and ſo to giue him occaſion with guards and Gallies, to attend them.

As hee came by, in his returne, hee put in at Notium, a City of the Colophonians, into which the Colophonians came C and inhabited, after the \* Towne aboue, through their owne ſedition, was taken by Iramanes and the Barbarians. (This Towne was taken at the time when Attica was the ſecond time inuaded by the Peloponneſians.) They then that came downe, and dwelt in Notium, falling againe into ſedition, the one part hauing procured ſome forces, Arcadians and Barbarians of Piſſiubnes, kept them in a part of the Towne, which they had ſeuered from the reſt with a Wall, and there, with ſuch of the Colophonians of the high Towne, as being of the Medon faction, entred with them, D they governed the Citie at their pleaſure: and the other part which went out from theſe, and were the Fugitiues, brought in Paches. He, when he had called out Hippas, Capitaine of the Arcadians that were within the ſaid wall, with promiſe, if they ſhould not agree, to ſet him ſafe and ſound within the Wall againe; and Hippas was there vpon come to him; committed him to cuſtody, but without bonds; and withall aſſaulting the Wall on a ſudden, when they expected not, tooke it, and ſlew as many of the Arcadians and Barbarians E as were within. And when hee had done, brought Hippas in againe, according as hee had promiſed.

Y

But

Paches purſueth the Peloponneſians, and is glad he ouertaketh them not.

\* In diſtinction to Latmos the Mountain. But I can finde no mention of this Latmos the Iſland in any of the Geographers.

Paches reſtoreth Notium to the Colophonians, driven out by ſedition.  
\* The City of Colophon, 2. miles higher into the Land.

Paches parlieth with Hippas.



The commotion with  
11 persons whom he put to  
death contrary to pro-  
mise.

Paches takeeth Pythias, and  
Erechius. He apprehendeth Sala-  
thus in Mitylene.

The Athenians say Sala-  
thus, though he offer to  
withdraw the Peloponne-  
sians from the siege of  
Plataea.

The cruell decree of the  
Athenians in their passion  
against the Mitylenians.

The Athenians repent of  
their decree, and coull  
anew.

But after he had him there, laid hold on him, and caused **A** him to be shot to death; and restored *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, excluding onely such as had Medized. Afterwards the *Athenians* sent *Gouvernours* to *Notium* of their owne, and hauing gathered together the *Colophonians* out of all Cities whatsoeuer, seated them there vnder the Law of the *Athenians*.

*Paches*, when he came backe to *Mitylene*, tooke in *Pyrrha* and *Erechius*; and hauing found *Salathus* the *Lacedaemonian* hidden in *Mitylene*, apprehended him, and sent him, together with those men he had put in custody at *Tenedos*, **B** and whomsoeuer else he thought Author of the Reuolt, to *Athens*. Hee likewise sent away the greatest part of his Armie, and with the rest stayed, and settled the State of *Mitylene*, and the rest of *Lesbos* as he thought conuenient.

These men, and *Salathus* with them, being arriued at *Athens*, the *Athenians* slew *Salathus* presently, though hee made them many offers, and amongst other, to get the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* to rise from before *Plataea*, (for it was yet besieged) but vpon the rest they went to Council; and in their passion decreed to put them to death, **C** not onely those men there present, but also all the men of *Mitylene* that were of age, and to make slaues of the Women and children: laying to their charge the Reuolt it selfe, in that they revolted not, being in subiection as others were: And withall the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which durst enter into *Ionia* to their ayde, had not a little aggravated that Commotion. For by that, it seemed that the Reuolt was not made without much premeditation. They therefore sent a Gally to enforme *Paches* of their Decree, with command to put the *Mitylenians* presently to death. **D** But the next day they felt a kind of repentance in themselves, and began to consider what a great and cruell Decree it was, that not the Authors onely, but the whole Citie should be destroyed. Which when the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians*, that were there present, & such *Athenians* as fauoured them vnderstood, they wrought with those that bare office, to bring the matter again into debate, wherein they easily preuailed, forasmuch as to them also it was well knowne, that the most of the Citie were desirous to haue meanes to consult of the same anew. The Assem- **E** bly beeing presently met, amongst the opinions of diuers others,

A others, *Cleon* also, the sonne of *Cleantius*, who in the former Assembly had won to haue them killed, being of all the Citizens most violent, and with the people at that time farre the most powerfull, stood forth; and said in this manner.

*Cleon* most popular, and  
most violent.

## THE ORATION OF CLEON.

**I** Haue often on other occasions thought a Democraticke incapable of dominion ouer others; but most of all now, for this your repentance concerning the *Mitylenians*. For through your owne mutuall security and opennesse, you imagine the same also in your Confederates, and consider not, that when at their persuasion you commit an error, or relent vpon compassion, you are softned **B** thus, to the danger of the Common-wealth; not to the winning of the affections of your Confederates. Nor doe you consider, that your gouernment is a Tyranny, and those that be subiect to it, are against their willes so, and are plotting continually against you, and obey you not for any good turne, which to your owne detrimēt you shall doe them, but onely for that you exceed them in strength, and for no good will. But the worst mischiefe of all is this, that nothing wee decree shall stand firme, and that we will not know, that a City with the worse Lawes, if immoueable, is better then one with good Lawes, when they bee not binding; and that a plaine wit accompanied with modesty, is more profitable to the State, then dexterity with arrogance; and that the more ignorant sort of men, doe for the most part better regulate a Common-wealth, then they that are wiser. For these loue to appeare wiser then the Lawes, and in all publike debates to carry the victory, as the worst things **C** wherein to shew their wisdom; from whence most commonly proceedeth the ruine of the States they liue in. Whereas the other sort, mistrusting their owne wits, are content to be esteemed not so wise as the Lawes, and not able to carpe at what is well spoken by another; and so making themselves equall Iudges, rather then contenders for mastery, gouerne a State for the most part well. Wee therefore should doe the like, and not be carried away with combates of eloquence and wit, to giue such counsell to your multitude, as in our owne iudgements wee thinke not good. For my owne part, I am of the opinion I was before; and I wonder at these men, that haue brought this matter of the *Mitylenians* in question againe, **D** and thereby cause delay, which is the aduantage onely of them that doe



doe the injury. For the sufferer by this meanes comes vpon the doer A with his anger dalled; whereas reuenge, the opposite of iniurie, is then greatest, when it followes presently. I doe wonder also, what he is that shall stand vp. now to contradict mee, and shall thinke to proue, that the iniuries done vs by the Mitylenians, are good for vs, or that our calamities are any dammage to our Confederates. For certainly he must either trust in his eloquence, to make you beleene, that that which was decreed, was not decreed, or moued with lucre, must with some elaborate speech endeour to seduce you. Now of such matches [of eloquence] as these, the Citie giueth the prizes to others, but the danger that thence proceedeth, she her selfe sustaineth. B And of all this, you your selues are the cause, by the euill institution of these matches, in that you vse to bee spectators of words, and hearers of actions, beholding future actions in the words of them that speake well, as possible to come to passe; and actions already past, in the Orations of such as make the most of them, and that with such assurance, as if what you saw with your eyes, were not more certaine, then what you heare related. You are excellent men for one to deceiue with a speech of a new straine, but backward to follow any tried aduice: slauens to strange things, contempters of things vsuall. You would euery one chiefly giue the best aduice, but if you cannot, then you will C contradict those that doe. You would not be thought to come after with your opinion; but rather if any thing bee acutely spoken, to applaud it first, and to appeare ready apprehenders of what is spoken, euen before it be out, but slow to preconceiue the sequell of the same. You would heare, as one may say, somewhat else then what our life is conuersant in; and yet you sufficiently vnderstand not that, that is before your eyes. And to speake plainly, overcome with the delight of the eare, you are rather like vnto spectators, sitting to heare the contentions of Sophisters, then to men that deliberate of the state of a Common-wealth. To put you out of this humour, I say vnto you, that D the Mitylenians haue done vs more iniury, then euer did any one Citie. For those that haue revolted through the ouer-hard pressure of our government, or that haue beene compelled to it by the enemy, I pardon them; but they that were llanders, and had their Citie walled, so as they needed not feare our Enemies, but onely by Sea; in which case also they were armed for them with sufficient provision of Gallies; and they that were permitted to haue their owne Lawes, and whom wee principally honoured, and yet haue done thus; what haue they done but conspired against vs, and rather warred vpon vs, then revolted from vs, (for a revolt is onely of such as suffer violence) E ioyned with our bitterest Enemies to destroy vs? This is farre worse then

The nature of the multitude in counsell, liuely set forth.

Aggravation of the Revolt of the Mitylenians.

A then if they had warred against vs for encreasing of their owne power. But these men would neyther take example by their neighbours calamity, who are, all that revolted, already subdued by vs, nor could their owne present felicity, make them afraid of changing it into misery. But being bold against future euent, and gyming at matters aboue their strength, though below their desires, haue taken Armes against vs, and preferred force before iustice. For no sooner they thought they might get the victory, but immediately, though without iniury done them, they rose against vs. But with Cities that come to great and vnexpected B prosperity, it is vsuall to turne insolent. Whereas most commonly that prosperity which is attained according to the course of reason, is more firme then that which commeth vnexpected for. And such Cities, as one may say, doe more easily keepe off an aduerser, then maintaine a happy fortune. Indeed we should not formerly haue done any honour, more to the Mitylenians, then to the rest of our Confederates; for then they had neuer come to this degree of insolence. For it is naturall to men to contemne those that obserue them, and to haue in admiration such as will not giue them way. Now therefore let them be punished according to their wicked dealing; and let not the fault be laid vpon a few, and the people bee absolved; for they haue all alike taken Armes against vs. And the Commons, if they had beene constrained to it, might haue fled hither, and haue recovered their Citie afterwards againe. But they, esteeming it the safer aduenture, to ioyne with the few, are alike with them culpable of the Revolt. Haue also in consideration, your Confederates; And if you inflict the same punishment on them that revolt vpon compulsion of the Enemy, that you doe on them that revolt of their owne accord, who thinke you will not revolt, though D on light pretence; seeing that speeding they winne their liberty, and failing their case is not incurable? Besides that against euery City wee must bee at a new hazard both of our persons and fortunes. Wherein with the best successe, wee recover but an exhausted Citie, and lose that, wherein our strength lyeth, the reuenue of it; but miscarrying, wee adde these Enemies to our former; and must spend that time in warring against our owne Confederates, which wee needed to employ against the Enemies, we haue already. Wee must not therefore giue our Confederates hope of pardon, either impetrable by words, or E purchasable by money, as if their errors were but such as are commonly incident to humanity. For these did vs not an iniury  
vnwil



\* Meaning that the Orators are bribed and bribed to give counsell to the Commonwealth, according to the desire of other States.

unwillingly, but wittingly conspired against vs; whereas it ought to bee involuntary, what soever is pardonable. Therefore both then at first, and now againe I maintaine, that you ought not to alter your former Decree, nor to offend in any of these three most disaduantagious things to Empire, Pittie, Delight in plausible speeches, and Lenity. As for Pitty, it is iust to shew it on them that are like vs, and will haue pittie againe; but not vpon such as not onely would not haue had pittie vpon vs, but must also of necessity haue bene our enemies for euer hereafter. And for the Rhetoricians that delight you with their Orations, let them play their prizes in matters of lesse weight, and not in such wherein the City for a little pleasure, must suffer a great damage, but they for their well speaking, must well \* haue. Lastly for Lenity, it is to be vsed towards those that will be our friends hereafter, rather then towards such, as being suffered to liue, will still be as they are, not a iot the lesse our enemies. In summe I say onely this, that if you follow my aduice, you shall doe that, which is both iust in respect of the Mitylenians, and profitable for your selues; whereas if you decree otherwise, you doe not gratifie them, but condemne your selues. For if these haue iustly reuolted, you must vnjustly haue had dominion ouer them. Nay though your dominion be against reason, yet if you resolve to hold it, you must also, as a matter conducting thereunto, against reason punish them; or else you must giue your dominion ouer, that you may be good without danger. But if you consider what was likely they would haue done to you, if they had preuailed, you cannot but thinke them worthy the same punishment; nor be lesse sensible you that haue escaped, then they that haue conspired; especially they hauing done the iniurie first. For such as doe an iniury without precedent cause, persecute most, and euen to the death, him they haue done it to; as iealous of the danger his remaining Enemy may create him. For hee that is wronged without cause, and escapeth, will commonly bee more cruell, then if it were against any Enemy on equall quarell. Let vs not therefore betray our selues, but in contemplation of what you were nere suffering, and how you once prized aboue all things else, to haue them in your power, requite them now accordingly. Bee not softened at the sight of their present estate, nor forget the danger that hung ouer our own heads so lately: Giue not onely vnto these their deserved punishment, but also vnto the rest of our Confederates a cleere example, that death is their sentence, when soeuer they shall rebell. Which when they know, you shall the

A the lesse often haue occasion to neglect your Enemies, and fight against your owne Confederates. To this purpose spake Cleon.

After him, Diodotus the sonne of Encrates, who also in the former Assembly opposed most the putting of the Mitylenians to death, stood forth, and spake as followeth.

## THE ORATION OF DIODOTVS.

I Will neither blame those who haue propounded the businesse of the Mitylenians, to be againe debated, nor commend those that find fault with often consulting in affaires of great importance. But I am of opinion that nothing is so contrary to good counsell as these two, halte and anger: whereof the one is euer accompanied with madness, and the other with want of iudgement. And who soeuer maintaineth, that words are not instructers to deeds, either hee is not wise, or doth it vpon some priuate interest of his owne. Not wise, if hee thinke that future and not apparent things, may bee demonstrated other wise then by words: Interested, if desiring to carry an ill matter, and knowing that a bad cause will not beare a good speech, hee goe about to deterre his opposers and hearers by a good calumniation. But they, of all others, are most intolerable, that when men giue publike aduice, will accuse them also of bribery. For if they charged a man with no more, but ignorance, when he had spoken in reaine, hee might yet depart with the opinion of a foole. But when they impute corruption also, if his counsell take place, he is still suspected, and if it doe not take place, he shall be held not onely a foole, but also void of honesty. The Common-wealth gets no good by such courses; for through feare hereof, it will want counsellours, and the State would doe their businesse for the most part well, if this kinde of Citizens were they that had least ability in speaking; for they should then perswade the City to the fewer errours. For a good Statesman should not goe about to terrifie those that contradict him, but rather to make good his counsell vpon liberty of speech. And a wise State ought not, either to adde vnto, or on the other side, to derogate from the honour of him that giueth good aduice; nor yet punish, nay nor disgrace the man whose counsell they receiue not. And then, neither would hee that lighteth on good aduice, deliuer any thing against his owne conscience, out of ambition of further honour, and to please the Auditory; nor hee that doth not, couet thereupon, by gratifying the people some way or other, that hee also may endeeare them. But wee doe here the contrary, and besides, if any man be suspected of corruption, though hee giue the best counsell that



that can be giuen, yet through enuy, for this vncertaine opinion of his A  
 gaine, we lose a certaine benefit to the Common-wealth. And our  
 custome is to hold good counsell giuen suddenly, no lesse suspect, then  
 bad. By which meanes, as he that giues the most dangerous counsell,  
 must get the same receined, by fraud; so also he that giues the most  
 sound aduice, is forced by lying to get himselfe beleeued. So that, the  
 Common-wealth is it alone, which by reason of these suspitious imagi-  
 nations no man can possibly benefit by the plaine and open way, with-  
 out artifice. For if any man shall doe a manifest good vnto the Com-  
 mon-wealth, he shall presently be suspected of some secret gaine vnto B  
 himselfe in particular. We therefore, that in the most important af-  
 faires, and amidst these iealousies doe giue our aduice, haue need to  
 foresee farther then you, that looke not farre, and the rather, because  
 we stand accountable for our counsell, and you are to render no account  
 of your hearing it. For if the perswader, and the perswaded, had e-  
 quall harme you would be the more moderate Iudges. But now, accord-  
 ing to the passion that takes you, when at any time your affaires mis-  
 carry you punish the sentence of that one onely that gaue the counsell,  
 not the many sentences of your owne, that were in fault as well as his.  
 For my owne part, I stood not forth with any purpose of contradiction, in  
 the businesse of the Mitylenians, nor to accuse any man. For wee C  
 contend not now, if we be wise, about the iniury done by them, but  
 about the wisest counsell for our selues. For how great soeuer be their  
 fault, yet I would neuer aduise to haue them put to death, vnlesse it bee  
 for our profit; nor yet would I pardon them, though they were pardon-  
 able, vnlesse it be good for the Common-wealth. And in my opinion,  
 our deliberation now is of the future, rather then of the present. And  
 whereas Cleon contendeth, that it will be profitable for the future,  
 to put them to death in that it will keepe the rest from rebelling, I, con-  
 tending likewise for the future, affirme the contrary. And I desire  
 you not to reiect the profit of my aduice, for the faire pretexts of his, D  
 which agreeing more with your present anger against the Mityleni-  
 ans, may quickly perhaps win your consent. We pleade not iudicially  
 with the Mitylenians, so as to need arguments of equity, but we con-  
 sult of them, which way we may serue our selues of them to our most  
 advantage hereafter. I say therefore, that death hath been in States,  
 ordained for a punishment of many offences, and those not so great, but  
 farre lesse then this. Yet encouraged by hope, men hazard themselves.  
 Nor did any man euer yet enter into a practice, which he knew he could  
 not goe through with. And a Citie when it revolteth, supposeth it selfe  
 to be better furnished, either of themselves, or by their Confederates, E  
 then it is, or else it would neuer take the enterprize in hand. They haue  
 it

A it by nature, both men and Cities to commit offences; nor is there any  
 Law that can prevent it. For men haue gone ouer all degrees of pu-  
 nishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be lesse annoyed by Male-  
 factors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old,  
 euen vpon the most haynous crimes; but that in tract of time, men  
 continuing to transgresse, they were extended afterwards, to the ta-  
 king away of life; and yet they still transgresse. And therefore either  
 some greater terrour then death must be deuised, or death will not bee  
 enough for coercion. For poverty will alwayes adde boldnesse to neces-  
 sity; and wealth, conetousnesse to pride, and contempt. And the other.  
 B [middle] fortunes, they also through humane passion, according as  
 they are generally subiect to some insuperable one or other, impell men  
 to danger. But Hope and Desire, worke this effect in all states.  
 And this as the Leader, that as the companion; this continuing, the  
 enterprize, that suggesting the successe, are the cause of most crimes  
 that are committed. And being least discerned, are more mischieuous,  
 then euils seene. Besides these two, Fortune also putteth man forward as  
 much as any thing else. For presenting her selfe sometimes vnlooke  
 for, she prouoketh some to aduenture, though not provided, as they  
 ought for the purpose; and specially Cities; because, they venture  
 C for the greatest matters, as liberty and dominion over others; and  
 amongst a generality, every one, though without reason, somewhat the  
 more magnifies himselfe in particular. In a word, it is a thing impossi-  
 ble, and of great simplicitie to beleene, when humane nature is earnest-  
 ly bent to doe a thing, that by force of Law, or any other danger, it can  
 be diuerted. We must not therefore, relying on the security of capitall  
 punishment, decree the worst against them, nor make them desperate,  
 as if there were no place to repent, and as soon as they can, to censure  
 their offence. For obserue, if a Citie revolted, should know it could  
 not hold out, it would now compound, whilst it were able, both to pay  
 D vs our charges for the present, and our tribute for the time to  
 come. But though that Cleon preferbeth, what Citie, thinke you,  
 would not provide it selfe better, then this did; and endure the siege  
 to the very last, if to compound late, and soone be all one? And how  
 can it be but detriment to vs, to be at charge of long sieges, through  
 their obstinacy, and when we haue taken a Citie, to finde it exhau-  
 sted, and to lose the revenue of it for the future? And this revenue  
 is the onely strength we haue against our enemies. We are not then  
 to be exact Iudges in the punishment of offenders; but to looke rather  
 how by their moderate punishment, we may haue our Confederate Ci-  
 ties, such as they may be able to pay vs tribute; and not thinke of  
 E to keepe them in awe by the rigour of Lawes, but by the prouidence of  
 Z



our owne actions. But wee to the contrary, when wee reconer a Citie, which hauing bene free, and held vnder our obedience by force, hath revolted iustly, thinke now, that we ought to inflict some cruell punishment vpon them; whereas we ought rather, not mightily to punish a free Citie revolted, but mightily to looke to it before it revolt; and to prevent the intention of it; but when we haue overcome them, to lay the fault vpon as few as we can. Consider also, if you follow the aduice of Cleon, how much you shall offend likewise in this other point. For in all your Cities, the Commonalty are now your friends, and either revolt not with the few, or if they be compelled to it by force, they presently turne enemies to them that caused the revolt; whereby when you goe to Warre, you haue the Comuions of the aduerser Citie on your side. But if you shall destroy the Commonalty of the Mitylenians, which did neither partake of the revolt, and as some as they were armed, presently deliuered the Citie into your hands, you shall first doe vniustly to kill such as haue done you service, and you shall effect a worke besides, which the great men doe euery where most desire. For when they haue made a Citie to revolt, they shall haue the people presently on their side; you hauing foresheene them by the example, that both the guilty and not guilty must vndergoe the same punishment.

Whereas indeed, though they were guilty, yet wee ought to dissemble it; to the end that the onely party, now our friend, may not become our enemy. And for the assuring of our dominion, I thinke it farre more profitable, voluntarily to put vp an iniurie, then iustly to destroy such as wee should not. And that same, both Iustice and profit of reuenge, alledged by Cleon, can neuer possibly bee found together in the same thing.

You therefore, vpon knowledge that this is the best course, not vpon Compassion, or Lenitie (for neither would I haue you wonne by that) but vpon consideration of what hath bene aduised, bee ruled by mee, and proceede to iudgement at your owne leasure, against those whom Paches hath sent hither as guilty, and suffer the rest to enioy their Citie. For that will bee both good for the future, and also of present terror to the enemy. For hee that consulteth wisely, is a sorer enemy, then hee that assaulteth with the strength of action vniustly.

Thus spake Diodotus.

After

A After these two opinions were deliuered, the one most opposit to the other, the Athenians were at contention which they should decree, and at the holding vp of hands, they were both sides almost equall: but yet the sentence of Diodotus preuailed. Whereupon they presently in haste sent away another Gallie, left not arriuing before the former, they should finde the Citie already destroyed. The first Gallie set forth before the second, a day and a night. But the Mitylenian Ambassadors hauing furnished this latter with Wine and Barley Cakes, and promised them great rewards, if they ouertooke the other Gallie, they rowed diligently, at one and the same time both plying their Oares, and taking their refection of the said Barley Cakes steeped in Wine and Oyle; and by turnes part of them slept, and the other part rowed. It happened also that there blew no Winde against them; And the former Gallie making no great halte, as going in so sad an errand, whereas the former proceeded in the manner before mentioned, arriued indeed first, but onely so much, as Paches had read the Sentence, and prepared to execute what they had decreed. But presently after came in the other Gallie, and saued the Citie from being destroyed. So neere were the Mitylenians to the danger.

But those whom Paches had sent home, as most culpable of the Reuolt, the Athenians, as Cleon had aduised, put to death; beeing in number somewhat aboute a thousand.

They also razed the Walles of Mitylene, and tooke from them all their Gallies. After which they imposed on the Lesbians no more Tribute, but hauing diuided their land, (all but that of the Methymneans) into 3000 parts, 300 of those parts, of the choicest Land, they consecrated to the Gods. And for the rest, they sent men by lot out of their owne Citie to possesse it, of whom the Lesbians at the rent of \*two Minæ of Siluer yeerely, vpon a Lot, had the Land againe to bee husbanded by themselves. The Athenians tooke in all such Townes also, as the Mitylenians were Masters of in the Continent; which were afterwards made Subiects to the People of Athens. Thus ended the businesse touching Lesbos.

The same Summer, after the recovery of Lesbos, the Athenians

The Sentence of Diodotus taketh place.  
A Gallie sent out after the former, with a Sentence of mercy.  
The speed of this latter Gallie to ouertake the former that carried the Decree of death.

The Commons of Mitylene very neere destruction.

Aboute a thousand principall authors of the Reuolt executed.

\* 4 pound 5 shillings sterling.

Nicias taketh Mitylene, an Island adjacent to Megara.



*Athenians*, vnder the conduct of *Nicias*, the sonne of *Ni-*  
*ceratus*, made Warre on *Minoa*, an Iland adiacent to *Meg-*  
*gara*. For the *Megareans* had built a Tower in it, and ser-  
 ued themselues of the Iland for a place of Garrison. But  
*Nicias* desired that the *Athenians* might keepe their Watch  
 vpon *Megara*, in that Iland; as being neerer, and no more  
 at *Budorus* and *Salamis*; to the end that the *Peloponnesians*  
 might not goe out thence with their Gallies, vndiscreyed,  
 nor send out Pirates, as they had formerly done, and to  
 prohibit the importation of all things to the *Megareans* by  
 Sea. Wherefore when he had first taken two Towres B  
 that stood out from *Nisaea*, with Engines applyed from  
 the Sea, and so made a free entrance for his Gallies, be-  
 twene the Iland and the firme Land, he tooke it in with  
 a Wall also from the Continent, in that part where it  
 might receiue ayde by a bridge ouer the Marishes; for it  
 was not farre distant from the maine Land. And, that  
 being in few dayes finished, hee built a Fort in the Iland  
 it selfe, and leauing there a Garrison, carried the rest of  
 his Armie backe.

It happened also about the same time of this Summer, that the *Platæans* having spent their Victuall, and being vnable longer to hold out, yielded their Citie in this manner to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Peloponnesians* assaulted the Walles, but they within were vnable to fight. Wherevpon the *Lacedæmonian* Commander, perceiuing their weaknesse, would not take the place by force, (for he had command to that purpose from *Lacedæmon*, to the end that if they should euer make peace with the *Athenians*, with conditions of mutuall restitution of such Cities as on either side had bene taken by Warre, *Platæa*, as hauing come in of its own accord, might not be thereby recouerable,) but sent a Herald to them, who demanded whether or no they would giue vp their City voluntarily into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and take them for their Iudges, with power to punish the offenders, but none without forme of Iustice. So said the Herald: and they (for they were now at the weakest) deliuered vp the Citie accordingly. So the *Peloponnesians* gaue the *Platæans* food for certaine dayes, till the Iudges, which were five, should arrive from *Lacedæmon*. And when they were come, no accusation was exhibited, but calling them man by man, they

The Plateau yield the  
City.

The *Lacedæmonians* refuse to take *Platæa* by force, but will have it by voluntary surrender.

A they asked of euery one, only this question : *Whether they had done to the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this Warre, any good service ?* But the *Plæans* hauing sued to make their answer more at large, and hauing appointed *Ajymachus* the sonne of *Aljopolus*, and *Lacon* the sonne of *Adimnefus* (who had been heretofore the Hoste of the *Lacedæmonians*) for their Speakers, said as followeth.

THE ORATION OF THE  
PLATÆANS.

B  
L A T I N E A N S .  
**M**En of Lacedæmon, relying vpon you, we yielded vpon our  
iurie, not expecting to undergoe this, but some more Legall  
manner of proceeding, and we agreed not to stand to the  
iudgement of others, (as now we doe) but of your selues onely; con-  
caining we should so obtaine the better iustice. But now we feare  
we haue bene deceived in both. For we haue reason to suspect,  
boith that the tryall is capitall, and you the Iudges partiall. Gather-  
ing too much, boith from that, that there hath not been presented any  
accusation, to which we might answer, and also from this, that the  
C interrogatory is flory, and such, as if we answer to it with truth, we  
shall speake against our selues; and be easily convinced, if we lie.  
But since we are on all hands, in a straight, we are forced (& it  
seemes our safest way) to try what we can obtaine by pleading. For,  
for men in our case, the speech not spoken, may giue occasion to some  
to thinke, that spoken, it had preferred vs. But besides other incon-  
ueniences, the meanes also of perwasion, goe ill on our side. For if  
we had not knowne one another, we might haue helped our selues by  
producing testimony in things, you knew not. Whereas now, all that  
we shall say, will be before men that know already what it is. And we  
D feare, not that you misse, because you know vs inferior in cœrte to  
your selues to make that a crime, but lest you bring vs to a iudgement  
already iudged, to gratifie some body else. Neuerthelesse, we will pro-  
duce our reasons of equity, against the quarrell of the Thebans, and  
withall make mention of our seruices done, both to you, and to the rest  
of Greece, and make tryall if by any meanes we can perswade you.  
As to that short interrogatory, Whether we haue any way  
done good in this present Warre to the Lacedæmonians and  
their Confederates, or not? If you aske us as enemies, wee say,  
that if we haue done them no good, we haue also don'them no wrong.  
E If you aske vs as friends, then we say, that they rather haue done vs  
the injury, in that they made Warre vpon vs. But in the time of the  
Peace.



Peace, and in the Warre against the Medes, we behaued our selves A well; for the one, we brake not first, and in the other, we were the onely Bæotians that ioyned with you for the deliuey of Greece. For though we dwell vp in the land yet we fought by Sea at Artemisium, and in the battell, fought in this our own territory we were with you; and whatsoeuer dangers the Grecians in those times vnderwent, we were partakers of all, euen beyond our strength. And vnto you Lacedæmonians, in particular, when Sparta was in greatest affright, after the Earthquake, vpon the Rebellion of the Helotes, and seazing of Ithome, we sent the third part of our power to assisst you, which you haue no reason to forget. Such then wee shewed our B selves in those ancient and most important affaires. It is true, wee haue beene your enemies since, but for that you are to blame your selves. For when oppressed by the Thebans, we sought league of you, you reiecte vs, and bade vs goe to the Athenians that were neerer hand, your selves being farre off. Neuerthelesse, you neither haue in this Warre, nor were to haue suffered at our hands any thing that misbecame vs. And if we denyed to reuolt from the Athenians, when you bade vs, we did you no iniury in it. For they both ayded vs against the Thebans, when you shrunke from vs; and it was now no more any C ho.esty to betray them. Especially hauing beene well vsed by them, and we our selves hauing sought their league, and been made denizens also of their Citie. Nay, we ought rather to haue followed them in all their commands with alacrity. When You, or the Athenians haue the leading of the Confederates, if euill be done, not they that follow are culpable, but you that lead to the euill. The Thebans haue done vs many other iniuries; but this last, which is the cause of what wee now suffer, you your selves know what it was. For we auenged vs but iustly of those that in time of Peace, and vpon the day of our Noui-luniall Sacrifice, had surprized our Citie; and by the Law of all Nations it is lawfull to repell an assailing enemy; and therefore D there is no reason you should punish vs now for them. For if you shall measure Iustice by your, and their present benefit in the Warre, it will manifestly appeare, that you are not Iudges of the Truth, but respecters onely of your profit. And yet if the Thebans seeme profitable to you now, we, and the rest of the Grecians were more profitable to you then, when you were in greater danger. For though the Thebans are now on your side, when you inuade others; yet at that time when the Barbarian came in to impose seruitude on all; they were on his. It is but Iustice, that with our present offence (if wee E haue committed any) you compare our forwardnesse then; which you will finde both greater then our fault, and augmented also by the circumstance

A circumstance of such a season, when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to Xerxes power; and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his inuasion but that aduentured to doe what was most honest, though with danger. But we being of that number, and honoured for it amongst the first, are afraid lest the same shall be now a cause of our destruction, as hauing chosen rather to follow the Athenians iustly, then you profitably. But you should euer haue the same opinion, in the same case; and thinke this onely to be profitable, that doing what is vsfull for the present occasion, you reserue withall a constant acknowledgement of the vertue of B your good Confederates. Consider also, that you are an example of \* honest dealing, to the most of the Grecians. Now if you shall decree otherwise then it is iust, (for this iudgement of yours is conspicuous you that be praised against vs, that be not blamed, take heed that they doe not dislike, that good men should vndergoe an vniust sentence, though at the hands of better men; or that the spoyle of vs that haue done the Grecians seruice, should be dedicated in their Temples. For it will be thought a horrible matter, that Plataea should be destroyed by Lacedæmonians, and that you, whereas your Fathers in honour of our valour, inscribed the name of our Citie, on the Tripode C at Delphi, should now blot it out of all Greece, to gratifie the Thebans. For we haue proceeded to such a degree of calamity, that if the Medes had preuailed, we must haue perished then; and now the Thebans haue ouercome vs againe in you, who were before our greatest friends; and haue put vs to two great hazards, one before, of famishing, if we yeelded not; and another now, of a Capitall sentence. And we Plataeans, who euen beyond our strength haue been zealous in the defence of the Grecians, are now abandoned and left vnrelieued by them all. But we beseech you for those gods sakes, in whose names D once we made mutuall league, and for our valours sake shewne in the behalfe of the Grecians, to be moued toward vs, and if at the perswasion of the Thebans, you haue determined ought against vs, to change your mindes, and reciprocally to require at the hands of the Thebans, this courtesie, that whom you ought to spare, they would be contented not to kill, and so receiue an honest benefit, in recompence of a wicked one, and not to bestow pleasure vpon others, and receiue wickednesse vpon your selves in exchange. For though to take away our liues be a matter quickly done, yet to make the infamy of it cease, will be worke enough. For being none of your enemies, but well-willers, and such as haue entred into the Warre vpon constraint, you cannot put E vs to death with Iustice. Therefore if you will iudge vnconscruply, you ought to secure our persons, and to remember that you receiued vs by our

\* It doth not appeare by any thing in the time of this War, that the Lacedæmonians deferred any reputation for Iustice, but contrariely they appear by this and diuers other actiōs, not to haue esteemed of Iustice at all, when it crossed their owne interest or passion.



our owne voluntary submission, and with hands upheld (and it is **A** the Law among Grecians, not to put such to death) besides that, we haue from time to time been beneficiall to you. For looke vpon the sepulchres of your Fathers, whom slaine by the Medes; and buried in this Territory of ours, we haue geerely honoured at the publike charge, both with Vestments and other Rites; and of such things as our Land hath produced, we haue offered vnto them the first fruits of it all, as friends in an amicable Land, and Confederates vnto doe, to those that haue formerly been their fellows in Armes. But now by a wrong sentence you shall doe the contrary of this. For consider this: Paulanias, as he thought, entered these men in amicable ground, and amongst their friends. But you, if you slay vs, and of Plateais, make Thebais, what doe you but leaue your Fathers and kinred deprived of the honours they now haue, in an hostile Territory, and amongst the very men that slew them? And moreover, put into seruitude that soyl whereon the Grecians were put into liberty; and make desolate the Temples wherein they prayed, when they preuailed against the Medes; and destroy the Patriall sacrifices which were instituted by the Builders and Founders of the same?

These things are not for your glory, men of Lacedæmon, nor **C** to violate the common institutions of Greece, and wrong your progenitors, nor to destroy vs that haue done you service, for the hatred of another, when you haue received no iniury from vs your selues. But to spare our liues, to relent, to haue a moderate compassion, in contemplation, not onely of the greatnesse of the punishment, but also of who we are, that must suffer, and of the vncertainty where calamity may light, and that vnderstandedly; which wee, (as becommeth vs, and our need compelleth vs to doe) cry aloud vnto the common gods of Greece to perswade you vnto; producing the oath sworne by your Fathers, to put you in minde; and also wee **D** become here, Sanctuary men, at the sepulchres of your Fathers, crying out vpon the dead, not to suffer themselves to be in the power of the Thebans, nor to let their greatest friends be betrayed into the hands of their greatest enemies; remembring the of that day, vpon which, though we haue done glorious acts in their company, yet wee are in danger at this day of most miserable suffering. But to make an end of speaking (which is as necessary, so most bitter to men in our case, because the hazard of our liues commeth so soone after,) for a conclusion we say, that it was not to the Thebans that we rendered our Citie (for we would rather haue dyed of Famine, the most **E** base perdition of all other) but we came out on trust in you. And it

**A** is but iustice, that if wee cannot perswade you, you should set vs againe in the estate we were in, and let vs vndergoe the danger at our owne election. Also we require you, Men of Lacedæmon, not onely, not to deliuer vs Plateans, who haue bene most zealous in the seruice of the Grecians, especially being Sanctuary men, out of your owne hands, and your owne trust, into the hands of our most mortall Enemies the Thebans, but also to be our sauours, and not to destroy vs utterly, you that set at liberty all other Grecians. Thus spake the Plateans.

**B** But the Thebans, fearing lest the Lacedæmonians might relent at their Oration, stood forth, and said, that since the Plateans had had the liberty of a longer speech (which they thought they should not) then for answer to the question was necessary, they also desired to speake, and being commanded to say on, spake to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF THE THEBANS.

**C** If these men had answered briefly to the question, and not both turned against vs with an accusation, and also out of the purpose, and wherein they were not charged, made much apologie and commendation of themselves in things unquestioned, wee had neuer asked leaue to speake; but as it is, we are to the one point to answer, and to confute the other, that neither the faults of vs, nor their owne reputation may doe them good, but your Sentence may be guided, by hearing of the truth of both. The quarell betweene vs and them, arose at first from this, that when wee had built Platea last of all the Cities of Boeotia, together with some other places, which, hauing driven out the promiscuous Nations, wee had then in our dominion, they would not (as was ordained at first) allow vs to be their Leaders, but beeing the onely men of all the Boeotians, that transgressed the common ordinance of the Country, when they should haue bene compelled to their duty, they turned vnto the Athenians, and together with them did vs many euils, for which they likewise suffered as many from vs. But when the Barbarian invaded Greece, then; say they, that they of all the Boeotians onely also, Medized not. And this is the thing wherein they both glory most themselves, and most detract **E** from vs. Now wee confesse they Medized not, because also the Athenians did not. Neither theesse when the Athenians afterwards



invaded the rest of the Grecians, in the same kinde then A  
of all the Boeotians, they onely Atticized. But taken now into your  
consideration withall, what forme of government we were in both the  
one and the other, when wee did this. For then had wee our Citie  
gouverned, neither by an Oligarchy, with Lawes common to all, nor by  
a Democratic, but the State was managed by a Few with authority  
absolute, then which there is nothing more contrary to Lawes, and mo-  
deration, nor more approaching vnto Tyranny. And these Few, ho-  
ping yet further, if the Medes prevailed, to increase their owne  
power, kept the people vnder, and furthered the coming in of the  
Barbarian. And so did the whole Citie; but it was not then Master B  
of it self; nor doth it deserue to bee ypbraided with what it did  
when they had no Lawes, [but were at the will of others.]  
But when the Medes were gone, and our City had Lawes, consider  
now, when the Athenians attempted to subdue all Greece, and  
this Territory of ours with the rest, wherein through sedition they had  
gotten many places already, whether by giuing them Battell at Coro-  
nica, and defeating them, we deliuered not Boeotia from seruitude  
then, and doe not also now with much zeale assise you in the asserting  
of the rest, and finde not more Horfes, and more prouision of Warre,  
then any of the Confederates besides. And so much bee spoken by C  
way of Apologie to our Medizing. And wee will endeavour to proue  
now, that the Grecians haue beene rather wronged by you, and that  
you are more worthy of all manner of punishment. You became, you  
say, Confederates and Denizens of Athens, for to bee ri-  
ted against vs; against vs then onely the Athenians should  
haue come with you, and not you with them haue gone to the inuasion  
of the rest; especially, when if the Athenians would haue led you  
whither you would not, you had the League of the Lacedaemoni-  
ans, made with you against the Medes, which you so often obiekt,  
to haue resorted vnto; which was sufficient not onely to haue prote- D  
cted you from vs, but which is the maine matter, to haue secured you  
to take what course you had pleased. But voluntarily, and without  
constraint, you rather chose to follow the Athenians. And you say  
it had beene a dishonest thing, to haue betrayed your benefactors. But  
it is more dishonest, and more vnjust by farre, to betray the Grecians  
vniuersally, to whom you haue sworne, then to betray the Atheni-  
ans alone; especially when these goe about to deliuer Greece  
from subiection, and the other to subdue it. Besides, the requi-  
tall you make the Athenians is not proportionable, nor free from  
dishonesty; for you, as you say your selues, brought in the Athenians E  
to right you against iniuries, and you coöperate with them in iniurying  
others.

A others. And howsoeuer, it is not so dishonest to leaue a benefite  
vnrquitad; as to make such a requitall; as though iustly due,  
cannot be iustly done. But you haue made it apparent, that euen  
then, it was not for the Grecians sake, that you alone of all the Boe-  
otians, medized not, but because the Athenians did not; yet now,  
you that would do as the Athenians did, and contrary to what the  
Grecians did, claime fauour of these, for what you did for the  
others sake. But there is no reason for that; But as you haue  
chosse the Athenians, so let them helpe you in this tryall. And  
produce not the Oath of the former League, as if that should saue  
B you now; for you haue relinquishd it, and contrary to the same,  
haue rather helped the Athenians to subdue the Eginetae, and  
others, then hindered them from it. And this you not onely did  
voluntarily, and hauing Lawes, the same you haue now, and  
none forcing you to it, as then did vs, but also releued our last  
inimication, (a little before the shutting vp of your Citie) to quiet-  
nesse and neutrality. Who can therefore more deservedly bee  
hated of the Grecians in generall, then you, that pretend honesty  
to their ruine? And those acts wherein formerly, as you say, you  
haue beene beneficiall to the Grecians, you haue now made appa-  
C rent to be none of yours, and made true proofe of what your owne  
nature inclines you to. For with Athenians you haue walked in  
the way of iniustice. And thus much wee haue laid open touch-  
ing our involuntary Medizing, and your voluntary Atticizing.  
And for this last iniury you charge vs with, namely the vnlawfull  
inuaing of your City in time of peace, and of your New-moone  
Sacrifice, we doe not thinke, no nor in this action, that wee haue  
offended so much as you your selues. For though wee had done  
vniustly, if wee had assaulted your Citie, or wasted your Terri-  
tory as enemies, of our owne accord, yet when the prime men of  
D your owne Citie, both for wealth and Nobility, willing to dis-  
charge you of forraigne League, and conforme you to the com-  
mon institutions of all Boeotia, did of their owne accord call  
vs in, wherein lyeth the iniurie then? For they that leade  
transgresse, rather then they that follow. But as wee conceiue,  
neither they nor wee haue transgressed at all. But being Citi-  
zens, as well as you, and hauing more to hazard, they  
opened their owne Gates, and tooke vs into the Citie as  
Friends, not as Enemies, with intention to keepe the  
ill-affected from being worse, and to doe right to the good.  
E Taking vpon them to bee moderators of your Councils, and  
not to deprive the Citie of your persons: but to reduce  
you



you into one body with the rest of your kindred; and not to engage you in hostility with any, but to settle you in peace with all. And for an argument, that we did not thus as enemies, we did harme to no man, but proclaimed, that if any man were willing to haue the City gouerned after the common forme of all Boeotia, he should come to vs. And you came willingly at first, and were quiet; but afterwards when you knew we were but few, (though we might seeme to haue done somewhat more then was fit to doe, without the consent of your multitude) you did not by vs, as we did by you, first innouate nothing in fact, and then with words perswade vs to goe forth againe, but contrary to the composition, assaulted vs. And for those men you slew in the affray, we grieve not so much (for they suffered by a kind of Law) but to kill those that held vp their hands for merite, whom taken aliue, you afterwards had promised to spare, was not this a horrible cruelty? you committed in this businesse three crimes, one in the necke of another. First the breach of the composition, then the death that followed, of our men; and thirdly, the falsifying of your promise, to saue them, if we did no hurt to any thing of yours in the Fields. And yet you say that we are the transgressors, and that you for your parts deserve not to vndergo a iudgement. But it is otherwise. And if these men iudge aright, you shall be punished now for all your crimes at once. We haue herein men of Lacedæmon, heere thus large, both for your sakes, and ours. For yours, to let you see, that if you condemne them, it will bee no iniustice; for ours, that the equity of our reuenge may the better appeare. Be not moued with the recitall of their vertues of old (if any they had) which though they ought to helpe the wronged, should double the punishment of such as commit wickednesse, because their offence doth not become them. Nor let them fare euer the better for their lamentation, or your compassion, when they cry out vpon your Fathers Sepulchers, and their owne want of friends. For we on the other side affirme, that the Youth of our Citie suffered harder measure from them, and their Fathers, partly slaine at Coronea, in bringing Boeotia to your Confederation, and partly aliue and now old, and deprived of their children, make farre iuster supplication to you for reuenge. And pittie belongeth to such as suffer vnder seruely, but on the contrary, when men are worthily punished, (as these are) it is to bee reioyced at. And for their present want of friends, they may thanke themselves. For of their owne accord they rejected the better Confederates. And the Law hath bene broken by

A by them, without precedent wrong from vs; in that they condemned our men spitefully, rather then iudicially; in which point wee shall not come short of requiting them; for they shall suffer Legally; and not as they say they doe, with hands vnbelted from battell, but as men that haue put themselves vpon trial by consent. Maintain therefore (ye Lacedæmonians) the Law of the Grecians, against these men that haue transgressed it, and giue vnto vs, that haue suffered contrary to the Law, the iust recompence of our assistance in your seruice. And let not the words of these giue vs a repulse from you. But let vp an example to the Grecians, by presenting vnto these men attyall, not of words, but of facts; which if they be good; a short narration of them will serue the turne; if ill, compe Orators doe but toyle them. But if such as haue the authority, as you haue now, would collect the matter to a head, and according as any man should make answer therunto, so proceed to sentence, men would be lesse in the search of faire speeches, wherewith to excuse the foulness of their actions. Thus spake the Thebans.

And the Lacedæmonian Iudges, concealing their Interrogatory to stand well, namely, whether they had receiued any benefit by them: vnto in this present War; (For they had indeed increased the both at other times, according to the ancient league of Pausanias, after the Median Warre, to stand neutrall and also a little before the Siege, the Plataeans had rejected their proposition of being common friend to both sides, according to the same league.) taking themselves in respect of these their iust offers, to be now discharged of the league, and to haue receiued euill at their hands, caused them one by one to be brought forth, and hauing asked them againe the same question, Whether they had any way benifited the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this present Warre, or not? as they answered; Nor, led them aside and slew them, not exempting any. Of the Plataeans themselves they slew no lesse then 200; Of Athenians, who were besieged with them, 2; The Women they made slaues; and the Thebans assigned the Citie for a yeere, or thereabouts; for an habitation to such Megareans, as in sedition had been driuen from their owne, and to all those Plataeans, which liuing, were of the Theban faction. But afterwards, pulling it all downe to the very foundation, they built a Hospitall in the place, neere the Temple

The Lacedæmonians proceeded with their question.

The Plataeans are put to death, as Athenians slaine with them.

Plataeans pulled downe.



Temple of *Iuno*, of 200 foot diameter, with chambers on A every side in circle, both above and below, rising therein the roofes, and doores of the *Plataeans* buildings. And of the rest of the stufte, that was in the Citie wall, as Brasse and Iron, they made Bedstedes, and dedicated them to *Iuno*, to whom also they built a stone Chappell of 100 foote ouer. The Land they confiscated, and set it to farme afterwards for ten yeeres to the *Thebans*. So farre were the *Lacedaemonians* alienated from the *Plataeans*, especially, or rather altogether for the *Thebans* sake, whom they thought vifull to them in the Warre now on foot. So ended the B businesse at *Plataea*, in the fourscore and thirtehn yeere after their league made with the *Athenians*.

The 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which hauing been sent to ayde the *Lesbians*, fled, as hath beene related, through the wide Sea, chased by the *Athenians*, and tossed by stormes on the Coast of *Crete*, came thence disperfed, into *Peloponnesus*, and found thirteene Gallies, *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*, in the Hauens of *Cyllene*, with *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*, come thither to be of counsell with *Aleidas*. For the *Lacedaemonians*, seeing they failed of *Lesbos*, determined with their Fleet augmented to sayle to *Coreyra*, which was in sedition, (there being but twelue *Athenian* Gallies about *Naupactus*) to the end they might be there before, the supply of a greater Fleet should come from *Athens*. So *Brasidas* and *Aleidas* employed themselues in that.

The sedition in *Coreyra*, began vpon the comming home of those Captiues, which were taken in the battels by Sea, at *Epidamnus*, and released afterwards by the *Corinthians*, at the ranfome, as was voyced, of eighty talents, for which they had giuen security to their Hostes; but in fact, for D that they had perswaded the *Corinthians*, that they would put *Coreyra* into their power. These men going from man to man, solicited the Citie to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And two Gallies being now come in, one of *Athens*, another of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from both those States, the *Coreyreans* vpon audience of them both, decreed to hold the *Athenians* for their Confederates, on Articles agreed on; but withall to remaine friends to the *Peloponnesians*, as they had formerly been. There was one *Pitbias*, voluntary Hoste of the *Athenians*, and that had bin principall Magistrat of the people. Him, these men called into iudgement, E

The *Lacedaemonians* in their sentence vpon the *Plataeans*, haue more respect to their owne profit, then to the merit of the cause.

The 40 Gallies, with *Aleidas*, come weather-beaten home.

The sedition of *Coreyra* occasioned by the Captiues that came from *Corinth*.

Who perswade the renouncing of their league with *Athens*.

A ment, and laid to his charge a practice to bring the Citie into the seruitude of the *Athenians*. He againe, being acquit, called in question, siue of the wealthiest of the same men, saying, they had cut \* certaine Stakes in the ground, belonging to the Temples both of *Iupiter*, and of *Alimus*, vpon euery of which, there lay a penalty of a \* Stater. And the cause going against them, they tooke Sanctuary in the Temples, to the end, the summe being great, they might pay it by portions, as they should be taxed. But *Pitbias* (for he was also of the Senate) obtained that the B Law should proceed. These siue being by the Law excluded the Senate, and vnderstanding that *Pitbias*, as long as he was a Senator, would cause the people to hold for friends and foes, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, conspired with the rest, and armed with Daggers, suddenly brake into the Senate house, and slew both *Pitbias* and others, as well priuate men as Senators, to the number of about sixty persons; onely a few of those of *Pitbias* his faction, escaped into the *Athenian* Gallie that lay, yet in the Harbour. When they had done this, and called the C *Coreyreans* to an Assembly, they told them, that what they had done, was for the best, and that they should not be now in bondage to the *Athenians*. And for the future they aduised them to be in quiet, and to receiue neither party, with more then one Gallie at once; and to take them for enemies, if they were more. And when they had spoken, forced them to decree it accordingly. They also presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, both to shew that it was fit for them to doe what they had done, and also to disswade such *Coreyreans* as were fled thither of the other D faction, from doing any thing to their preiudice, for feare the matter should fall into a relapse.

When these arriued, the *Athenians* apprehended both the Ambassadors themselues, as seditious persons, and also all those *Coreyreans* whom they had there preuailed with; and sent them to custody in *Egina*. In the meane time, vpon the comming in of a Gallie of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from *Lacedaemon*, those that managed the State, assailed the Commons, and quercame them in fight. And night comming on, the Commons fled into the Citadell, E and the higher parts of the Citie, where they rallied themselues, and encamped, and made themselues Masters of

*Pitbias*, one of the *Athenian* faction, accused, and abtolved, accuseth some of the other faction.

\* *Statera* was Stakes, either for *Vine* props, which are particularly called *statera*, or for other profits, &c. Of our money about 15 *Stollings* 7 pence halfe penny.

*Pitbias* and others slaine in the Senate.

The *Lacedaemonian* faction assaile the Commons.



of the Hauē called the *Hallaïque* Hauē. But the Nobility seized on the Market place (where also the most of them dwelt,) and on the Hauē on the side toward the Continent.

The next day they skirmished a little with \* shot, and both parts sent abroad into the Villages to sollicit the slaves with promise of liberty, to take their parts. And the greatest part of the slaves tooke part with the Commons; and the other side had an aide of 800 men, from the Continent.

The next day but one they fought againe, and the people had the Victory, having the oddes, both in strength of places, and in number of men. And the women also manfully assisted them, throwing Tiles from the houses, and enduring the tumult, even beyond the condition of their Sexe. The *Few* began to flie about twilight, and fearing lest the people should euen with their shout take the Arsenall and so come on and put them to the sword, to stoppe their passage, set fire on the houses in circle about the Market place, and vpon others neere it. Much goods of Merchants was hereby burnt, and the whole City, if the wind had risen and carried the flame that way, had been in danger to haue been destroyed. When the people had gotten the Victory, the *Corinthian* Gallie stole away, and most of the auxiliaries, gat ouer priuily into the Continent.

The next day *Nicostratus*, the sonne of *Diotrephes*, an *Athenian* Commander, came in with 12 Gallies, and 300 *Messenian* men of Armes, from *Naupactus*, and both negotiated a reconciliation, and induced them (to the end they might agree) to condemne ten of the principall authors of the Sedition (who presently fled) and to let the rest alone, with Articles both betweene themselves, and with the *Athenians* to esteeme friends and enemies, the same the *Athenians* did. When he had done this, he would haue been gone, but the people perswaded him before he went, to leaue behind him, five of his Gallies, the better to keepe their aduersaries from stirring, and to take as many of theirs, which they would man with *Corcyreans*, and send with him. To this he agreed, and they made a List of those that should imbarke, consisting altogether of their enemies. But these, fearing to be sent to *Athens*, tooke Sanctuary

\* Arrows, Stones, and the like missile weapons.

The Commons overcome the Oligarchicals.

A Sanctuary in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; But *Nicostratus*, endeauoured to raise them, and spake to them to put them into courage: but when hee could not preuaile, the people (arming themselves on pretence, that their diffidence to goe along with *Nicostratus* proceeded from some euill intention) tooke away their Armes out of their houses, and would also haue killed some of them, such as they chanced on, if *Nicostratus* had not hindred them.

Others also when they saw this, tooke Sanctuary in the Temple of *Iuno*, and they were in all about foure hundred. But the people fearing some innouation, got them by perswasion to rise, and conveying them into the Iland that lyeth ouer against the Temple of *Iuno*, sent them their necessaries thither.

The Sedition standing in these termes, the fourth or fifth day after the putting ouer of these men into the Iland, arrived the *Peloponnesian* Fleet from *Cyllene*, where, since their voyage of *Ionia*, they had lyen at Anchor, to the number of three and fiftie saile. Alcidas had the command of these, as before, and *Brasidas* came with him as a Counsellour. And having first put in at *Sybona*, a Hauē of the Continent, they came on the next morning by breake of day toward *Corcyra*.

The *Corcyreans* being in great tumult and feare, both of the Seditious within, and of the inuasion without, made ready threescore Gallies, and still as any of them were manned, sent them out against the Enemy; whereas the *Athenians* had aduised them to giue leaue to them to goe forth first, and then the *Corcyreans* to follow after with the whole Fleet together. When their Gallies came forth thus thinne, two of them presently turned to the Enemy, and in others, they that were aboard, were together by the eares amongst themselves, and nothing was done in due order. The *Peloponnesians* seeing their confusion, opposed themselves to the *Corcyreans* with twenty Gallies onely, the rest they set in array against the twelue Gallies of *Athens*, whereof the *Salaminia* and the *Paralus* were two.

The *Corcyreans* hauing come disorderly vp, and by E few at once, were on their part, in much distresse; but the *Athenians*, fearing the Enemies number, and

Alcidas and the Peloponnesians arrive and fight at Sea against the Corcyreans.



doubting to bee invironed, would neuer come vpon to A charge the Enemie where they stood thicke, nor would set vpon the Gallies that were placed in the middlest, but charged one end of them, and drowned one of their Gallies: and when the Peloponnesians afterwards had put their Fleet into a circular figure, they then went about and about it, endeavouring to put them into disorder; which they that were fighting against the Corcyreans perceiuing, and fearing such another chance as befell them formerly at Naupactus, went to their ayde, and vniing themselves, came vpon the Athenians all together.

But they retyring, rowed a sterne, intending that the Corcyreans should take that time to escape in; they themselves in the meane time going as leasurely backe as was possible, and keeping the enemie still a head. Such was this Battell, and it ended about Sun-set.

The Corcyreans fearing lest the Enemie in pursuit of their Victorie, should haue come directly against the Citie, or take aboard the men which they had put ouer into the Iland, or doe them some other mischiefe, fetcht backe the men into the Temple of Iuno againe, and guarded the City.

But the Peloponnesians, though they had wonne the Battell, yet durst not invade the Citie, but hauing taken thirteene of the Corcyrean Gallies, went backe into the Continent from whence they had set forth. The next day they came not vnto the Citie, no more then before, although it was in great tumult and affright: and though also Brasidas (as it is reported) aduised Alcidas to it, but had not equall authority; but onely landed Souldiers at the Promontory of Leucimna, and waited their Territory.

In the mean time the people of Corcyra, fearing extremely, lest those Gallies should come against the Citie, not onely conferred with those in Sanctuary, and with the rest, about how the Citie might be preserued, but also induced some of them to goe aboard. For notwithstanding the sedition, they manned 30. Gallies, in expectation that the Fleet of the enemy should haue entred. But the Peloponnesians hauing beene wasting of their Fieldes, till it was about noone, went their wayes againe. Within night,

Alcidas a coward.

A night, the Corcyreans had notice by fires of threescore Athenian Gallies comming toward them from Leucas, which the Athenians, vpon intelligence of the Sedition, and of the Fleet to goe to Corcyra vnder Alcidas, had sent to ayde them, vnder the conduct of Eurymedon, the Sonne of Thucles.

The Peloponnesians therefore, as soone as night came, sayled speedily home, keeping still the shore, and causing their Gallies to bee carried ouer at the Isthmus of Leucas; that they might not come in sight, as they went about.

B But the People of Corcyra hearing of the Attique Gallies, comming in, and the going off of the Peloponnesians, brought into the Citie those \* Messenians, which before were without, and appointing the Gallies which they had furnished, to come about into the Hillaique Hauen, whilest accordingly they went about, slew all the contrary Faction they could lay hands on, and also afterwards threw ouer-board, out of the same Gallies, all those they had before perswaded to imbarque, and so went thence. And comming to the Temple of Iuno, they perswaded 30. of those that had taken Sanctuary, to reuerse themselves to a legall tryall, all which they condemned to dye. But the most of the Sanctuary men, that is, all those that were not induced to stand to tryall by Law, when they saw what was done, killed one another there-right in the Temple, some hanged themselves on Trees, every one as he had means, made himselfe away. And for 7. daies together that Eurymedon stayed there with his 60. Gallies, the Corcyreans did nothing but kill such of their City as they tooke to bee their Enemies, laying to their charge a practice to haue euergeted the popular gouernment.

Amongst whom, some were slaine vpon priuate hatred, and some by their debtors, for the money which they had lent them. All formes of death were then seene, and (as in such cases it usually fallies out) whatsoever had happened at any time, happened also then, and more. For the Father slew his Sonne; men were dragged out of the Temples, and then slaine hard by; and some immured in the Temple of Bacchus, dyed within it. So cruell was this Sedition; and seemed so the more, because it was of these

E the first. For afterwards, all Greece, as a man may say, was in commotion; and quarrels arose euery where be-

Bb 2

twene

Threescore sail of Athenians come to ayde the Corcyrean Comitions.

The Peloponnesians depart with their Fleet.

\* this came with Nicocritus.

The people, vpon the comming in of the Athenians, most cruelly put to death whomsoever they can of the contrary Faction.

Description of the behaviour of the people in this sedition.



twene the Patrons of the Commons; that sought to bring in the *Athenians*, and the few, that desired to bring in the *Lacedaemonians*. Now in time of peace, they could haue had no pretence, nor would haue beene so forward to call them in; but being *Warre*, and Confederates to bee had for cyther party, both to hurt their Enemies, and strengthen themselves, such as desired alteration, easily got them to come in. And many and heynous things happened in the Cities through this Sedition, which though they haue beene before, and shall be euer, as long as humane nature is the same, yet they are more calme, and of different kinds, according to the feuerall coniunctures. For in peace and prosperity, as well Cities as private men, are better minded, because they bee not plunged into necessity of doing any thing against their will; but War taking away the affluence of daily necessities, is a most violent Master, & conformeth most mens passions to the present occasion. The Cities therefore being now in Sedition, and those that fell into it later, hauing heard what had beene done in the former, they farre exceeded the same in newnesse of conceipt, both for the art of assailing, and for the strangenesse of their reuenges. The receiued value of names imposed for signification of things, was changed into arbitrary: For inconsiderate boldnesse, was counted true hearted manlinesse; proud deliberation, a handsome feare; modesty, the cloake of cowardice; to be wise in euery thing, to be lazie in euery thing. A furious suddenesse was reputed a point of valour. To re-adulter for the better security, was held for a faire pretext of tergiversation. Hee that was fierce, was alwayes trusty; and hee that contrariet such a one, was suspected. Hee that did insidiate, if itooke, was a wise man; but hee that could smell out a Trap laid, a more dangerous man then hee: But hee that had beene so provident, as not to neede to doe the one or the other, was said to bee a dissoluer of society; and one that stood in feare of his aduersary. In briebe, he that could outstrip another in the doing of an euill act; or that could perswade another thereto, that neuer meant it, was commended. To bee kinne to another, was not to be so neere as to be of his society, because these were ready to vndertake any thing; and not to dispute it. For these \* Societies were not made vpon prescribed

Laws

\* The manner of the sedition, changes of the state of things.

The manners of the sedition.

\* The writing of Companies under certain Lawes, for the more profitable manner of their Trades and civill civill, as now.

A Lawes of profit; but for rapine, contrary to the Lawes established. And as for internall rule amongst them, it was confirmed not so much by humane Law, as by the communitie of guilt. And what was well adulter of their aduersaries, they receiued with an eye to their actions, to see whether they were too strong for them, or not, and not ingenuously. To be reuenged was more request, then neuer to haue receiued iniurie. And for Oathes, when any were of reconciliation, being admitted in the present necessity, were of force to such as had otherwise no power: but vpon opportunity, he that first durst, thought his reuenge sweeter by the trust, then if he had taken the open way. For they did not only put to account the strengthe of that course, but hauing circumvented their Adversary by fraud, assumed to themselves withall a maiestie in point of wit. And dishonest men for the most part are sooner called able, then simple men honest. And men are ashamed of this title, but take a pride in the other. The cause of all this is the desire of rule, and the ambition, and the zeale of \* contention from those two proceedings. For such as were of authority in the Cities, both of the one and the other Faction, preferring vnder deceitful titles, one the political equality of the multitude, the other the moderate Aristocratie, though in words they seemed to be servants of the Publique, they made it in effect but the Prize of their contention. And winning by what manner meanes to overcome, both ventured on most honorable outrages, and prosecuted their reuenges still further, without any regard of iustice, or the publike good, but limiting them, each Faction, by their owne appetite, and stood ready, whether by violent sentence, or with their owne hands, when they should get power, to satiate their present spite. So that neither side made account to haue any thing the sooner done for Religion, or an Oath; but hee was most commended, that could passe a business against the haire with a faire Oration. The neutrals of the Citty were destroyed by both Factions; partly because they would not side with them; and partly for enue that they should so escape.

Thus was wickednesse on foot in euery kind, throughout all Greece, by the occasion of that sedition. Sincerity (whereof there is much in a generous nature) was laugh-

\* By oath.

\* Oratorie properly that spirit which respects in two aduersaries which they contend, or eagerly in striving.

ed



In seditions and confusions, they that distrust their wits, suddenly use their hands, and defeat the Stratagems of the more subtil sort.

ed downe. And it was farre the best course, to stand dis- A  
fidently against each other, with their thoughts in battell  
array, which no speech was so powerfull, nor Oath terri-  
ble enough to disband. And being all of them, the more  
they considered, the more desperate of assurance, they ra-  
ther contriued how to auoid a mischiefe, then were able  
to rely on any mans faith. And for the most part, such  
as had the least wit, had the best successe; for both their  
owne defect, and the subtilty of their aduersaries, putting  
them into a great feare to be ouercome in words, or at least  
in pre-insidiation, by their enemies great craft, they there- B  
fore went roundly to worke with them, with deedes.  
Whereas the other, not caring though they were percei-  
ued, and thinking they needed not to take by force, what  
they might doe by plot, were thereby vnprovided, and so  
the more easily slaine.

In *Coreyra* then were these euils for the most part com-  
mitted first; and so were all other, which either such men  
as haue bene gouerned with pride, rather then modestly,  
by those on whom they take reuenge, were like to commit  
in taking it; or which such men as stand vpon their deliuey C  
fro long pouerty, out of couetousnes (chiefly to haue their  
neighbour's goods) would contrary to iustice giue their voi-  
ces to: or which men, not for couetousnes, but assailing each  
other on equall termes, carried away with the vnrulelesse  
of their anger, would cruelly and inexorably execute.

And the common course of life being at that time con-  
founded in the Citie; the nature of man, which is wont  
euen against Law to doe euill, gotten now about the Law,  
shewed it selfe with delight, to be too weake for passion,  
too strong for iustice, and enemy to all superiority. Else D  
they would neuer haue preferred reuenge before inno-  
cence, nor lucre (whensoeuer the enuie of it was without  
power to doe them hurt) before iustice. And for the  
Lawes common to all men in such cases, (which, as long  
as they be in force, giue hope to all that suffer iniury) men  
desire not to leaue them standing, against the neede a man  
in danger may haue of the, but by their reuenges on others,  
to be beforehand in subuerting them. Such were the passi-  
ons of the *Coreyrians* first of all other *Grecians*, towards  
one another in the City. And *Eurymedon* and the *Athenians* E  
departed with their Gallies.

After-

The *Athenian* Fleet goes away.

A Afterwards, such of the *Coreyrians* as had fled (for  
there escaped about 500. of them) hauing seized on the  
Ports in the Continent, impatronized themselves of their  
owne Territory on the other side; and from thence came  
ouer and robbed the Islanders; and did them much hurt;  
and there grew a great Famine in the Citie. They like-  
wise sent Ambassadors to *Lacedamon* and *Corinth*, concern-  
ing their reduction; and when they could get nothing  
done, hauing gotten boates, and some auxiliary souldiers,  
they passed, a while after, to the number of about 600.  
B into the Island. Where when they had set fire on their  
Boates, that they might trust to nothing, but to make  
themselves masters of the Field, they went vp into the  
Hill *Isthos*, and hauing there fortified themselves with a  
Wall, infested those within, and were masters of the Ter-  
ritory.

In the end of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent twenty  
Gallies into *Sicily*, vnder the command of *Laches* the  
sonne of *Melanopus*, and *Chariadas* the sonne of *Euphiletus*.  
For the *Syracusians* and the *Leontines* were now warring C  
against each other. The Confederates of the *Syracusians*  
were all the *Doricke* Cities (except the *Camarinians*) which  
also in the beginning of this Warre were reckoned in the  
League of the *Lacedamonians*, but had not yet ayded them  
in the Warre. The Confederates of the *Leontines*, were  
the *Chalcidique* Cities; together with *Camarina*. And in *Ita-*  
*ly*, the *Locrians* were with the *Syracusians*; but the *Rhe-*  
*gians*, according to their consanguinity, tooke part with  
the *Leontines*. Now the Confederates of the *Leontines*, in  
respect of their ancient alliance with the *Athenians*, as al-  
D so for that they were *Ionians* obtained of the *Athenians*, to  
send them Gallies; for that the *Leontines* were depriued  
by the *Syracusians* of the vse both of the Land and Sea. And  
so the People of *Athens* sent ayde vnto them, pretending  
propinquity, but intending, both to hinder the transporta-  
tion of Corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and also to tast  
the possibility of taking the States of *Sicily* into their own  
hands. These arriuing at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, toynd with the  
Confederates, and beganne the Warre; and so ended this  
Summer.

E The next winter, the Sicknesse fell vpon the *Athenians*  
again (hauing in deed neuer totally left the Citie, though  
there

500. of the *Nolites* that escaped, were in such places as before to the *Coreyrians* in the Continent.

They come over & fortify themselves in the Island.

The *Athenians* send 20. Gallies into *Sicily*, in pretence to ayde the *Leontines*, but with intention to hinder the conuoy of corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and to spy out the possibility of subduing that Island.

The end of the fifth Summer.

The Plague againe at *Athens*.



there was some intermission, and continued about a yeere A after. But the former lasted two yeeres: inasmuch as nothing afflicted the Athenians, or empaired their strength more then it. For the number that dyed of it, of men of armes enrolled, were no lesse then 4400. and Horsemen, 300. of the other multitude, innumerable. There happened also at the same time many Earthquakes, both in Athens, and in Eubœa, and also amongst the Boeotians; and in Bœotia, chiefly at Orchomenus.

The Athenians and Rhegians that were now in Sicily, made Warre the same Winter on the Islands called the 1- B lands of Æolus, with thirty Gallies. For in Summer it was impossible to Warre vpon them for the shallownesse of the Water. These Islands are inhabited by the Lipareans, who are a Colonie of the Cnidians, and dwell in one of the same Islands, no great one, called Lipara, and thence they goe forth, and husband the rest, which are Dydime, Strongyle, and Hiera. The Inhabitants of those places haue an opinion, that in Hiera, Vulcan exerciseth the craft of a Smith. For it is seene to send forth abundance of fire in the day time, and of Smoake in the night. These Islands C are adjacent to the Territorie of the \* Siculi, and Messanians, but were Confederates of the Syracusians. When the Athenians had wasted their Fields, and saw they would not come in, they put off againe and went to Rhegium. And so ended this Winter, and the fifth yeere of this Warre, written by Thucydides.

The next Summer, the Peloponnesians and their Confederates came as farre as the Isthmus, vnder the conduct of Agis the Sonne of Archidamus, intending to haue invaded Attica; but by reason of the many Earthquakes that then D happened, they turned backe, and the inuasion proceeded not.

About the same time, (Eubœa being then troubled with Earthquakes) the Sea came in at Orobie, on the part which then was Land, and being impetuous withall, ouerflowed most part of the Citie, whereof part it couered, and part it washed downe, and made lower in the returne, so that it is now Sea, which before was Land. And the People, as many as could not prevent it by running vp into the higher ground, perished. Another inundation like vnto E this, hapned in the Ile of Asalanta, on the Coast of Locris of

The Athenians invade the Lipareans, and Islands called the Isles of Æolus.

\* Siculi. There are in Thucydides mentioned Siculi and Sicelians, whereas later in the name of the inhabitants of Sicily in general, the former, are only those that were of that name situated in Italy, and coming over into Sicily, gave that name to the Island.

THE SIXTH YEERE.

Earthquakes about Eubœa, and inundations.

A of the Opuntians, and carried away part of the Athenians Fort there, and of two Gallies that lay on dry Land, it brake one in pieces.

Also there happened at Peparethus a certaine rising of the water, but it brake not in. And a part of the Wall, the \* Towne-house, and some few houses besides, were ouerthrowne by the Earthquakes. The cause of such inundation, for my part, I take to be this; that the Earthquake, where it was very great, did there send off the Sea, and the Sea returning on a sudden, caused the Water to B come on with greater violence. And it seemeth vnto me, that without an Earthquake, such an accident could neuer happen.

The same Summer, diuers others, as they had seuerall occasions, made Warre in Sicily. So also did the \* Sicilians amongst themselves, and the Athenians with their Confederates. But I will make mention, onely of such most memorable things, as were done either by the Confederates there with the Athenians, or against the Athenians by the Enemie.

C Charades the Athenian Generall being slain by the Syracusians, Laches, who was now sole Commander of the Fleet, together with the Confederates, made Warre on Myla, a Towne belonging to Messana. There were in Myla two companies of Messanians in Garrison, the which also laid a certaine Ambush for those that came vp from the Fleet. But the Athenians and their Confederates, both put to flight those that were in ambush, with the slaughter of the most of them, and also assaulting their Fortification, forced them on composition, both to render the D Citadell, and to goe along with them against Messana. After this, vpon the approach of the Athenians and their Confederates, the Messanians compounded likewise, and gaue them Hostages, and such other security as was requisite.

The same Summer, the Athenians sent thirtie Gallies about Peloponnesus, vnder the command of Demosthenes the sonne of Antisthenes, and Proclus the sonne of Theodorus; and 60. Gallies more, with 2000. men of Armes, commanded by Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, E into Meior. For the Athenians, in respect that the \* Melians were Islanders, and yet would neither bee their

Cc

Sub-

\* το περαθης.  
The naturall cause of Inundation giuen by the Author.

\* Σικελους.

The Athenians win Myla.

And Messana.

The Athenians send Demosthenes with 30. Gallies about Peloponnesus.

And Nicias with 60. Gallies into the Island of Meior.

\* Μελιοι. The Melians mentioned a little after this, are not Islanders, nor seimes Islands, but Meioric.



The Army of Nicias, and another Armie from the Citie of Athens, mette vpon a signe giuen, at Tanagra in Boeotia.

They overcome the Tanagrians in battell.

The Lacedaemonians build the City Heraclea.

\* Maxus, a people of Thessaly, were the Melian Guile.

The commodious seate of this new City for the Warre.

Subjects, nor of their League, intending to subdue them. **A** But when vpon the waisting of their Fields they still stood out, they departed from Melos, and sayled to Oropus, in the opposite Continent.

Being there arrived within night, the men of Armes left the Gallies, and marched presently by Land to Tanagra in Boeotia. To which place, vpon a signe giuen, the Athenians that were in the Citie of Athens, came also forth with their whole Forces, led by Hipponicus the sonne of Callias, and Burymedon the sonne of Thucles, and ioyned with them; and pitching their Campe, spent the day in waisting the Territory of Tanagra, and lay there the night following.

The next day they defeated in Battell, such of the Tanagrians as came out against them, and also certaine succours sent them from Thebes; and when they had taken vp the Armes of those that were slaine, and erected a Trophie, they returned backe, the one part to Athens, the other to their Fleet. And Nicias with his 60. Gallies, hauing first sailed along the Coast of Locris, and wasted it, came home likewise.

About the same time, the Peloponnesians erected the Colonie of Heraclea in Trachinia, with this intention: The \* Melians in the whole containe these three parts: Paralians, Hierans, and Trachinians. Of these the Trachinians being afflicted with Warre from the Oeteans their borderers, thought at first to haue ioyned themselves to the Athenians; but fearing that they would not bee faithfull vnto them, they sent to Lacedaemon; choosing for their Ambassadour Tisamenus. And the Dorians, who are the Mother Nation to the Lacedaemonians, sent their Ambassadours likewise with him, with the same requests. For they also were infested with Warre from the same Oeteans.

Vpon audience of these Ambassadours, the Lacedaemonians concluded to send out a Colonie, both intending the reparation of the iniuries done to the Trachinians and to the Doreans; and conceiuing withall, that the Towne would stand very commodiously, for their Warre with the Athenians; inasmuch as they might thereby haue a Nauie ready, where the passage was but short, against Eubaea; and it would much further their

**E**

**A** their conuoyance of Souldiers into Thrace. And they had their minde wholly bent to the building of the place.

First therefore they asked counsell of the Oracle in Delphi; and the Oracle hauing bidden them doe it, they sent Inhabitants thither, both of their owne people, and of the neighbours about them, and gaue leaue also to any that would, to goe thither; out of the rest of Greece, saue onely to the Ionians, Achaians, and some few other Nations.

**B** The Conductors of the Colonie were three Lacedaemonians, Leon, Alcidas, and Damagon: who taking in it hand, built the Citie which is now called Heraclea, from the very Foundation; being distant from Thermopylae fortie Furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. Also they made houses for Gallies to lye vnder, beginning close to Thermopylae, against the very streight, to the end to haue them the more defensible.

The Athenians, when this Citie was peopled, were at first afraid, and thought it to bee set vp especially against Eubaea; because from thence to Ceneum, a Promontory of Eubaea, the passage is but short. But it fell out afterwards otherwise then they imagined; for they had no great harme by it. The reason whereof was this: That the Thessalians who had the Townes of those parts in their power, and vpon whose ground it was built, afflicted these new planters with a continuall Warre, till they had worne them out, though they were many indeed in the beginning, (for being the foundation of the Lacedaemonians, every one went thither boldly, conceiuing the Citie to bee an assured one) and chiefly the Governours themselves, sent thither from Lacedaemon, vndid the businesse, and dispeopled the City by frightening most men away, for that they gouerned seuerely, and sometimes also vnjustly, by which meanes their neighbours more easily preuailed against them.

The same Summer, and about the same time that the Athenians stayed in Melos, those other Athenians that were in the thirtie Gallies about Peloponnesus, flew first certaine Garrison Souldiers in Ellomenus, **E** a place of Leontadiu, by Ambushment. But afterwards with a greater Fleet, and with the whole power of the

Cc 2

A.arna

The Thessalians infest the new Citie with continuall Warre, for feare they should be too great.

The seuerity of the Lacedaemonian gouernment dispeopled the Citie of Heraclea, and frighted men from it. The Lacedaemonians alwayes seuerer, not alwaies iust.

Demophanes warreth on Leucas.



*Acarnanians* (who followed the Army, all (but the *Oenias*) that could beare Armes) and with the *Zacynthians*, and *Cephalonians*, and fiftene Gallies of the *Corcyraens*, made Warre against the City it selfe of *Leucas*. The *Leucadians*, though they saw their Territorie wasted by them, both without the *Isthmus*, and within, (where the Citie of *Leucas* standeth, and the Temple of *Apollo*) yet they durst not stirre, because the number of the Enemy was so great. And the *Acarnanians* entreated *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* Generall to Wall them vp, concealing that they might easily be expugned by a Siege, and desiring to be rid of a Citie their continuall Enemy. But *Demosthenes* was perswaded at the same time by the *Messenians*, that seeing so great an Armie was together, it would bee honourable for him to invade the *Ætolians*, principally, as being Enemies to *Naupactus*; and that if these were subdued, the rest of the Continent thereabouts would easily bee added to the *Athenian* dominion. For they alledged, that though the Nation of the *Ætolians* were great and Warlike, yet their habitation was in Villages vnwalled, and those at great distances; and were but light-armed, and might therefore with no great difficulty bee all subdued, before they could vnite themselves for defence. And they aduised him to take in hand first the *Apodotians*, next, the *Ophionians*, and after them the *Eurytians*, which are the greatest part of *Ætolia*, of a most strange language, and that are reported to eate raw flesh; for these beeing subdued, the rest would easily follow.

*Demosthenes* invadeth *Ætolia* at the perswasion of the *Messenians*.

The ambition of *Demosthenes*, the chiefe cause of his vnforgotten Enterprize in *Ætolia*.

But hee, induced by the *Messenians*, whom he fauoured, but especially because hee thought, without the Forces of the People of *Athens*, with the Confederates onely of the Continent, and with the *Ætolians*, to invade *Boeotia* by Land, going first through the *Locri Ozola*, and so to *Cyrenium* of *Doris*, having *Pernassus* on the right hand, till the descent thereof into the Territory of the *Phocæans*, (which people, for the friendship they euer bore to the *Athenians*, would, he thought, be willing to follow his Armie, and if not, might be forced) and vpon the *Phocæans* bordereth *Boeotia*. Putting off therefore with his whole Armie, against the minds of the *Acarnanians*, from *Leucas*, he sailed vnto *Solium* by the shoare, and there hauing communicated his conceit with the *Acarnanians*, when they would not approve

A approve of it, because of his refusall to besiege *Leucas*, he himselfe with the rest of his Armie, *Cephalonians*, *Zacynthians*, and 300. *Athenians*, the Souldiers of his own Fleet, (for the fiftene Gallies of *Corcyra* were now gone away) warred on the *Ætolians*, hauing *Oeneon*, a Citie of *Locris*, for the seat of his Warre. Now these *Locrians* called *Ozole*, were Confederates of the *Athenians*, and were to meete them with their whole power in the heart of the Countrey. For being Confiners on the *Ætolians*, and vsing the same manner of arming, it was thought it would bee a matter of great vtility in the Warre, to haue them in their Armie; for that they knew their manner of fight, and were acquainted with the Country. Hauing lyen the night with his whole Armie in the Temple of *Iupiter Nemeius*, (wherein the Poet *Hesiodus* is reported by them that dwell thereabout to haue dyed, foretold by an Oracle, that hee should dye in *Nemea*) in the morning betimes he dislodged, and marched into *Ætolia*.

\* *Ægeus*. The whole consecrated ground wherein the Temple stood, not the Church only. *Hesiod* the Poet said to haue dyed in this Temple of *Iupiter Nemeius*.

The first day hee tooke *Potidania*, the second day, *Crocylum*, the third, *Tichium*. There he stayed, and sent the booty hee had gotten, to *Eupolium* in *Locris*. For he purposed, when hee had subdued the rest, to invade the *Ophionians* afterwards, (if they submitted not) in his returne to *Naupactus*.

*Potidania*.  
*Crocylum*.  
*Tichium*.

*Ophioniei*.

But the *Ætolians* knew of this preparation when it was first resolved on; and afterwards, when the Armie was entred, they were vnited into a mighty Armie to make head. Infomuch as that the furthest off of the *Ophionians*, that reach out to the *Melian* Gulfe, the *Bomians* and *Callians* came in with their aydes.

The *Ætolians* vnite against the invasion of *Demosthenes*.

*Bomians*.  
*Callians*.

D The *Messenians* gaue the same aduice to *Demosthenes* that they had done before; and alleading that the Conquest of the *Ætolians* would bee but easie, willed him to march with all speed against them, Village after Village, and not to stay till they were all vnited, and in order of Battell against him, but to attempt alwayes the place which was next to hand. Hee, perswaded by them, and confident of his fortune, because nothing had crossed him hitherto, without tarrying for the *Locrians* that should haue come in with their aides, (for his greatest want was of Darters light-armed) marched to *Ægittum*, which approaching, hee wonne by force, the men hauing fled secretly

*Ægittum*.



cretly out, and encamped themselves on the Hilles, about A  
it: for it stood in a Mountainous place, and about eighty  
Furlongs from the Sea. But the *Ætoliens*, for by this time  
they were come with their Forces to *Agitium* charged  
the *Athenians* and their Confederates, and running downe  
vpon them, some one way, some another, from the Hilles,  
plied them with their Darts. And when the Armie of  
the *Athenians* assaulted them, they retired; and when it  
retired, they assaulted. So that the Fight for a good  
while, was nothing but alternate chase and retreat; and  
the *Athenians* had the worst in both: B

Neuerthelesse, as long as their Archers had Arrowes,  
and were able to vse them, (for the *Ætoliens*, by reason they  
were not armed, were put backe still with the shot) they  
held out. But when vpon the death of their Captaine, the  
Archers were disperfed, and the rest were also wearied,  
hauing a long time continued the said labour of pursuing  
and retyring, and the *Ætoliens* continually afflicting them  
with their Darts, they were forced at length to fly; and  
lighting into Hollowes without issue, and into places  
they were not acquainted withall, were destroyed. For C  
*Chromon* a *Messenian*, who was their Guide for the wayes,  
was slaine. And the *Ætoliens* pursuing them still with  
Darts, slew many of them quickly, whilest they fled, be-  
ing swift of foot; and without Armour. But the most of  
them misling their way, and entring into a Wood, which  
had no passage through, the *Ætoliens* set it on fire, and  
burnt it about them.

All kinds of shifts to fly; and all kindes of destruction  
were that day in the Armie of the *Athenians*. Such as re-  
mained, with much adoe, got to the Sea, and to *Oeneon*, D  
a Citie of *Locris*, from whence they first set forth.

There dyed very many of the Confederates, and a hun-  
dred and twenty men of Armes of the *Athenians*; that  
was their number, and all of them able men. These men  
of the very best dyed in this Warre: *Procles* also was there  
slaine, one of the Generals. When they had receiued  
the bodies of their dead from the *Ætoliens* vnder truce, and  
were gotten againe to *Naupactum*, they returned with the  
Fleet to *Athens*. But they left *Demossthenes* about *Naupactum*,  
and those parts, because hee was afraid of the *Athenian* E  
People, for the losse that had happened:

About

The *Ætoliens* giue *Demo-  
sthenes* a great overthrow.

*Demossthenes* afraid to  
come home.

A About the same time, the *Athenians* that were on the  
Coast of *Sicily*, sayled vnto *Locris*, and landing, ouercame  
such as made head; and tooke in *Peripolium*, situate on the  
Riuer *Halex*.

The same Summer, the *Ætoliens* hauing sent their Am-  
bassadours, *Telephus* an *Ophionian*, *Boryades*, an *Eurytanian*  
and *Tisander* an *Apodorian*, to *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, per-  
swaded them to send an Armie against *Naupactum*, for that  
it harboured the *Athenians* against them. And the *Lace-  
demonians*, towards the end of Autumne, sent them three  
B thousand men of Armes, of their Confederates, of which  
five hundred were of *Heraclea*, the new-built Citie of *Trachinia*.  
The Generall of the Armie was *Eurylochus* a  
*Spartan*, with whom \* *Massarius* and *Menedatus* went also a-  
long, *Spartans* likewise.

When the Armie was assembled at *Delpi*, *Eurylochus*  
sent a Herald to the *Locrians* of *Ozola*, both because their  
way lay through them to *Naupactum*, and also because hee  
desired to make them reuolt from the *Athenians*. Of all  
the *Locrians*, the *Amphissians* cooperated with him most,  
C as standing most in feare for the enemie of the *Phocians*.  
And they first giuing Hostages, induced others, (who  
likewise were afraid of the continuing in of the Armie) to  
doe the like: the *Myonians* first, being their neighbours,  
(for this way is *Locris* of most difficult access) then the  
*Ipseans*, *Messapians*, *Triteans*, *Challeans*, *Tolophonians*, *Hestians*,  
and the *Oiantbeans*. All these went with them to the  
Warre. The *Opseans* gave them Hostages, but followed  
not the Armie. But the *Hyeans* would giue them no Ho-  
stages, till they had taken a Village of theirs called  
D *Polis*.

When euery thing was ready, and hee had sent the Ho-  
stages away to *Cythinum* in *Doria*, hee marched with his  
Armie towards *Naupactum*, through the Territorie of the  
*Locrians*. And as hee marched, hee tooke *Dinion*, a Towne  
of theirs, and *Eupolium*, because they refused to yeeld vnto  
him.

When they were come into the Territorie of *Naupactum*,  
the *Ætoliens* being there already to ioyne with them, they  
wasted the Fields about; and tooke the Suburbs of the  
E Citie, being vnfortified. Then they went to *Molycrium*,  
a Colonie of the *Corinthians*, but subject to the People of  
*Athens*.

The *Athenian* Fleet en-  
-sailed to *Locris*, and  
take *Peripolium*.

The *Ætoliens* and *Polio-  
nistis* make a iourney  
against *Naupactum*.

\* These are afterwards called  
*Mararius* & *Menedaius*.



*Athenians*, and tooke that. Now *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, A  
(for euer since the *Æolian* businesse, he abode about *Naupactus*) hauing been præaduertised of this Army, and being afraid to lose the Citie, went amongst the *Acaruanians*, and with much adoe, because of his departure from before *Leucas*, perswaded them to relieue *Naupactus*, and they sent along with him in his Gallies 1000 men of Armes; which entring were the preseruatiō of the City; for there was danger, the walles being of a great compasse, and the defendants few, that else they should not haue been able to make them good. *Eurylochus*, and those that were with B  
him, when they perceyued that those forces were entred, and that it was impossible to take the Citie by assault, departed thence, not into *Peloponnesus*, but to *Æolia*, now called *Calydon*, and to *Pleuron*, and other places thereabouts; and also to *Proschion* in *Æolia*. For the *Ambraciotes* comming to them, perswaded them to vndertake, together with themselves, the enterprize against *Argos*, and the rest of *Amphilochia*, and *Acaruanians*, saying withall, that if they could ouercome these, the rest of that Continent would enter into the league of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereunto *Eurylochus* assented, and dismissing the *Æolians*, lay quiet in those parts with his Armie, till such time, as the *Ambraciotes* being come with their forces before *Argos*, he should haue need to aid them. And so this Summer ended.

The *Athenians*, that were in *Sicily*, in the beginning of Winter, together with the *Grecians* of their league, and as many of the \* *Siculi*, as hauing obeyed the *Syracusians* by force, or being their Confederates before, had now revolted, warred ioyntly against \* *Nessa*, a town of *Sicily*, the Citadell whereof, was in the hands of the *Syracusians*; and they assaulted the same; but when they could not winne it, they retired. In the retreat, the *Syracusians*, that were in the Citadell, sallied out vpon the Confederates, that retired later then the *Athenians*, and charging, put a part of the Army to flight, and killed, not a few.

After this, *Laches*, and the *Athenians*, Landed sometime at *Locri*; and ouercame in battell, by the Riuer *Craichus*, about 300 *Locrians*, who with *Proxenus* the sonne of *Capiton*, came out to make resistance; and when they had stripped them of their Armes, departed.

The same Winter also, the *Athenians* hallowed the Ile of

*Demosthenes* relieueth *Naupactus*.

The end of the sixt Summer.

The *Athenians* in *Sicily* assault *Nessa*.

\* *Siculi*.

\* *Nessa*, rather Inessa, The 1st abstrains he calleth Inesfacili, lib. 6.

*Delos* hallowed.

A of *Delos*, by the admonition indeed of a certain Oracle. For *Pisistratus* also the Tyrant, hallowed the same before, not all, but onely so much as was within the prospect of the Temple. But now, they hallowed it all ouer in this manner. They tooke away all Sepulchers whatsoever, of such as had dyed there before; and for the future, made an Edict, that none should bee suffered to dye, nor any Woman to bring forth child in the Island; but when they were neere the time, either of the one or the other, they should bee carried ouer into *Rhenea*.

B This *Rhenea* is so little a way distant from *Delos*, that *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, who was once of great power by Sea, and had the dominion of the other Ilands, when hee woonne *Rhenea*, dedicated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*, tying it vnto *Delos* with a Chaine. And now after the hallowing of it, the *Athenians* instituted the keeping, euery fifth yeere, of the *Delian* Games.

There had also in old time beene great concourse in *Delos*, both of *Ionians*, and of the Ilanders round about. C For they then came to see the Games, with their Wives and Children, as the *Ionians* doe now the Games at *Ephesus*.

There were likewise Matches set of bodily exercise, and of Musick; and the Citties did seuerally set forth Dances. Which things to haue beene so, is principally declared by *Homer*, in these Verses of his Hymne to *Apollo*.

D But thou, *Apollo*, takest most delight  
In *Delos*. There assemble in thy sight,  
The long-coate *Ionians*, with their Children deare,  
And venerable Bedfellows; and there,  
In Matches set, of Buffets, Song, and Dance,  
Both shew thee pastime, and thy Name advance.

That there were also Matches of Musique, and that men resorted thither to contend therein, hee againe maketh manifest in these Verses of the same Hymne. For after hee hath spoken of the *Delian* Dance of the Women, hee endeth their praise with these Verses, wherein also he maketh mention of himselfe.

Dd

An Edict, that none should be suffered to be borne or dye in *Delos*.

*Rhenea* an Iland, tyed to *Delos* with a chaine, and dedicated to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The *Athenians* institute the quinquenniall Games at *Delos*.

Hom. Hym. ad *Apollo*, vers. 146.

Bb



From Hymn. ad. Apoll. ver.  
165.

But well: let Phœbus and Diana bee

Propitious; and farewell you each one;

But yet remember me when I am gone:

And if of earthly men you chance to see

Any toyl'd Pilgrim, that shall aske you, Who,

O Damsels, is the man that liueth here,

Was sweetest in Song, and that most had your care?

Then all, with a ioynt murmur, thereunto

Make answer thus; A man do pri'd of seeing,

And he of Sandie Chios is his being.

So much hath Homer witnessed touching the great meeting, and solemnity celebrated of old, in the Ile of Delos. And the Ilanders, and the Athenians, since that time, haue continued till to send Dancers along with their Sacrificers, but the Games, and things of that kind were worne out, as is likely, by aduersity. Till now that the Athenians restored the Games, and added the Horse-race, which was not before.

The same Winter the Ambraciotes, (according to their promise made to Eurlochus,) when they retheyned his Armie, made Warre vpon Argos in Amphilochia, with three thousand men of Armes, and inuading Argia, they tooke Olpe, a strong Fort on a Hill by the Sea-side, which the Acarnanians had fortified, and vsed for the place of their common meetings, for matters of Iustice, and is distant from the Citie of Argos, which stands also on the Sea-side, about twenty furlongs. The Acarnanians with part of their Forces, came to relieue Argos, and with rest they encamped in that part of Amphilochia which is called *Cene*, to watch the Peloponnesians that were with Eurlochus, that they might not passe through to the Ambraciotes without their knowledge, and sent to Demosthenes, who had beene Leader of the Athenians in the expedition against the Aetolians, to come to them, and bee their Generall.

They sent also to the twenty Athenian Gallies, that chanced to be then on the Coast of Peloponnesus; vnder the Conduct of Arisboides, the sonne of Timocrates, and Ixophon, the sonne of Antimnestus. In like manner the Ambraciotes that were at Olpe, sent a messenger to the Citie of

Ambracia,

The Ambraciotes and Peloponnesians make Warre against the Acarnanians and Amphilochians vnfortunately.

They take Olpe.

The Acarnanians make Demosthenes their Generall.

The Ambraciotes at Olpe, send to the Ambraciotes at home, to come to their ayde.

A Ambraciotes, willing them to come to their ayde with their whole power, as fearing that those with Eurlochus would not be able to passe by the Acarnanians, and so they should bee either forced to fight alone, or else haue an vn-safe Retreat.

But the Peloponnesians that were with Eurlochus, as soone as they vnderstood that the Ambraciotes were come to Olpe, dislodging from Proschion, went with all speede to assist them. And passing over the Riuer Achelous, marched through Acarnania, (which, by reason of the aydes

B sent to Argos, was now disfurnished,) on their right hand they had the Citie of Strani, and that Garrison; on the left, the rest of Acarnania. Having past the Territory of the Stratians, they marched through Rhytia, and againe by the vtmost limits of Medron, then through Limnea, then they went into the Territory of the Agraeans, which are out of Acarnania, and their friends, and getting to the Hill Thiamia, which is a desert Hill, they marched ouer it, and came downe into Argia, when it was now night; and passing betwene the Citie of the Argines, and the Acarnanians that kept watch at the Welles, came vnto Cene, and ioyned with the Ambraciotes at Olpe.

When they were all together, they late downe about breake of day, at a place called Metropolis, and there encamped. And the Athenians not long after with their 20. Gallies, arriued in the Ambracian Gulfe, to the aide of the Argines. To whom also came Demosthenes with 200. Messenian men of Armes, and threescore Athenian Archers. The Gallies lay at Sea, before the Hill vpon which the Fort of Olpe standeth. But the Acarnanians, and those few Amphilochians (for the greatest part of them the Ambraciotes kept backe by force) that were come already together at Argos, prepared themselves to giue the Enemy Battell, and chose Demosthenes with their owne Commanders, for Generall of the whole League. Hee, when hee had brought them vp, nere vnto Olpe, there encamped. There was betwene them a great Hollow, and for fise dayes together, they stirred not; but the sixth day both sides put themselves into array for the Battell.

The Armie of the Peloponnesians reached a great way beyond the other, for indeed it was much greater; but Demosthenes, fearing to bee encompassed, placed an

D d.

Ambush

Demosthenes chosen Generall.



Ambush in a certaine hollow way, and fit for such a purpose, of armed and vnarmed Souldiers, in all to the number of 400. which in that part where the number of the Enemies ouer-reached, should in the heate of the battell rise out of Ambush, and charge them on their backs. When the Battels were in order on either side, they came to Blowes. *Demoſthenes* with the *Messenians*, and those few *Athenians* that were there, stood in the right Wing; and the *Acarnanians* (as they could one after another bee put in order) and those *Amphilochian* Darters which were present, made vp the other. The *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciotes* were ranged promiscuously, except onely the *Mantineans*, who stood together, most of them in the left Wing, but not in the utmost part of it, for *Eurylochus* and those that were with him, made the extremity of the left Wing against *Demoſthenes*, and the *Messenians*.

When they were in fight, and that the *Peloponnesians* with that Wing ouer-reached, and had encircled the right Wing of their Enemies, those *Acarnanians* that lay in Ambush, comming in at their backs, charged them, and put them to flight, in such sort as they endured not the first brunt; and besides, caused the greatest part of the Armie through affright to runne away. For when they saw that part of it defeated, which was with *Eurylochus*, which was the best of their Armie, they were a great deale the more affraid. And the *Messenians* that were in that part of the Armie with *Demoſthenes*, pursuing them, dispatched the greatest part of the execution. But the *Ambraciotes* that were in the right Wing, on that part, had the Victorie, and chased the Enemy vnto the Citie of *Argos*; but in their Retreat, when they saw that the greatest part of the Armie was vanquished, the rest of the *Acarnanians* setting vpon them, they had much adoe to recover *Olpe* in safety; and many of them were slaine, whilest they ranne into it out of array, and in disorder. Saue onely the *Mantineans*; for these made a more orderly Retreat then any part of the Armie. And so this Battell ended, hauing lasted till the Euening.

The next day, \* *Menedaius*, (*Eurylochus* and \* *Macarius* beeing now slaine) taking the Command vpon him, and not finding how, if hee staid, hee should bee able

to

The Battell betweene the *Ambraciotes* and *Acarnanians*.

The *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponnesians* fly.

\* called before *Menedatus* and *Stasarius*.

A to sustaine a Siege, wherein hee should both bee shut vp by Land, and also with those *Attique* Gallies by Sea; or if hee should depart, how hee might doe it safely, had speech with *Demoſthenes*, and the *Acarnian* Captaines, both about a Truce for his departure, and for the receiuing of the bodies of the slaine. And they deliuered vnto them their dead; and hauing erected a Trophie, tooke vp their owne dead, which were about three hundred; but for their departure they would make no Truce openly, nor to all: but secretly, *Demoſthenes*, with his *Acarnanian* fellow-Commanders, made a Truce with the *Mantineans*, and with *Menedaius*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesian* Captaines, and men of most worth, to bee gone as speedily as they could; with purpose to disguard the *Ambraciotes*, and multitude of mercenary Strangers, and withall to vse this as a meanes to bring the *Peloponnesians* into hatred with the *Greeians* of those parts, as men that had treacherously aduanced their particular interest. Accordingly they tooke vp their dead, and buried them as fast as they could; and such as had leaue, consulted secretly touching how to bee gone.

*Demoſthenes* and the *Acarnanians* had now intelligence, that the *Ambraciotes* from the Citie of *Ambracia*, according to the message sent to them before from *Olpe*, (which was, that they should bring their whole power through *Amphilochia* to their ayde) were already on their March, (ignorant of what had passed here) to ioyne with those at *Olpe*. And hereupon he sent a part of his Armie presently forth, to beset the wayes with Ambushment, and to pre-occupate all places of strength, and prepared withall, to encounter with the rest of his Armie.

In the meane time, the *Mantineans*, and such as had part in the Truce, going out, on pretence to gather Pot-herbs, and Fire-wood, stole away by small numbers, and as they went, did indeed gather such things as they pretended to goe forth for; but when they were gotten farre from *Olpe*, they went faster away. But the *Ambraciotes*, and others that came forth in the same manner, but in greater troopes, seeing the others goe quite away, were eager to bee gone likewise, and ranne out-right, as desiring to ouertake those that were gone before. The *Acarnanians* at first thought they had gone all without Truce alike,

*Demoſthenes* suffereth the principall *Peloponnesians* to retire from *Olpe* secretly, to disguard the *Ambraciotes* of their ayde, and procure the *Peloponnesians* the hatred of the Nations thereabouts.

*Demoſthenes* sendeth part of his Armie to ioyne in Ambush by the wayes by which the *Ambraciotes* supplies were to come from the Citie.

The *Mantineans* retire from *Olpe*.

The *Ambraciotes* goe after them, and are slaine to the number of 200.



alike, and pursued the *Peloponnesians*, and threw darts at their owne Captaines for forbidding them; and for saying that they went away vnder truce, as thinking themselves betrayed. But at last they let goe the *Mantineans*, and *Peloponnesians*, and slew the *Ambraciotes* onely. And there was much contention, and ignorance, of which was an *Ambraciote*, and which a *Peloponnesian*. So they slew about 200 of them, and the rest escaped into *Agræa*, a bordering Territory, where *Salymbius* King of the *Agræans*, and their friend, receiued them.

The rest escape to *Salymbius*, King of the *Agræans*.

*Demothenes* goeth out to meet the supply of *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie.

The *Ambraciotes*, out of the Citie of *Ambracia*, were come B as farre as *Idomene*. *Idomene* are two high hills, to the greater whereof, came first vndiscovered that night, they whom *Demothenes* had sent afore from the Campe, and leazed it. But the *Ambraciotes* got first to the lesser, and there encamped the same night. *Demothenes*, after Supper, in the twilight, marched forward with the rest of the Army, one halfe whereof himselfe tooke with him; for the assault of the Campe, and the other halfe he sent about through the Mountaines of *Amphilochia*.

The *Ambraciotes* surprized in their lodgings.

And the next morning before day, he invaded the *Ambraciotes*, whilest they were yet in their lodgings, and knew not what was the matter; but thought rather, that they had been some of their owne company. For *Demothenes* had placed the *Messenians* on purpose in the formost ranks, and commanded them to speake vnto them as they went, in the *Dorique* Dialect, and to make the Sentinels secure; Especially, seeing their faces could not be discerned, for it was yet night. Wherefore they put the Army of the *Ambraciotes* to flight, at the first onset, and slew many vpon the place. The rest fled as fast as they could towards the Mountaines. But the wayes being beset, and the *Amphilochians* being well acquainted with their owne Territory, and armed but lightly, against men in Armour, vnacquainted, and vtterly ignorant which way to take; they light into hollow wayes, and to the places forelayed with Ambushes, and perished. And hauing been put to all manner of shift for their liues, some fled towards the Sea, and when they saw the Gallies of *Athens* sayling by the Shoare, (this accident concurring with their defeate,) swamme to them, and chose rather in their present feare, to be killed of those in the Gallies, then by the Barbarians, and

The *Ambraciotes* put to flight.

A and their most mortall enemies the *Amphilochians*. The *Ambraciotes* with this losse, came home a few of many in safety to their Citie. And the *Acarnanians* hauing taken the spoyle of the dead, and erected their *Trophies*, returned vnto *Argos*.

The next day there came a Herald from those *Ambraciotes* which fled from *Olpe* into *Agræa*, to demand leave to carry away the bodies of those dead, which were slaine after the first battell, when without Truce, they went away together with the *Mantineans*, and with those that had B *Tirpeas*. But when the Herald saw the Armors of those *Ambraciotes*, that came from the Citie, he wondred at the number. For he knew nothing of this last blow, but thought they had been the Armors of those with them. Then one asked him, what he wondred at, and how many he thought were slaine. For he that asked him the question, thoughts on the other side, that he had been a Herald, sent from those at *Idomene*. And he answered about 200. Then he that asked, replied, and said, Then these are not the armors of them, but of about a thousand. Then said he againe, they belong

The conference of the Herald from the *Ambraciotes* in *Agræa*, with one of *Demothenes* his Army, about the number of the slaine.

G not to them, but were in the battell with vs. The other answered yes, if you fought yesterday in *Idomene*. But we fought not yesterday at all, but the other day in our retreat. But we fought yesterday with those *Ambraciotes*, that came from the Citie to ayde the rest. When the Herald heard that, and knew that the ayde from the Citie was defeated, he burst out into *Ames*, and astonished with the greatnesse of the present losse, forthwith went his way, without his errand, and required the dead bodies no further. For this losse was greater than in the like number of dayes happened to any one

D Citie of *Greece*, in all this Warre. I haue not written the number of the slaine, because it was said to be such, as is incredible, for the quantity of the Citie. But this I know, that if the *Acarnanians*, and *Amphilochians*, as *Demothenes*, and the *Athenians* would haue had them, I would haue subdued *Ambracia*, they might haue done so, with the shoute of their voyces, but they feared now, that if the *Athenians* possessed it, they would proue more trouble some Neighbors vnto them then the other.

The *Acarnanians* will not let the *Athenians* subdue the *Ambraciotes* vtterly, because they thought the *Ambraciotes* better neighbours then the *Athenians*.

E After this, hauing bestowed the third part of the spoyle vpon the *Athenians*, they distributed the other two parts according to the Cities. The *Athenians* part was lost by Sea.



Sea. For those 300 compleat Armors which are dedica- A  
ted in the Temples in *Athena*, were pick'd out for *Demosthe-  
nes* himselfe, and he brought them away with him. His  
returne was withall the safer for this action, after his de-  
feate in *Æolis*. And the *Athenians* that were in the twenty  
ty Gallies returned to *Naupactus*.

The *Acarnanians*, and *Amphilochians*, when the *Athenians*,  
and *Demosthenes* were gone, granted Truce at the Citie of  
the *Oeniades* to those *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponnesians* that  
were fled to *Salynthius*, & the *Agræans*, to retyre, the *Oeniades*  
being gone ouer to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* likewise. And B  
for the future, the *Acarnanians*, & *Amphilochians* made a league  
with the *Ambraciotes* for an hundred yeeres, vpon these  
conditions. That neither the *Ambraciotes*, with the *Acar-  
nanians*, should make Warre against the *Peloponnesians*, nor  
the *Acarnanians* with the *Ambraciotes*, against the *Atheni-  
ans*. That they should give mutuall ayde to one anothers Coun-  
treys. That the *Ambraciotes* should restore, whatsoeuer Townes  
or bordering fields they held of the *Amphilochians*, and that  
they should at no time ayde *Anactorium*, which was in hostility  
with the *Acarnanians*. And vpon this composition, the C  
Warre ended. After this, the *Corinthians* sent a Garrison  
of about 300 men of Armes of their owne Citie to *Ambra-  
cia*, vnder the Conduct of *Xenocles* the sonne of *Euthycles*,  
who with much difficulty passing through *Epirus*, at  
length arriued. Thus passed the businesse in *Ambracia*.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, inua-  
ded *Himera* by Sea, ayded by the \* *Sicilians* that inuaded  
the skirts of the same by Land. They sayled also to the  
Ilands of *Æolus*. Returning afterwards to *Rhegium*, they D  
found there *Pythodorus*, the sonne of *Ipholochus*, with certaine  
Gallies, come to receiue charge of the Fleet commanded  
by *Laches*. For the *Sicilian* Confederates had sent to  
*Athens*, and perswaded the people, to assist them with a  
greater Fleet. For though the *Syracusians* were masters  
by Land, yet seeing they hindred them, but with few  
Gallies from the liberty of the Sea, they made preparati-  
on, and were gathering together a Fleet, with intention  
to resist them. And the *Athenians* furnished out forty E  
Gallies to send into *Sicily*, conceiuing that the Warre  
there would the sooner be at an end, and desiring withall  
to

League for 100 yeeres  
betweene the *Ambraci-  
otes* and *Acarnanians*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sy-  
cily*, inuade *Himera*,  
\* *Sicilianorum*.

*Pythodorus* sent to take  
the Fleet from *Laches*.

A to traine their men in nauall exercise. Therefore *Pythodo-  
rus*, one of the Commanders, they sent presently away  
with a few of those Gallies, and intended to send *Sopho-  
cles* the sonne of *Sofratides*, and *Eurymedon* the sonne of *Tu-  
chus*, with the greatest number afterwards. But *Pythodorus*  
hauing now the Command of *Laches* his Fleet, sayled in  
the end of Winter, vnto a certaine Garrison of the *Locrians*,  
which *Laches* had formerly taken, and ouerthrowne in a  
Battell there by the *Locrians*, retired.

The same Spring, there issued a great \* flame of Fire  
B out of the Mountaine *Æma*, as it had also done in former  
times, and burned part of the Territory of the *Catanians*,  
that dwell at the Foot of *Æma*, which is the highest  
Mountaine of all *Sicily*. From the last time that the fire  
brake out before, to this time, it is said to bee fifty yeeres.  
And it hath now broken out thrice in all, since *Sicily* was  
inhabited by the *Grecians*. These were the things that  
came to passe this Winter. And so ended the  
sixth yeere of this War, written by

THVCYDIDES.

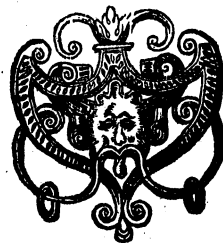
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The fire breaketh out of  
and *Æma*, burneth the  
Fields of *Catana*.

\* *πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰμα*, a flame  
of fire; and *πῦρ* a kind of  
melting stone, getting out of  
the sides of the mountain.

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THE



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THE  
FOURTH BOOK  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

*The Athenians take and fortifie Pylus in Laconia. The Lacedæmonians, to recover it, put over 400. of their best men into the Island Sphacteria: whom the Athenians, having overcome the Lacedæmonian Fleet, doe there besiege. The Athenians and Syracusians fight in the Streight of Messina. Cleon engageth himselfe rashly to take or kill the Lacedæmonians in Sphacteria within 20. dayes, and by good fortune performeth it. The Sedition ceaseth in Corcyra. Nicias invadeth Peloponnesus. The Sicilians agreeing, take from the Athenians their pretence of sayling vpon that Coast with their Fleet. The Athenians take Nisæa, but faile of Megara. The overthrow of the Athenians at Delium. The Cities on the Confines of Thrace, vpon the comming of Brasidas, revolt to the Lacedæmonians. Truce for a yeere. And this in three yeeres more of the same Warre.*

**I**N THE Spring following, when Corne beganne to bee in the eare, tenne Gallies of Syracuse, and as many of Locri, went to Messina in Sicily, called in by the Citizens themselves, and tooke it; and Messina revolted from the Athenians. This was done by the practice chiefly of the Syracusians; that saw the place to bee commodious for inuasion of Sicily, and feared lest the Athenians some time or other hereafter, making it the seate of their

THE SEVENTH  
YEARE.

Messina.

Messina revolteth from  
the Athenians.



their Warre, might come with greater forces into Sicily, A and invade them from thence; but partly also of the Locrians, as being in hostility with the Rhegians, & desirous to make Warre vpon them on both sides. The Locrians had now also entred the Lands of the Rhegians with their whole power; both because they would hinder them from assisting the Messenians and because they were solicited therevnto by the banished men of Rhegium, that were with them. For they of Rhegium had bene long in Sedition, and were vnable for the present to giue them Battell, for which cause, they the rather also now invaded them. B And after they had wasted the Countrey, the Locrians withdrew their Land-forces, but their Gallies lay still at the guard of Messina, and more were setting forth, to lye in the same Harbour, to make the Warre on that side.

About the same time of the Spring, and before Corne was at full growth, the Peloponnesians and their Confederates, vnder the Conduct of Agis the sonne of Archidamus, King of the Lacedaemonians, invaded Attica, and there lay and wasted the Countrey about.

And the Athenians sent fortie Gallies into Sicily, the same C which they had provided before for that purpose, and with them the other two Generals, Eurymedon & Sophocles. For Pythodorus, who was the third in that Commision, was arriued in Sicily before. To these they gaue commandment also, to take order as they went by, for the state of those Corcyraeans that were in the Citie, and were pillaged by the Outlawes in the Mountaine: and threescore Gallies of the Peloponnesians were gone out, to take part with those in the Mountaine; who, because there was a great Famine in the Citie, thought they might easily be masters of that State. To Demosthenes also (who euer since his returne out of Acarnania had liued priuately) they gaue authority, at his owne request, to make vse of the same Gallies, if hee thought good so to doe, about Peloponnesus.

As they sayled by the Coast of Laconia, and had intelligence that the Peloponnesian Fleet was at Corcyra already, Eurymedon and Sophocles hasted to Corcyra; but Demosthenes willed them to put in first at Pylus, and when they had done what was requisite there, then to proceed in their E Voyage. But whilest they denyed to doe it, the Fleet was

The Locrians waste the territory of Rhegium.

Rhegians.

The fifth invasion of Attica.

The Athenians send forty Gallies into Sicily.

Who are to put in by the way at Corcyra, being still in sedition, the Outlawes holding the Field, and the Commons, the Citie.

Demosthenes vrgeth to put in at Pylus.

A was driven into Pylus, by a Tempest that then arose by chance. And presently Demosthenes required them to fortifie the place, alledging that hee came with them for no other purpose, and shewing how there was great store of Timber and Stone, and that the place it selfe was naturally strong, and defart, both it, and a great deale of the Countrey about. For it lyeth from Spuria about 400. Furlongs, in the Territory that belonging once to the Messenians, is called by the Lacedaemonians, Coryphasion. But they answered him, that there were many defart Promontories B in Peloponnesus, if they were minded to put the Citie to charges in taking them in. But there appeared vnto Demosthenes a great difference betwene this place and other places; because there was heere a Hauen, and the Messenians, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, speaking the same language the Lacedaemonians did, would both be able to annoy them much by excursions thence, and be also faithfull Guardians of the place.

When hee could not preuaile, neither with the Generals, nor with the Souldiers, hauing also at last communicated the same to the Captaines of Companies, hee gaue it ouer, till at last, the weather not seruing to bee gone, there came vpon the Souldiers lying idle, a desire, occasioned by disention, to Wall in the place of their owne accord. And falling in hand with the worke, they performed it, not with yron tooles to hew stones, but picked out such stones as they thought good, and afterwards placed them as they would seuerally fit. And for Morter, where it needed, for want of Vessels, they carried it on their backs, with their bodies enclining forward, so as it might D best lye, and their hands clapped behinde, to flay it from falling; making all possible haste to preuent the Lacedaemonians, and to finish the most assailable parts, before they came to succour it. For the greatest part of the place was strong by nature, and needed no fortifying at all.

The Lacedaemonians were that day celebrating a certaine Holiday, and when they heard the newes, did set lightly by it; conceiuing, that whensoever it should please them to goe thither, they should finde them either already E gone or easily take the place by force. Somewhat also they were retarded, by reason that their Armie was

The Fleet driven in to Pylus by weather.

The commodity of Pylus.

The Athenians build the Fort of Pylus.

The Lacedaemonians at home regard the taking of Pylus but lightly.



in *Attica*. The *Athenians* having in sixe dayes finished the Wall to the Land, and in the places where was most need, left *Demosthenes* with five Gallies to defend it; and with the rest, halstend on in their course for *Coreyra*; and *Sicily*.

The *Lacedemonians* army, and *Agis* take it more to heart.

The *Peloponnesians* that were in *Attica*, when they were aduertised of the taking of *Pylus*, returned speedily home. For the *Lacedemonians*, and *Agis* their King, tooke this accident of *Pylus* to concerne their owne particular. And the inuasion was withall so early, (Come being yet greene) that the most of them were scanted with victuall; B the Armie was also much troubled with the weather, which was colder then for the season; so as for many reasons it fell out, that they returned sooner now, then at other times they had done; and this inuasion was the shortest; for they continued in *Attica*, in all but fifteene dayes.

The *Athenians* take *Eion* in *Thrace*, and lose it againe.

About the same time *Simonides* an *Athenian* Commander, having drawne a few *Athenians* together out of the Garrisons, and a number of the Confederates of those parts, tooke the Citie of *Eion* in *Thrace*, a Colonie of the *Mendaeans*, that was their Enemy, by Treason; but was presently againe driuen out by the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, that came to succour it, and lost many of his Souldiers. C

The *Lacedemonians* by Sea and Land, seeke to recover *Pylus*.

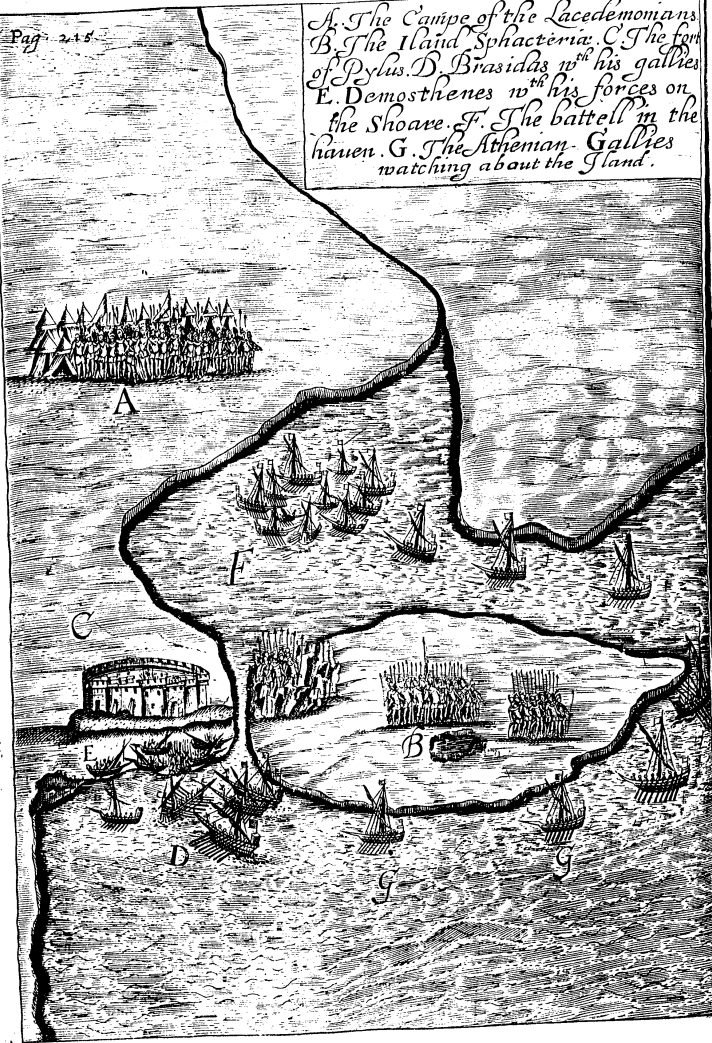
When the *Peloponnesians* were returned out of *Attica*, they of the Citie of *Sparta*, and of other the next neighbouring Townes, went presently to the ayde of *Pylus*; but the rest of the *Lacedemonians* came slower on, as beeing newly come from the former Expedition. Neuerthelesse they sent about, to the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to require their assistance with all speed at *Pylus*; and also to their three-score Gallies that were at *Coreyra*. Which, transported over the *Isthmus* of *Lencas*, arrived at *Pylus*, vnseene of the *Athenian* Gallies lying at *Zacynthus*. And by this time their Armie of foot was also there. Whilest the *Peloponnesian* Gallies were coming toward *Pylus*, *Demosthenes* sent two Gallies secretly to *Eurymedon* and the *Athenian* Fleet at *Zacynthus*, in hall haste, to tell them, that they must come presently to him, for as much as the place was in danger to bee lost. And according as *Demosthenes* his message E imported, so the Fleet made haste. The *Lacedemonians* in the

Zante.

*Demosthenes* sends to call backe the Fleet to helpe him.



A. The Campe of the Lacedemonians  
B. The Island Sphacteria. C. The Fort  
of Pylus. D. Brasidas w<sup>th</sup> his Gallies  
E. Demosthenes w<sup>th</sup> his forces on  
the Shoare. F. The battell in the  
hauen. G. The Athenian Gallies  
watching about the Island.



A the meane time prepared themselves to assault the Fort both by Sea and Land; hoping easily to winne it, beeing a thing built in haste, and not many men within it. And because they expected the comming of the *Athenian* Fleet from *Zacynthus*, they had a purpose, if they tooke not the Fort before, to barre vp the entries of the Harbour. For the Island called *sphacteria*, lying iust before, and very neere to the place, maketh the Hauen safe, and the entries straight; one of them, neerest to *Pylus*, and to the *Athenian* Fortification, admitting passage for no more but two Gallies in Front; and the other which lyeth against the other part of the Continent, for not about eight or nine. The Island, by beeing desart, was all Wood, and vntrodden, in bigness about fiftene Furlongs ouer. Therefore they determined with their Gallies thicke set, and with the Brake-heads outward, to stop vp the entries of the Hauen. And because they feared the Island, lest the *Athenians* putting men into it, should make Warre vpon them from thence, they carried ouer men of Armes into the same, and placed others likewise along the shoare of the Continent. For by this meanes the *Athenians* at their comming should finde the Island their Enemy, and no meanes of landing in the Continent. For the Coast of *Pylus* it selfe, without these two entries, being to the Sea harbourlesse, would afford them no place from whence to set forth to the ayde of their fellowes. And they, in all probability, might by siege, without battell by Sea, or other danger, winne the place, seeing there was no prouision of Victuall within it, and that the Enemy tooke it but on short preparation. Hauiug thus resolu'd, they put ouer into the Island their men of Armes, out of euery Band by Lot; some also had beene sent ouer before by turnes, but they which went ouer now last, and were left there, were 420, besides the *Helotes* that were with them. And their Captaine was *Epitadas* the sonne of *Molobrus*.  
*Demosthenes*, when he saw the *Lacedemonians* bent to assault him, both from their Gallies, and with their Armie by Land, prepared also to defend the place. And when hee had drawne vp his Gallies, all that were left him, vnto the Land, hee placed them athwart the Fort, and armed the Mariners that belonged to them, with Bucklers, though

The *Lacedemonians* prepared engines to assault the Fort.

The situation of the Ile *Sphacteria*.

The *Lacedemonians* put ouer 420. men of Armes, besides their *Scouts*, into the Ile *Sphacteria*, ouer against *Pylus*.

*Demosthenes* prepareth himselfe to keepe the *Lacedemonians* from landing on the shoare.



though bad ones, and for the greatest part made of Officers. A For they had no means in a desert place to provide themselves of Armes. Those they had, they tooke out of a Peiraticall Boate, of thirty Oares, and a \* Light-horseman of the Messenians, which came by by chance. And the men of Armes of the Messenians were about 40. which hee made use of amongst the rest. The greatest part therefore, both of armed and unarmed, he placed on the parts of the Wall toward the Land, which were of most strength, and commanded them to make good the place against the Land-forces, if they assaulted it; and hee himselfe, with B 60. men of Armes, chosen out of the whole number, and a few Archers, came forth of the Fort to the Sea-side, in that part where he most expected their landing. Which part was of troublesome access, and stonie, and lay to the wide Sea. But because their Wall was there the weakest, he thought they would be drawne to adventure for that. For neither did the Athenians thinke they should ever haue bene mastered with Gallies, which caused them to make the place to the Sea-ward the lesse strong; and if the Peloponnesians should by force come to land, they made no other C account but the place would be lost. Comming therefore in this part to the very brinke of the Sea, hee put in order his men of Armes, and encouraged them with words to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES to his Souldiers.

YOV that participate with mee in the present danger, let not any of you in this extremity, goe about to seeme wise, and reckon every perill that now besetteth vs; but let him rather come up D to the Enemy with little circumspection, and much hope, and looke for his safety by that. For things that are come once to a pinch, as these are, admit not debate, but a speedy hazard. And yet if wee stand it out, and betray not our advantages with feare of the number of the Enemy, I see well enough, that most things are with vs. For I make account, the difficultie of their landing makes for vs: which, as long as wee abide our selues, will helpe vs, but if wee retire, though the place be difficult, yet when there is none to impeach them, they will land well enough. For whilst they are in their Gallies, they are most E easie to be fought withall; and in their disembarking being but on equall termes,

A termes, their number is not greatly to be feared; for though they be many, yet they must fight but by few, for want of roomes to fight in. And for an Armie to haue oades by Land, is another matter, then when they are to fight from Gallies, where they stand in need of so many accidents, to fall out opportunely from the Sea. So that I thinke their great difficultie does but set them even with our small number. And for you, that be Athenians, and by experience are disbarking against others, know, that if a man stand it out, and doe not, for feare of the sowing of a Wave, or the menacing approach of a Gallie, give B backe of himselfe, hee can neuer be put backe by violence; I expect that you should keepe your ground, and by fighting it out upon the very edge of the water, preserve both your selues and the Fort.

Vpon this exhortation of Demosthenes; the Athenians tooke better heart, and went downe, and arranged themselves close by the Sea. And the Lacedemonians came and assaulted the Fort, both with their Armie by Land, and with their Fleet, consisting of three and forty C Gallies, in which was Admirall, Thrasybulus, the sonne of Cratesicles, a Spartan; and he made his approach where Demosthenes had before expected him. So the Athenians were assaulted on both sides, both by Sea and by Land.

The Peloponnesians diuiding their Gallies into small numbers, because they could not come nere with many at once, and resting betweene, assailed them by turnes; vsing all possible valour, and mutuall encouragement, to put the Athenians backe, and gaine the Fort.

D Most eminent of all the rest was Brasidas: For having the Command of a Gallie, and seeing other Captaines of Gallies, and Steeresmen (the place being hard of access) when there appeared sometimes possibility of putting ashore, to be afraid, and tender of breaking their Gallies, hee would cry out vnto them, saying, They did not well, for sparing of Wood, to let the Enemy fortifie in their Countrey. And to the Lacedemonians hee gaue aduice, to force landing with the breaking of their Gallies; and prayed the Confederates, E that in requitall of many benefits, they would not sticke to bestow their Gallies at this time upon the Lacedemonians, and run

Ff ning

The Athenians take heart,

The Lacedemonians assault the Fort by Land, and seeke to force landing from their Gallies,

The valour of Brasidas.



ning them ashore, to use any means whatsoever to Land, **A**  
and to get into their hands both the Men in the Ile, and the Fort.

\* *Simulacra*, Ladders or Planks to disbarke by, breake through by reason of his wounds.

\* *Operequaria*. Fort, the place on the west side of the Gully for Soldiers to stand and fight on, between the Rowers and the water.

Thus hee vrge others, and hauing compelled the Steeresman of his owne Gallie to runne her ashore, hee came to the \* Ladders, but attempting to get downe, was by the *Athenians* put backe, and after he had receiued many wounds, swooned, and falling vpon the \* ledges of the Gallie, his Buckler tumbled ouer into the Sea, which brought to Land, the *Athenians* tooke vp, and vied afterwards in the Trophie which they set vp for this assault. **B**  
Also the rest endeauoured with much courage to come aland, but the place being ill to land in, and the *Athenians* not boudging, they could not doe it. So that at this time Fortune came so much about, that the *Athenians* fought from the Land, *Laconique* Land, against *Lacedaemonians* in Gallies; and the *Lacedaemonians* from their Gallies, fought against the *Athenians*, to get landing in their owne now hostile Territory. For at that time there was an opinion farre spread, that these were rather Land-men, **C**  
and expert in a Battell of Foot; and that in maritime and nauall actions the other excelled.

The *Lacedaemonians*, after three dayes assault, without effect, giue ouer that coulee.

This day then, and a part of the next, they made sundry assaults, and after that gaue ouer. And the third day they sent out some Gallies to *Asine*, for Timber, wherewith to make Engines; hoping with Engines to take that part of the Wall that looketh into the Hauen; which, though it were higher, yet the landing to it was easier.

The *Athenian* Fleet retorne from *Zacynthus*, to ayde the *Athenians* in *Pylus*.

In the meane time arriue the fortie *Athenian* Gallies **D**  
from *Zacynthus*; for there were ioyned with them certaine Gallies of the Garrison of *Naupactus*, and foure of *Chios*. And when they saw both the Continent and the Iland full of men of Armes, and that the Gallies that were in the Hauen would not come forth, not knowing where to cast Anchor, they sayled for the present to the Ile *Prote*, being neere, and desart, and there lay for that night.

The next day, after they had put themselves in order, they put to Sea againe, with purpose to offer them **E**  
Battell, if the other would come forth into the wide Sea

A Sea against them, if not, to enter the Hauen vpon them. But the *Peloponnesians* neither came out against them, nor had stopped vp the entrie of the Hauen, as they had before determined, but lying still on the shoare, manned out their Gallies, and prepared to fight, if any entred, in the Hauen it selfe, which was no small one. The *Athenians* vnderstanding this, came in violently vpon them, at both the mouthes of the Hauen and molt of the *Lacedaemonian* Gallies, which were already set out, and opposed them, they charged, and put to flight. And in following **B**  
the chase, which was but short, they brake many of them, and tooke siue, whereof one with all her men in her; and they fell in also, with them that fled to the shoare; and the Gallies which were but in manning out, were torne and rent, before they could put off from the Land. Others they tyed to their owne Gallies, and towed them away empty. Which the *Lacedaemonians* perceiuing, and extremely grieued with the losse, because their fellows were heereby intercepted in the Iland, came in with their ayde from the Land, and entring armed into the Sea, **C**  
tooke hold of the Gallies with their hands, to haue pulled them backe againe; every one conceiuing the businessse to proceed the worse, wherein himselfe was not present. So there arose a great affray about the Gallies, and such as was contrary to the manner of them both. For the *Lacedaemonians* out of eagrenesse, and out of feare, did (as one may say) nothing else but make a Sea-fight from the Land; and the *Athenians*, who had the victory, and desired to extend their present fortune to the utmost, made a Land-fight from their Gallies. But at length, hauing **D**  
weariend and wounded each other, they fell asunder; and the *Lacedaemonians* recouered all their Gallies, saue onely those which were taken at the first onset. When they were on both sides retired to their Campes, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, deliuered to the Enemie their dead, and possessed the wrecke, and immediately went round the Iland with their Gallies, keeping watch vpon it, as hauing intercepted the men within it. The *Peloponnesians* in the meane time, that were in the Continent, and were by this time assembled there with their succours from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, remained vpon the place at *Pylus*. **E**

The *Athenians* ouercome the *Peloponnesian* Fleet in the Hauen of *Pylus*.

The *Athenians* getting the victory beseege the men cut off from the army, in the Iland.



The Magistrates of Sparta come to view the state of the Cause, and conclude there to send to Athens about peace.

Truce betwene the Armies, till Ambassadors might be sent to Athens.

As soone as the newes of what had passed was related At Sparta, they thought fit, in respect the losse was great, to send the Magistrates downe to the Campe, to determine, vpon view of the state of their present affaires there, what they thought requisite to be done. These, when they saw there was no possibility to relieue their men, and were not willing to put them to the danger either of suffering by Famine, or of being forced by multitude, concluded amongst themselves, to take Truce with the Athenian Commanders, as farre as concerned the particulars of Pylus, if they also would bee content, and to send Ambassadors to Athens, about agreement, and to endeavour to fetch off their men as soone as they could. The Athenian Commanders accepting the proposition, the Truce was made, in this manner.

### The Articles of the Truce.

**T**HAT the Lacedæmonians should deliuer vp, not onely those Gallies wherein they fought, but also bring to Pylus, and put into the Athenians hands, whatsoeuer Vessels of the \* long forme of building were any where else in Laconia.

That they should not make any assault vpon the Fort, neither by Sea nor Land. That the Athenians should permit the Lacedæmonians that were in the Continent, to send ouer to those in the Island, a portion of ground corne, agreed on, to wit, to euery one two Attique \* Choenickes of Meale, and two \* Cotyles of Wine, and a piece of Flesh; and to euery of their seruants halfe that quantitie.

That they should send this, the Athenians looking on, and not send ouer any Vessell by stealth.

That the Athenians should neuertheless continue garding of the Island, provided that they landed not in it; and should not invade the Peloponnesian Armie neither by Land nor Sea.

That if eyther side transgressed in any part thereof, the truce was then immediately to bee voyd, otherwise to hold good till the returne of the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors from Athens.

That the Athenians should convoy them in a Gallie vnto Athens, and backe. That at their returne the Truce should end, and the Athenians should restore them their Gallies, in as good estate as they had receiued them.

Thus was the Truce made, and the Gallies were deliuered

\* Out of this and other places it appears, that the Shipping of those times was of two formes, long and round. The long, which principally served for the Wars; the round, which served for the saile, served for Merchants uses and transportation of provision. Of the first sort were all Gallies, whether of one, two, three, or more rurs of Oares; the latter were the Ships called Triremes.

\* A Choenix, a measure of about three pints of ours.  
\* Kotylis, a quarter of a Choenix.

auered to the Athenians, to the number of about threescore: and the Ambassadors were sent away; who arriuing at Athens, said as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF THE LACEDÆMONIAN Ambassadors.

**M**EN of Athens, the Lacedæmonians haue sent vs hither, conerring our men in the Island, to see if wee can persuade you to such a course, as being most profitable for you, may in this misfortune, be the most honourable for vs, that our present condition is capable of. We will not be longer in discourse then standeth with our custome, being the \* fashion with vs, where few words suffice, there indeed not to vse many; but yet to vse more, when the occasion requireth that by words wee should make plaine that which is to bee done in actions of importance. But the woris we shall vse, wee pray you to receiue, not with the minde of an Enemy, nor as if wee went about to instruct you, as men ignorant, but for a remembrance to you, of what you know, that you may deliberate wisely therein. It is now in your power to assure your present good fortune with reputation, holding what you haue, with the addition of honour and glory besides; and to auoyd that which befalleth men vpon extraordinary successe, who through hope, aspire to greater fortune, because the fortune they haue already, came vnexpected for. Whereas they that haue felt many changes of both fortunes, ought indeed to bee most suspicious of the good. So ought your Citie, and ours especially, vpon experience, in all reason to bee. Know it, by seeing this present misfortune false on vs, who being of greatest dignity of all the Grecians, come to you, to aske that, which before wee thought chiefly in our owne hands to giue. And yet wee are not brought to this through weakenesse, nor through insolence vpon addition of strength, but because it succeeded not with the power wee had, as we thought it should which may as well happen to any other, as to our selues. So that you haue no reason to conceiue, that for your power, and purchases, for time also must be therefore alwaies yours. Such wise men as safely reckon their prosperity in the account of things doubtfull, doe most wisely also addresse themselves towards aduersity; and not thinke that Warre will so farre follow, and no further, as one shall please more or lesse to take it in hand; but rather so farre as fortune shall leade it. Such men also seldome miscarrying, because they bee not puffed vp with the confidence of successe, choose then principally to giue ouer, when they are in their better fortune. And so it will bee good for

\* Brevity of speech was so customary and natural to the Lacedæmonians, that it grew to a proverb.



or you, men of Athens, to doe with vs; and not, if reflecting our advice, you chance to miscarry (as many wayes you may) to haue it thought hereafter that all your present successes were but meere fortune.

Whereas, on the contrary, it is in your hands, without danger, to leaue a reputation to posterity both of strength and wisdom. The Lacedæmonians call you to a Peace, and end of the Warre, giuing you peace, and alliance, and much other friendship and mutual familiarity, requiring for the same, onely those their men that are in the Iland; though also we thinke it better for both sides, not to try the chance of Warre; Whether it fall out that by some occasion of safety offered, they escape by force, or being expugned by siege, should be more in your power then they be. For wee are of this mind, that great hatred is most safely cancelld, not when one that hauing beaten his enemy, and gotten much the better in the Warre, brings him through necessity to take an oath, and to make peace on vnequall termes; but when hauing it in his power, lawfully so to doe, if he please, he overcome him likewise in goodnesse, and contrary to what he expects, be reconciled to him on moderate conditions. For in this case, his enemy being obliged, not to seeke reuenge, as one that had bene forced, but to requite his goodnesse, will, for shame, be the more enclined to the conditions agreed on. And naturally, to those that relent of their owne account, men giue way reciprocally, with content; but against the arrogant, they will hazard all, euen when in their owne iudgements they be too weake. But for vs both, if euer it were good to agree, it is surely so at this present, and before any irreparable accident be interposed. Whereby wee should be compelled besides the common, to beare you a particular eternall hatred, and you be deprived of the commodities we now offer you. Let vs be reconciled while matters stand vndecided, and whilst you haue gained reputation, and our friendship, and we not suffered dishonour, and but indifferent losse. And we shall not onely our selues preferre Peace before Warre, but also giue a cessation of their miseries to all the rest of the Grecians, who will acknowledge it rather from you, then vs. For they make Warre, not knowing whether side begun; but if an end be made, (which is now for the most part in your owne hands) the thanks will bee yours.

And by decreeing the Peace, you may make the Lacedæmonians your sure friends, in as much as they call you to it, and are therein not forced, but gratified. Wherein consider how many commodities are like to ensue, for if we and you goe one way, you know

A know the rest of Greece, being inferior to vs, \* will honour vs in the highest degree. Thus spake the Lacedæmonians, thinking that in times past, the Athenians had coveted Peace, and been hindered of it by them, and that being now offered, they would gladly accept of it.

But they, hauing these men intercepted in the Iland, thought they might compound at pleasure, and aspired to greater matters. To this, they were set on, for the most part by Cleon, the sonne of Cleonetus, a popular man, at that time, and of greatest sway with the multitude. He perswaded them to giue this answer:

That they in the Iland ought first to deliuer vp their Armes, and come themselves to Athens, and when they should be there, if the Lacedæmonians would make restitution of Nisæa, and Pegæ, and Træzen, and Achaia, (the which they had not won in Warre, but had receiued by former Treaty, when the Athenian, being in distresse, and at that time, in more need of Peace then now, yeelded them vp into their hands) then they should haue their men againe, and peace should be made, for as long as they both should thinke good.

To this answer, they replied nothing, but desired that Commissioners might be chosen to treat with them, who by alternate speaking, and hearing, might quietly make such an agreement, as they could perswade each other vnto. But then Cleon came mightily vpon them, saying, he knew before, that they had no honest purpose, and that the same was now manifest, in that they refused to speake before the people, but sought to sit in consultation, onely with a few; And willed them, if they had ought to say, that was reall, to speake it before them all. But the Lacedæmonians finding, that although they had a mind to make Peace with them, vpon this occasion of aduersity, yet it would not be fit to speake in it before the multitude, lest speaking, and not obtaining, they should incurre \* calumny with their Confederates, and seeing withall, that the Athenians would not grant what they sued for, vpon reasonable conditions, they went backe againe without effect.

Vpon their returne, presently the Truce at Pylus was at an end, and the Lacedæmonians, according to agreement, demanded restitution of their Gallies. But the Athenians, laying to their charge, an assault made vpon the Fort, contra-

\* *the highest quality. Will give vs highest honour. Conspiring to the understanding of the wisest sort of the hearers, the consideration of sympathizing it is rest of Greece for by the highest language, he means tyranny, but a saying the enemy of the word, because if he had said it plainly, the Confederates would have said, that they which turned themselves the delinquents of Greece, would now, out of private interest, be content to ioyne with the Athenians, to tyrannize it.*

The insolent demand of the people of Athens; by the aduice of Cleon.

The Lacedæmonians desire to speake before a private Committee.

\* *Pre for buying Peace at the cost of the Confederates submission, for the thing they doubt not propound before the people was this, that by the unity of these two great states the rest of Greece would be forced to serve them, which they rejected also, but obscurely in the last words of their Oration, as I haue noted before. The Ambassadors returne without effect, and the Truce endeth. The Athenians caually, and keepe the Gallies of the Lacedæmonians.*



The Warre at Pylus goes on.

ry to the Articles, and other matters of no great importance, refused to render them; standing vpon this, that it was said that the accord should be voyd, vpon whatsoeuer the left transgression of the same. But the *Lacedæmonians* denying it, and protesting this detention of their *Gallies* for an iniury, went their wayes, and betooke themselves to the Warre. So the Warre at *Pylus* was on both sides renewed with all their power.

The *Athenians* went every day about the Iland with two Gallies, one going one way, another, another way, and lay at Anchor about it every night with their whole Fleet, except on that part which lyeth to the open Sea, and that onely when it was windy. From *Athens* also, there came a supply of thirty Gallies more, to guard the Iland, so that they were in the whole threescore and ten. And the *Lacedæmonians* made assaults vpon their Fort, and watched every opportunity that should present it selfe, to saue their men in the Iland.

Whilest these things passed, the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates in *Sicily*, adding to those Gallies that lay in Garrison at *Messana*, the rest of the Fleet which they had prepared, made Warre out of *Messana*, instigated thereto, chiefly, by the *Locrians*, as enemies to the *Rhegiens*, (whose Territory they had also inuaded with their whole forces by Land) and seeing the *Athenians* had but a few Gallies present, and hearing that the greater number which were to come to them, were employed in the siege of the \* Iland; desired to try with them a Battell by Sea; for if they could get the better with their Nauie, they hoped, lying before *Rhegium*, both with their Land-forces on the Field side, and with their Fleet by Sea, easily to take it into their hands, and thereby strengthen their affaires. For *Rhegium* a \* Promontorie of Italy, and *Messana* in *Sicily* lying neere together, they might both hinder the *Athenians* from lying at Anchor there against them, and make themselves Masters of the Streight. This Streight is the Sea betweene *Rhegium* and *Messana*, where *Sicily* is neere to the Continent, and is that which is called \* *Charybdis*, where *Vlysses* is said to haue passed through; which, for that it is very narrow, and because the Sea falleth in there, from two great maines, the *Tyrrhene* and *Sicilian*, and is rough, hath therefore not without good cause beene esteemed dangerous.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight in the Straight betweene *Messana* and *Rhegium*.  
*Messana*.

\* *Sphaacteria*.

\* *Rhegium*, being a promontory, and derived from *Vlysses*, which signifies to be safe, makes it probable that *Sicily* was once a part of Italy, and there broken off by some Earthquake, but yet *Scylla* is neerer to *Sicily* then *Rhegium* is.  
\* *Charybdis*, here taken for the name of the whole Strait, is but a part neere to *Messana*, betwixt it and *Pelorus*, subject to extraordinary agitation in stormy weather, but nothing to that it was, or was fained to be of old.

A In this Straight then, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, with somewhat more then 30. Gallies, were constrained in the later end of the day to come to a Sea-fight, hauing bin drawne forth about the passage of a certaine Boat, to undertake 16. Gallies of *Athens*, and 8. of *Rhegium*; and being overcome by the *Athenians*, fell off with the losse of one Gallie, and went speedily, each side to their own Campe at *Messana*, and *Rhegium*; and the night ouertooke them in the action. After this the *Locrians* departed out of the Territory of the *Rhegiens*; and the Fleet of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates came together to an Anchor at \* *Pelorus*, and had their Land-forces by them. But the *Athenians* and *Rhegiens* came vp to them, and finding their Gallies empty of men, fell in amongst them, and by means of a Grapnel \* cast into one of their Gallies, they lost that Gallie, but the men swam out. Vpon this the *Syracusians* went aboard, and whilest they were towed along the shore towards *Messana*, the *Athenians* came vp to them againe, and the *Syracusians* \* opening themselves, charged first, and sunke another of their Gallies; so the *Syracusians* passed on to the Port of *Messana*, hauing had the better in their passage by the shore; and in the Sea-fight, which were both together in such manner as is declared.

The *Athenians*, vpon newes that *Camarina* should by *Archias* and his complices bee betrayed to the *Syracusians*, went thither. In the meane time the *Messanians* with their whole power, by Land, and also with their Fleet, waired on *Naxos*, a \* *Chalcidique* Citie, & their borderer. The first day hauing forced the *Naxians* to retire within their Walls, they spoiled their fields; the next day they sent their Fleet about into the Riuer *Acosme*, which spoiled the Countrey as it went vp the Riuer, & with their Land-forces assaulted the City. In the meane time many of the *Siculi*, Mountainers, came down to their assistance against the *Messanians*; which when they of *Naxos* perceiued, they tooke heart, and encouraging themselves with an opinion, that the *Leontines*, and all the rest of the *Grecians* their Confederates, had come to succour them; sallied suddenly out of the Citie, and charged vpon the *Messanians*; and put them to flight, with the slaughter of a thousand of their Souldiers, the rest hard by escaping home. For the *Barbarians* fell vpon them, and slew the most part of them in the High-ways.

G g

And

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight at Sea.

\* A Promontory of *Sicily*, hard by *Messana*.

\* cast in by the Souldiers on shore.

The *Messanians* warre on the Citie of *Naxos*, and receive a great losse.

\* of these which were founded by the *Chalcidians* of Greece.



\* Syracuse and Locris.

The Athenians and Leontines attempt to take Messina.

And the Gallies that lay at *Messana*, not long after, did themselves, and went to their \* feuerall homes. A

Hereupon the *Leontines* and their Confederates, together with the *Athenians*, marched presently against *Messana*, as being now weakned, and assaulted it, the *Athenians* with their Fleet, by the Hauen; and the Land-forces, at the Wall to the Field. But the *Messanians*, and certaine *Locrians* with *Demoteles*, who after this losse had bene left there in Garrison, issuing forth, and falling suddenly vpon them, put a great part of the *Leontines* Armie to flight, and slew many; but the *Athenians*, seeing that, disbarcked, B and relieued them; and comming vpon the *Messanians* now in disorder, chased them againe into the Citie. Then they erected a Trophie, and put ouer to *Rhegium*. After this, the *Grecians* of *Sicily* warred one vpon another, without the *Athenians*.

The Athenians are much troubled to watch the Iland.

All this while the *Athenians* at *Pylus* besieged the *Lacedemonians* in the Iland; and the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* in the Continent remained still vpon the place. This keeping of Watch was exceeding painefull to the *Athenians*, in respect of the want they had, both of Corne and Water; for there was no Well but one, and that was in the Fort it selfe of *Pylus*, and no great one. And the greatest number turned vp the grauell, and drunke such water as they were \* like to finde there. They were also scanted of roome for their Campe; and their Gallies not hauing place to ride in, they were forced by turnes, some to stay ashore, and others to take their victuall, and lye off at Anchor. But their greatest discouragement was, the time which they had stayed there, longer then they had thought to haue done; for they thought to haue famished them out in a few dayes, being in a desert Iland, and hauing nothing to drinke but salt water. The cause hereof were the *Lacedemonians*, who had \* proclaimed that any man that would, should carry in Meale, Wine, Cheefe, and all other esculents necessary for a Siege, into the Iland, appointing for the same a great reward of siluer: and if any *Helote* should carry in any thing, they promised him liberty. Heereupon diuers with much danger, imported victuall; but especially the *Helotes*, who putting off from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, wherefoeuer they chanced to bee, came E in at the parts of the Iland that lay to the wide Sea. But they

\* The water which is found by digging in the Sea-sands is commonly fresh, being strained, and so purged of the saltnesse in the passage of the water through the sand, but not so good as further off from the Sea.

The shift of the *Lacedemonians* to relieve the besieged with victuall.

\* to the people of the Country about.

A they had a care about all, to take such a time as to bee brought in with the Wind. For when it blew from the Sea, they could escape the watch of the Gallies easily. For they could not then lye round about the Iland at Anchor. And the *Helotes* were nothing tender in putting ashore, for they ranne their Gallies on ground, valued at a price in money, and the men of Armes also watched at all the landing places of the Iland. But as many as made attempt when the weather was calme, were intercepted. There were also such as could diue, that swam ouer into the Iland B through the Hauen, drawing after them in a string, Bottles filled with \* Poppy, tempred with Honie, and pounded Lintseed: whereof some at the first passed vnseene, but were afterwards watched. So that on either part they vied all possible art, one side to send ouer food, the other to apprehend those that carried it.

The People of *Athens* being aduertised of the state of their Armie, how it was in distresse, and that victuall was transported into the Iland, knew not what they should doe to it, and feared lest Winter should ouertake them in their C Siege; fearing not onely that to provide them of necessities about *Peloponnesus*, and in a desert place withall, would bee a thing impossible, but also that they should be vnable to send forth so many things as were requisite, though it were Summer; and againe, that the parts thereof being without Harbour, there would bee no place to lye at Anchor in against them, but that the Watch there ceasing of it selfe, the men would by that meanes escape, or in some foule weather bee carried away in the same Boats that brought them meate. But that which they feared D most, was, that the *Lacedemonians* seemed to haue some assurance of them already, because they sent no more to negotiate about them. And they repented now, that they had not accepted of the Peace. But *Cleon* knowing himselfe to be the man suspected for hindering the agreement, said, that they who brought the newes, reported not the truth. Whereupon, they that came thence, aduising them, if they would not beleue it, to send to view the estate of the Army, he and *Theogenes* were chosen by the *Athenians* to view it. But when hee saw that hee must of force E eyther say as they said, whom hee before calumniated, or saying the contrary be proued a lyer, hee aduised the

\* A medicine for longer and longer, not more; Scholiastes.

The Athenians are angry, that their Armie is detained so long in the Siege of the Iland.

Cleon to auoyd the enuie of hindering the peace, engageth himselfe ere hee was aware, to fetch those that were besieged in the Iland, home to Athens.



*Athenians*, seeing them enclined of themselves, to send A  
thither greater forces, then they had before thought to  
doe, that it was not fit to send to view the place, nor to  
lose their opportunity by delay, but if the report seemed  
vnto them to bee true, they should make a voyage against  
those men, and glanced at *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, then  
\* Generall, vpon malice, and with language of reproach.  
Saying it was easie, if the Leaders were men, to goe and  
take them there in the Iland. And that himselfe, if hee had  
the Command, would doe it. But *Nicias*, seeing the *Athe-*  
*nians* to bee in a kinde of tumult against *Cleon*, for that B  
when hee thought it so easie a matter, hee did not present-  
ly put it in practice, & seeing also he had vpbraided him,  
willed him to take what strength hee would, that they  
could giue him, and vndertake it. *Cleon* supposing at first  
that he gaue him this leaue but in words, was ready to ac-  
cept it; but when he knew he would giue him the authori-  
ty in good earnest, then he shrunke backe, and said, that not  
he, but *Nicias* was Generall; being now indeed afraid, and  
hoping that he durst not haue giuen ouer the office to him.  
But then, *Nicias* againe bade him doe it, and gaue ouer his C  
command to him, for so much as concerned *Pylus*, and cal-  
led the *Athenians* to witnesse it. They (as is the fashion of  
the multitude) the more *Cleon* declined the Voyage, and  
went backe from his word, pressed *Nicias* so much the  
more to resigne his \* power to him, and cryed out vpon  
*Cleon* to goe. Insomuch as not knowing how to disengage  
himselfe of his word, hee vndertooke the Voyage, and  
stood forth, saying, that he feared not the *Lacedaemonians*,  
and that hee would not carry any man with him out of  
the Citie, but onely the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians* that then D  
were present, and those *Targettieres* that were come to  
them from *Enus*, and 400. Archers out of other places,  
and with these, he said, added to the Souldiers that were  
at *Pylus* already, he would within twenty dayes, either  
fetch away the *Lacedaemonians* aliue, or kill them vpon the  
place.

This vaine speech moued amongst the *Athenians* some  
laughter, and was heard with great content of the wiser  
sort. For of two benefits, the one must needs fall out; ei-  
ther to be rid of *Cleon*, (which was their greatest hope) or E  
if they were deceiued in that, then to get those *Lacedaemo-*  
*nians*

\* *Nicias*, & the Magistrate  
to whose authority was com-  
mitted the trying, and muste-  
ring of Souldiers.

*Cleon* vndertaketh to  
fetch those in the Iland  
prisoners to *Athen*.

*Cleon* taken at his word,  
would haue declined the  
employment, but cannot

\* his power to leaue Souldiers.

A glorious boast of *Cleon*  
well taken.

*A* *nians* into their hands. Now when he had dispatched with  
the Assembly, and the *Athenians*, had by their voices de-  
creed him the Voyage, he ioyned vnto himselfe *Demosithe-*  
*nes*, one of the Commanders at *Pylus*, and presently put to  
Sea. Hee made choice of *Demosithenes* for his Companion,  
because he heard that hee also, of himselfe, had a purpose  
to set his Souldiers aland in the Ile. For the Armie ha-  
ving suffered much by the straightnesse of the place, and  
being rather the besieged, then the besieger, had a great  
desire to put the matter to the hazard of a Battell: con-  
B firmed therein the more, for that the Iland had been burnt.  
For hauing benee for the most part wood, and (by reason  
it had lyen euer defart) without path, they were before  
the more afraid, and thought it the aduantage of the Ene-  
mie; for assaulting them out of sight, they might annoy  
a very great Armie that should offer to come aland. For  
their errors, being in the Wood, and their preparation  
could not so well haue benee discerned: whereas all the  
faults of their owne Armie should haue benee in sight. So  
that the Enemy might haue set vpon them suddenly; in  
C what part soeuer they had pleased; because the onset  
had benee in their owne election. Again, if they  
should by force come vp to fight with the *Lacedaemo-*  
*nians* at hand in the thicke Woods, the fewer, and skil-  
full of the wayes, hee thought would bee too hard for the  
many and vnskilfull. Besides, their owne Armie beeing  
great, it might receiue an ouerthrow before they could  
know of it, because they could not see where it was need-  
full to relieue one another.

These things came into his head, especially from the  
D losse hee receiued in *Ætolia*. Which in part also happe-  
ned, by occasion of the Woods. But the \* Souldiers, for  
want of roome, hauing benee forced to put in at the out-  
side of the Iland, to dresse their sinners with a watch be-  
fore them, and one of them hauing set fire on the Wood, it  
burnt on by little and little, and the Wind afterwards ri-  
sing, the most of it was burnt before they were aware. By  
this accident, *Demosithenes* the better discerning that the *L-*  
*acedaemonians* were more then hee had imagined, hauing be-  
fore, by victuall sent vnto them, thought them not so  
E many, did now prepare himselfe for the Enterprize, as a  
matter deserring the *Athenians* vtmost care, and as hauing  
better

The reason why *Demo-*  
*sithenes* durst not land in  
the Iland, to subdue the  
besieged by sight.

\* The Athenian Souldiers.

The wood of the Iland  
burnt by accident.



Cleon arrives at Pylos.

The Athenians invade the Island.

And kill those that were in the first and most remote watch from Pylos.

\* For the light-armed.  
 \* Thalamij, these were three ranks of rowers amongst the Athenians, the uppermost called Thranij, the second Zygia, and the last Thalamiz, of Thalamiz. In the Galij called a Bireme, there were no Zygiatiz, in a Trireme were all 3 ranks, in a Quadrireme and upwards, all the middle ranks were Zygiatiz: only the uppermost were Thraniz, and the undermost Thalamiz.

better commodity of landing in the Island, then before he A had; and both sent for the forces of such Confederates as were neere, and put in readinesse every other needfull thing. And Cleon, who had sent a Messenger before to signifie his coming, came himselfe also with those forces which he had required, unto Pylos. When they were both together, first they sent a Herald to the Campe in the Continent, to know if they would command those in the Island to deliuer vp themselves and their Armes without battell, to be held with easie imprisonment, till some agreement were made, touching the maine Warre. B Which when they refused, the Athenians for one day held their hands, but the next day, hauing put aboard vpon a few Gallies, all their men of Armes, they put off in the night, and landed a little before day on both sides of the Island, both from the Mayne, and from the Hauens, to the number of about 800 men of Armes, and marched vpon high speed towards the formost watch of the Island. For thus the Lacedaemonians lay quartered. In this formost watch were about thirty men of Armes. The middest, and eueneft part of the Island, and about the water, was C kept by Epitadas their Capitaine, with the greatest part of the whole number. And another part of them, which were not many, kept the last guard towards Pylos, which place to the Sea-ward was on a Cliffe, and least assailable by Land. For there was also a certaine Fort which was old, and made of chofen, not of hewne stones, which they thought would stand them in stead in case of violent retreat. Thus they were quartered. Now the Athenians presently killed those of the formost guard, (which they so ran to) in their Cabins, and as they were D taking Armes. For they knew not of their landing, but thought those Gallies, had come thither to Anchor in the night, according to custome, as they had been wont to doe. As soone as it was morning, the \* rest of the Army also landed, out of somewhat more then 70 Gallies, every one with such Armes as he had; being all that rowed (except only the \* Thalamij) eight hundred Archers, Targueticers as many; all the Messenians that came to aide them, and as many of them besides, as held any place about Pylos, except onely the Garrifon of the Fort it selfe. Demosthenes then E disposing his Army by two hundred, and more in a company,

A party, and in some lesse, at certaine distances, seized on all the higher grounds, to the end that the enemies compassed about on euery side, might the lesse know what to doe, or against what part to set themselves in battell, and be subject to the shot of the multitude from euery part; and when they should make head against those that fronted them, be charged behind; and when they should turne to those that were opposed to their flankes, be charged at once both behind and before. And which way soeuer they marched, the light-armed, and such as were meanliest provided of Armes, followed them at the backe, with B Arrowes, Darts, Stones, and Slings, who haue courage enough as farre off, and could not be charged, but would ouercome flying, and also presse the enemies when they should retyre. With this designe, Demosthenes, both intended his landing at first, and afterwards ordered his forces accordingly in the action. Those that were about Epitadas, who were the greatest part of those in the Island, when they saw that the formost guard was slaine, and that the Army marched towards them, put themselves in array, and went towards the men of Armes of the Athenians, with intent to charge them; for these were opposed to them in front, and the light-armed Souldiers on their flankes, and at their backs. But they could neither come to ioyne with them, nor any way make vse of their \* skill. For both the light-armed Souldiers kept them off, with shot from either side, and the men of Armes advanced not. Where the light-armed Souldiers approached neereft, they were driuen backe; but returning, they charged them afresh, being men armed lightly, and that D easily got out of their reach by running, especially the ground being vneasie, and rough, by hauing been formerly desert; so that the Lacedaemonians in their Armour, could not follow them. Thus for a little while they skirmished one against another, a farre off. But when the Lacedaemonians were no longer able to run out after them, where they charged, these light-armed Souldiers seeing them lesse earnest in chasing them, and taking courage chiefly from their fight, as being many times their number, and hauing also been vsed to them so much, as not to thinke them now E so dangerous as they had done, for that they had not receiued so much hurt at their hands, as their subdued mindes, because

The Athenians diuide themselves into many troopes, against the maine body of the Lacedaemonian Souldiers.

The fight betweene the Athenians, and the Lacedaemonians, in the middle of the Island.

\* The skill of fighting, a standing fight, was thought a peculiar vertue of the Lacedaemonians, as the Sea-fight was thought to the Athenians.



because they were to fight against the *Lacedemonians*, had A at their first landing pre-iudged, contemned them, and with a great cry ran all at once upon them, casting Stones, Arrowes, and Darts, as to euery man came next to hand. Vpon this cry, and assault, they were much terrified, as not accustomed to such kind of fight; and withall a great dust of the woods lately burnt, mounted into the ayre, so that by reason of the Arrowes, and Stones, that together with the dust flew from such a multitude of men, they could hardly see before them. Then the battell grew fore on the *Lacedemonians* side, for their \* lackes now gaue B way to the Arrowes, and the Darts that were throwne, stucke broken in them, so as they could not handle themselves, as neither seeing before them, nor hearing any direction giuen them, for the greater noyse of the enemy; but (danger being on all sides) were hopelesse to saue themselves vpon any side by fighting. In the end, many of them being now wounded, for that they could not shift their ground, they made their retreat in close order, to the last guard of the Iland, and to the watch that was there. When they once gaue ground, then were the light-armed Souldiers much more confident then before, and pressed vpon them with a mighty noyse. And as many of the *Lacedemonians* as they could intercept in their retreat, they slew; but the most of them recovered the Fort, and together with the watch of the same, put themselves in order to defend it in all parts that were subiect to assault. The *Athenians* following, could not now encompass and hemme them in, for the strong situation of the place, but assaulting them in the face, sought onely how to put them from the wall. And thus they held out a long time, D the better part of a day, either side tyred with the fight, and with thirst, and with the Sunne, one endeavouring to driue the enemy from the top, the other to keepe their ground. And the *Lacedemonians* defended themselves easilier now then before, because they were not now encompassed vpon their flankes. When there was no end of the businesse, the Captaine of the *Messenians* said vnto *Cleon*, and *Demofthenes*, that they spent their labour there in vaine, and that if they would deliuer vnto him a part of the Archers, and light-armed Souldiers, to E get vp by such a way as he himselfe should find out, and come

\* lacke. A kind of givell Armour, or of Stuffs close beaten like Feil.

The *Lacedemonians* retire to the Fort, where the last guard was placed.

The *Athenians* assault them there.

A come behinde vpon their backes, hee thought the entrance might bee forced. And having received the Forces hee asked, hee took his way from a place out of sight to the *Lacedemonians*; that hee might not be discovered; making his approach vnder the Clifles of the Iland, where they were continuall; in which part, trusting to the naturall strength thereof, they kept no watch, and with much labour, and hardly vntoene, came behinde them. And appearing suddenly from aboue at their backes, both terrified the Enemies with this sight of what they B expected not, and much confirmed the *Athenians* with the sight of what they expected. And the *Lacedemonians* being now charged with their shoc both before and behind, were in the same case (to compare small matters with great) that they were in at \* *Thermopylae*. For then they were slaine by the *Persians*, shut vp on both sides in a narrow path. And these now being charged on both sides, could make good the place no longer, but fighting, few against many, and being weak withall for want of foode, were at last forced to giue ground; and the *Athenians* by this time, were also Masters of all the entran- ces.

C But *Cleon* and *Demofthenes*, knowing that the more they gaue backe, the faster they would bee killed by their Armie, staid the fight, and held in the Souldiers, with desire to carry them aliuie to *Athens*, in case their spirits were so much broken, and their courage abated by this miserie, as vpon Proclamation made, they would bee content to deliuer vp their Armes. So they proclaimed, that they should deliuer vp their Armes, and themselves to the *Athenians*, to be disposed of as to them should seeme good.

D Vpon hearing heereof, the most of them threw downe their Bucklers, and shooke their hands aboue their heads, signifying their acceptation of what was proclaimed. Whereupon a Truce was made, and they came to treat, *Cleon* and *Demofthenes* of one side, and *Steyphon* the sonne of *Pharax*, on the other side. For of them that had Command there, *Epistatus*, who was the first, was slaine, and *Hippagretus*, who was chosen to succeed him, lay amongst the dead, though yet aliuie; and this man was the third to succeed in the Command by the Law, in case

H h

the

Some of the *Athenians* clumbe vp behind the *Lacedemonians*, vntoene, and appeare at their backes.

\* 5000. *Lacedemonians*; vnder their King *Leonidas*, in the Streight of *Thermopylae*; withstood 50000. *Persians*, till they were circumuenced, and charged both before and behinde, and so all slaine. Herod. lib. 7.

The *Lacedemonians* yeeld.

\* This manner of shewing their Commanders to be chosen in success, was in those times much vsed.



The Lacedæmonians yeeld  
up their Armes, and are  
carried prisoners to  
Athen.

The number of the slaine,  
and of the prisoners.

the others should miscarry. *Styphon*, and those that were A  
with him, said they would send ouer to the *Lacedæmonians*  
in the Continent, to know what they there would aduise  
them to; but the *Athenians* letting none goe thence, called  
for *Heralds* out of the Continent; and the question hauing  
beene twice or thrice asked, the last of the *Lacedæmonians*  
that came ouer from the Continent, brought them this  
Answer: *The Lacedæmonians bid you take aduice touching  
your selues, such as you shall thinke good, provided you doe nothing  
dishonourably.* Whereupon hauing consulted, they yeelded B  
vp themselves and their Armes; and the *Athenians* atten-  
ded them that day, and the night following, with a watch.  
But the next day, after they had set vp their Trophie in  
the Iland, they prepared to bee gone; and committed the  
prisoners to the custody of the Captaines of the Gallies.  
And the *Lacedæmonians* sent ouer a Herald, and tooke vp  
the bodies of their dead. The number of them that were  
slaine and taken aliue in the Iland, was thus. There went  
ouer into the Iland in all, foure hundred and twenty men  
of Armes; of these were sent away aliue, three hundred  
wanting eight, and the rest slaine. Of those that liued, C  
there were of the Citie it selfe of *Sparta*, one hundred and  
twenty. Of the *Athenians* there dyed not many, for it was  
not standing fight.

The whole time of the siege of these men in the Iland,  
from the fight of the Gallies, to the fight in the Iland,  
was 72. dayes, of which, for 20. dayes, victuall was al-  
lowed to bee carried to them, that is to say, in the time  
that the Ambassadors were away, that went about the  
Peace; in the rest, they were fed by such onely as put in  
thither by stealth, and yet there was both Corne and other D  
food left in the Iland. For their Captaine *Epitadas* had  
distributed it more sparingly then hee needed to haue  
done. So the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians* departed  
from *Pylus*, and went home both of them with their Ar-  
mies, And the promise of *Cleon*, as senselesse as it was,  
tooke effect: For within twenty dayes he brought home  
the men, as he had undertaken.

Of all the accidents of this Warre, this same fell out  
the most contrary to the opinion of the *Grecians*. For they  
expected that the *Lacedæmonians* should neuer, neither by E  
Famine, nor whatsoeuer other necessity, haue bin constrain-  
ned

The yielding of the *Lace-  
dæmonians* was contrary  
to the opinion had of  
their vertue.

A ned to deliuer vp their Armes, but haue dyed with  
them in their hands, fighting as long as they had beene  
able; and would not beleue that those that yeelded, were  
like to those that were slaine: and when one afterwards,  
of the *Athenian* Confederates, asked one of the prisoners,  
by way of insulting, if they which were slaine, were vali-  
ant men; hee answered, that a Spindle (meaning an Ar-  
row) deserued to bee valued at a high rate, if it could  
know who was a good man. Signifying, that the slaine  
were such as the Stones and Arrowes chanced to light  
B on.

After the arriual of the men, the *Athenians* ordered, that  
they should be kept in bonds, till there should bee made  
some agreement; and if before that, the *Peloponnesians*  
should inuade their Territory, then to bring them forth  
& kill them. They tooke order also in the same Assembly,  
for the settling of the Garrison at *Pylus*. And the *Messenians*  
of *Naupactus*, hauing sent thither such men of their own  
as were fittest for the purpose, as to their native Countrey,  
(for *Pylus* is in that Countrey which belonged once to the  
C *Messenians*) infested *Laconia* with Robberies, and did them  
much other mischief, as being of the same Language.

The *Lacedæmonians*, not hauing in times past beene ac-  
quainted with robberies, and such Warre as that, and be-  
cause their *Helotes* ranne ouer to the Enemie, fearing also  
some greater innouation in the Countrey, tooke the mat-  
ter much to heart; and though they would not be knowne  
of it to the *Athenians*, yet they sent Ambassadors, and en-  
deuoured to get the restitution both of the Fort of *Pylus*,  
and of their men. But the *Athenians* aspired to greater mat-  
ters, and the Ambassadors, though they came often a-  
bout it, yet were alwayes sent away without effect. These  
were the proceedings at *Pylus*.

Presently after this, the same Summer, the *Athenians*  
with 80. Gallies, 2000. men of Armes of their own City,  
and 200. Horse, in boats, built for transportation of Hor-  
ses, made War vpon the Territory of *Corinth*. There went  
also with them, *Milesians*, *Andrians*, and *Carystians* of their  
Confederates. The Generall of the whole Army was *Ni-  
clas* (some of *Niceratus*, with 2. other in Commission with  
E him. Betimes in a morning, they put in at a place  
betweene *Chersonesus* and *Rebitus*, on that shore, aboue  
Hh 2 which

The *Lacedæmonian* priso-  
ners kept in bonds at  
*Athen*, to be made vie of  
in making the peace, or  
else vpon the first inuasi-  
on of *Attica* to be slaine.

*Nicer* warreth in the  
Territory of *Corinth* with  
good fortune.



The Corinthians hearing of their coming, assemble their forces to hinder their landing.

The Athenians and Corinthians fight.

\* A Hymne accustomed to be sung, one before Battell, another after victory.

which standeth the Hill *Solygius*, whereon the *Dorians* in A old time sate downe, to make Warre on the *Corinthians* in the Citie of *Corinth*, that were then *Aolians*, and vpon which there standeth now a Village, called also *Solygia*. From the shore where the Gallies came in, this Village is distant twenty furlongs, and the Citie of *Corinth*, sixtie, and the *Isthmus* twenty. The *Corinthians* hauing long before from *Argos* had intelligence, that an Armie of the *Athenians* was coming against them, came all of them with their forces to the *Isthmus*, (saue onely such as dwelt without the *Isthmus*, and five hundred Garrison Souldiers, B absent in *Ambracia* and *Leucadia*) all the rest of military age came forth, to attend the *Athenians*, where they should put in. But when the *Athenians* had put to shore in the night vnseene, and that aduertisement thereof was given them by signes put vp into the ayre, they left the one halfe of their Forces in *Cenchrea*, lest the *Athenians* should goe against *Crommyon*; and with the other halfe made haste to meete them. Battell, one of their Commanders, (for there were two of them present at the Battell) with one Squadron, went toward the Village of *Solygia*; being an open C one, to defend it; and *Lycophron* with the rest charged the Enemy. And first they gave the onser on the right wing of the *Athenians*, which was but newly landed before *Chersonesus*, and afterwards they charged likewise the rest of the Armie. The Battell was hot, and at hand-strokes: And the right wing of the *Athenians* and *Carystians* (for of these consisted their vmoost Files) sustained the charge of the *Corinthians*, and with much adoe draue them backe. But as they retired, they came vp, (for the place was all rising ground) to a dry Wall, and from thence, being on D the vpper ground, threw downe stones at them; and after hauing sung the \* *Pæan*, came againe close to them, whom when the *Athenians* abode, the Battell was againe at hand-strokes. But a certaine Band of *Corinthians* that came in to the ayde of their owne left wing, put the right wing of the *Athenians* to flight, and chased them to the Sea-side. But then from their Gallies they turned head againe, both the *Athenians*, and the *Carystians*. The other part of their Armie continued fighting on both sides; especially the right wing of the *Corinthians*, where *Lycophron* fought a E gainst the left wing of the *Athenians*: for they expected that

A that the *Athenians* would attempt to goe to *Solygia*; so they held each other to it a long time, neither side giuing ground. But in the end (for that the *Athenians* had Horlemen, which did them great seruice, seeing the other had none) the *Corinthians* were put to flight, and retired to the Hill, where they laid downe their Armes, and descended no more, but there rested. In this Retreat, the greatest part of their right wing was slaine, and amongst others, *Lycophron*, one of the Generals. But the rest of the Army being in this manner, neither much vrged, nor retiring in much haste, when they could do no other, made their Retreat vp the Hill, & there sate downe. The *Athenians* seeing them come no more downe to Battell, rifled the dead bodies of the Enemy, and tooke vp their owne, and presently erected a Trophie on the place. That halfe of the *Corinthians* that lay at *Cenchrea*, to watch the *Athenians*, that they went not against *Crommyon*, saw not this Battell, for the Hill *Oæneus*; but when they saw the dust, and to knew what was in hand, they went presently to their ayde: so did also the \* old men of *Corinth* from the Citie, when they vnderstood how the matter had succeeded. The *Athenians*, when all these were coming vpon them together, imagining them to haue been the succours of the neighbouring Cities of *Peloponnesus*, retired speedily to their Gallies, carrying with them the booty, and the bodies of their dead, all saue two; which not finding, they left. Being aboard, they crossed ouer to the Islands on the other side, and from thence \* sent a Herald, and fetched away those two dead bodies which they left behinde. There were slaine in this battell, *Corinthians*, two hundred and twelue, and *Athenians*, D somewhat vnder fifty.

The *Athenians* putting off from the Islands, layed the same day to *Crommyon*, in the Territory of *Corinth*, distant from the Citie a hundred and twenty Furlongs; where anchoring, they wasted the Fields, and stayed all that night. The next day, they sailed along the shore, hat to to the Territory of *Epaurum*, whereinto they made some little incursion from their Gallies, and then went to *Epaurum*, betwene *Epaurum* and *Trachis*, and there tooke in the *Isthmus* of *Chiron* with a Wall, and placed a Garrison in it, which afterwards excised robberies in the Territories of *Trachis*, *Hallas*, and *Epaurum*; and when they

The Corinthians are put to flight.

\* It was said before, that all the Corinthians of military age were come forth.

\* To fetch off the dead by a Herald, was a confession of being the weaker; but yet Nicias chooseth rather to renounce the reputation of victory, then omit an act of piety. Besides, the people were unusually full of the neglect of the dead bodies, and more humane by their courage on the capture of the dead Battell at Arginus, among the Athenians waile other parts of the same Coast.



The execution of the  
Corcyraean banished men,  
and end of that sedition.

Truce granted to the  
banished men, with con-  
dition that the same  
should be voyd, if any of  
them offered to make an  
escape.

The fraud of the Corcy-  
raean to entrappe the ba-  
nished men.

The truce broken, and  
the outlaws put into  
the hands of the Com-  
mons.

The Corcyraean take the  
Outlaws out by forces,  
and make them passe the  
Pikes.

they had fortified this place, they returned home with A their Fleet.

About the same time that these things were in doing, Eurymedon and Sophocles, after their departure from Pylus with the Athenian Fleet, towards Sicily, arriving at Corcyra, ioyned with those of the Citie, and made Warre vpon those Corcyraeans, which lay encamped vpon the Hill Istone, and which, after the sedition, had come ouer, and both made themselves masters of the Field, and much annoyed the Citie: and hauing assaulted their fortification, tooke it. But the men all in one troupe, escaped to a certaine high B ground, and thence made their composition, which was this; That they should deliuer vp the Strangers that ayded them; and that they themselves, hauing rendred their Arms, should stand to the iudgement of the People of Athens. Heereupon the Generals granted them truce, and transported them to the Island of Psychia, to bee there in custodie till the Athenians should send for them, with this condition, That if any one of them should be taken running away, then the truce to bee broken for them all.

But the Patrons of the Commons of Corcyra, fearing C lest the Athenians would not kill them when they came thither, deuise against them this plot. To some few of those in the Island, they secretly send their friends, and instruct them to say, as if, forsooth, it were for good will, that it was their best course, with all speed, to get away, (and withall, to offer to prouide them of a Boat) for that the Athenian Commanders intended verily to deliuer them to the Corcyraean people.

When they were perswaded to doe so, and that a Boat was treacherously prepared, as they rowed away, they D were taken, and the Truce being now broken, were all giuen vp into the hands of the Corcyraeans. It did much further this Plot, that to make the pretext seeme more serious, and the agents in it lesse fearefull, the Athenian Generals gaue out, that they were nothing pleased that the men should be carried home by others; whilst they themselves were to goe into Sicily, and the honour of it be ascribed to those that should conuoy them. The Corcyraeans hauing receiued them into their hands, imprisoned them in a certaine Edifice, from whence afterwards they tooke E them out by twenty at a time, and made them passe through

A through a Lane of men of Armes, bound together, and receiving stroakes and thrusts from those on eyther side, according as any one espyed his Enemie. And to halt the pace of those that went slowliest on, others were set to follow them with Whips.

They had taken out of the Roome in this manner, and flaine, to the number of threescore, before they that remained knew it, who thought they were but remoued, and carried to some other place. But when they knew the truth, some or other hauing told them, they then cryed out to the Athenians, and said, that if they would themselves kill them, they should doe it; and refused any more to go out of the Roome, nor would suffer, they said, as long as they were able, any man to come in. But neither had the Corcyraeans any purpose to force entrance by the doore, but getting vp to the top of the House, vncouered the roofe, and threw Tyles, and shot Arrowes at them. They in prison defended themselves as well as they could, but many also slew themselves with the Arrowes shot by the Enemie, by thrusting them into their throats, and strangled themselves with the cords of certaine beds that were in the Roome, and with ropes made of their owne garments rent in peeces. And hauing continued most part of the night, (for night ouertooke them in the action) partly strangling themselves, by all such meanes as they found, and partly shot at from aboue, they all perished. When day came, the Corcyraeans laid them one \* acrosse another in Carts, and carried them out of the City. And of their Wiues, as many as were taken in the Fortification, they made bond-women. In this manner were the Corcyraeans D that kept the \* Hill, brought to destruction by the Commons. And thus ended this farre-spread sedition, for so much as concerned this present Warre: for of other seditions there remained nothing worth the relation. And the Athenians being arriued in Sicily, whither they were at first bound, prosecuted the Warre there, together with the rest of their Confederates of those parts.

In the end of this Summer, the Athenians that lay at Naupactus, went forth with an Armie, and tooke the City of \* Anactorium, belonging to the Corinthians, and lying at E the mouth of the Ambracian Gulfe, by Treason. And when they had put forth the Corinthians, the Acarnanians held

The outlaws refuse to  
goe out to execution.

They kill themselves.

The miserable end of the  
banished men, which was  
also the end of the sedition.

\* *expansus*, signifieth properly  
after the manner that  
boats or flutels are platted.

\* Istone.

The Athenians take An-  
actorium from the Corinthi-  
ans, and put it into the  
hands of the Acarnanians.  
\* This City belonged to the  
Corcyraeans and Corinthi-  
ans in common, but a  
little before this Warre, the  
Corinthians carry away  
captives the men that were  
in it, and possesse it alone:  
and those Corcyraeans  
wronght the Sedition before  
related.



The end of the seventh Summer.

*Aripharnes*, an Ambassadour from the King of Persia to the Lacedemonians, intercepted, and brought to Athens, and his Letters read.

The King of Persia's Letters to the Lacedemonians translated into Greek, and read at Athens.

The Chians are suspected, and forced to pull downe their new-built Walles.

THE EIGHTH YEERE.

The Lesbian Outlawes make warr vpon the Athenian dominions, in the Continent neere Lesb.

\* Littorales. Cities situated on the Sea Shore.

held it with a Colonie sent thither from all parts of their owne Nation. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, *Aristides* the sonne of *Archippus*, one of the Commanders of a Fleet which the Athenians had sent out to gather Tribute from their Confederates, apprehended *Ariaphernes* a Persian, in the Towne of *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, going from the King to Lacedemon. When he was brought to Athens, the Athenians translated his Letters out of the Assyrian Language into Græcke, and read them: wherein, amongst many other things that were written to the Lacedemonians, the principall was this, **B** That hee knew not what they meant; for many Ambassadors came, but they spake not the same things. If therefore they had any thing to say certaine, they should send sombody to him; with this Persian. But *Ariaphernes* they send afterwards away in a Gallie, with Ambassadors of their owne, to *Ephesus*. And there encountering the newes, that King *Artaxerxes*, the sonne of *Xerxes*, was lately dead, (for about that time he dyed) they returned home.

The same Winter also, the Chians demolished their new Wall, by command of the Athenians, vpon suspicion **C** that they intended some innouation, notwithstanding they had given the Athenians their faith, and the best security they could, to the intent they should let them bee as they were. Thus ended this Winter, and the seventh yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, in the very beginning, at a change of the Moone, the Sunne was eclipsed in part; and in the beginning of the same Moneth, happened an Earthquake.

At this time, the Mitylenian, and other Lesbian Outlawes, **D** most of them residing in the Continent, with mercenary Forces out of *Peloponnesus*, and some which they leauied where they were, seazd on *Rhoerium*, and for two thousand *Pbocean* Staters, render it againe, without doing them other harme. After this they came with their Forces to *Antander*, and tooke that Citie also by Treason. They had likewise a Designe, to set free the rest of the Cities called \* *Actæa*, which were in the occupation formerly of the Mitylenians, but subiect to the Athenians: but about all the rest, *Antander*, which when they had once gotten, (for **E** there they might easily build Gallies, because there was store

A store of Timber, and mount *Ida* was about their heads) they might issue from thence with other their preparation, and infect *Lesbos* which was neere, and bring into their power the *Eolique* Townes in the Continent. And this were those men preparing.

The Athenians the same Summer, with sixty Gallies, 2000 men of Armes, and a few horsemen, taking with them also the Milesians, and some other of their Confederates made Warre vpon *Cythera*, vnder the Conduct of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, *Nicostratus* the sonne of *Diotrephes*, **B** and *Autocles* the sonne of *Tolmaeus*. This \* *Cythera* is an Island vpon the Coast of *Laconia*, ouer against *Malea*. The Inhabitants be Lacedemonians, of the same that dwell about them.

And euery yeere there goeth ouer vnto them from *Sparta* a Magistrate called \* *Cytherodices*. They likewise sent ouer men of Armes from time to time, to lie in Garrison there, and tooke much care of the place. For it was the place where their \* ships vsed to put in from *Egypt*, and *Libia*, and by which *Laconia* was the lesse infected by **C** theecues from the Sea, being that way onely subiect to that mischief. For the Island lyeth wholly out, into the *Sicilian* and *Creticke* Seas: The Athenians arriving with their Army, with ten of their Gallies, and 2000 men of Armes of the Milesians, tooke a towne lying to the Sea, called *Scandea*, and with the rest of their forces, hauing landed in the parts of the Island towards *Malea*, marched into the Citie it selfe of the *Cythereans*, lying likewise to the Sea. The *Cythereans* they found standing all in Armes prepared for them, and after the battell began, the *Cythereans* for **D** a little while made resistance, but soone after turned their backs, and fled, into the higher part of the Citie; and afterwards compounded with *Nicias* and his fellow-Commanders, That the \* Athenians should determine of them whatsoeuer they thought good, but death. *Nicias* had had some conference with certaine of the *Cythereans* before; which was also a cause that those things which concerned the accord both now and afterwards, were both the sooner, and with the more fauour dispatched. For the Athenians did but remove the *Cythereans*, and that also because they were Lacedemonians, **E** and because the Island lay in that manner vpon the coast of *Laconia*. After this composition, hauing as they went by

The Athenians led by *Nicias*, subdue *Cythera*, an Island ouer against *Laconia*, and inhabited by Lacedemonians

\* Now *Cerigo*.

\* The Iudge of *Cythera*.

\* *Scandea*, a Ship of the round forme of building, Merchants ships.

The *Cythereans* yeeld to *Nicias*, referring themselves to the people of Athens for any thing but death.

\* The Athenian people.

The Athenians remove them from their seats.



Lib. 4.	The History of THUCYDIDES. Lib. 4.
<p>The Lacedæmonians begin to be dejected with their great losses.</p> <p>* Sphacteria, where their men were taken, and carried to Athens.</p> <p>* The Lacedæmonians rely on each other, and would not, as men of Arms, in whole valour and skill in fight, they showed much, as a peculiar virtue, and as for Sphacteria, they made less reckning, and only used such of them as were brought in by their Confederates.</p> <p>* Sphacteria.</p> <p>The Athenians waste the Coast of Lædonia.</p> <p>* So called from Xanthus a Haven, because it is full of Hauens.</p> <p>Malmasia.</p>	<p>received Scandea, a Towne lying vpon the Haven, and put a guard vpon the Cythereans, they sayled to Aline &amp; most of the Townes vpon the Sea-side. And going sometimes a-land, and staying where they saw cause, wasted the Countrey for about seuen dayes together. The Lacedæmonians though they saw the Athenians had Cythera, and expected withall that they would come to Land, in the same manner, in their owne Territory, yet came not forth with their vnited forces to resist them; but distributed a number of men of Armes into sundry parts of their Territory, to guard it wheresoeuer there was need, B and were otherwise also exceeding watchfull, fearing lest some inuouation should happen in the State, as hauing received a very great and vunexpected losse in the * Island, and the Athenians hauing gotten Pylus and Cythera, and as being on all sides encompassed with a busie and vnauoydable Warre; In so much that contrary to their custome they ordayned 400 * Horsemen, and some Archers. And if euer they were fearefull in matter of Warre, they were so now, because it was contrary to their owne way, to contend in a Nauall Warre, and against Athenians, who C thought they lost whatsoeuer they not attempted. Withall, their so many misfortunes, in so short a time, falling out so contrary to their owne expectation, exceedingly affrighted them. And fearing lest some such calamity should againe happen, as they had receiued in the * Island, they durst the lesse to hazzard battell; and thought that whatsoeuer they should goe about, would miscarry, because their mindes not vsed formerly to losses, could now warrant them nothing. As the Athenians therefore wasted the Maritime parts of the Countrey, and disbarked neere any Garrison, those of the Garrison for the most part stirred not, both as knowing themselves singly to be too small a number, and as being in that maner dejected. Yet one Garrison fought about Corryna, and Aphrodisia, and frighted in, the straggling rabble of light-armed Souldiers, but when the men of Armes had receiued them, it retyred againe, with the losse of a few whom they also rifled of their Armes. And the Athenians, after they had erected a Trophie, put off againe, and went to Cythera. From thence they sayled about to Epidaurus, called * Limera, and E hauing wasted some part of that Territory, came to Thyrea,</p>

Lib. 4.	The History of THUCYDIDES	243.
<p>A</p> <p>B</p> <p>C</p> <p>D</p> <p>E</p>	<p>Thyrea, which is of the Territory called Cynuria, but is nevertheless the middle border between Argia and Laconia. The Lacedæmonians possessing this Citie, gaue the same for an habitation to the Æginetæ, after they were driven out of Ægina, both for the benefit they had receiued from them, about the time of the Earthquake, and of the insurrection of the Helots; and also for that being subject to the Athenians, they had neuertheless gone euer the same way with the Lacedæmonians. When the Athenians were coming towards them, the Æginetæ left the Wall which they hapned to be then building toward the Sea-side, and retired vpon into the Citie about, where they dwelt, and which was not about tenne Furlongs from the Sea. There was also with them, one of those Garrisons which the Lacedæmonians had distributed into the seuerall parts of the Countrey, and these, though they helped them to build the Fort below, yet would not now enter with them into the Towne (though the Æginetæ intreated them) apprehending danger in being coapt vpon within the Wall, and therefore retiring into the highest ground, lay still there, as finding themselves too weak to give them Battell. In the meane time the Athenians came in, and marching vpon, presently, with their whole Arme, won Thyrea, and burnt it, and destroyed whatsoeuer was in it. The Æginetæ, as many as were not slaine in the affray, they carried prisoners to Athens; amongst whom Tantalus also, the sonne of Patroclus, Captaine of such Lacedæmonians as were amongst them, was wounded, and taken aliue. They carried likewise with them some few men of Cythera, whom for safeties sake they thought good to remove into some other place. These therefore, the Athenians decreed, should be placed in the * Islands. And that the rest of the Cythereans, at the Tribute of foure Talants, should inhabit their owne Territory. That the Æginetæ, as many as they had taken, (out of former inueterate hatred) should be put to death. And that Tantalus should be put in bonds amongst those Lacedæmonians that were taken in the * Island.</p> <p>In Sicily the same Summer, was concluded a cessation of Armes, first, betwene the Samariotians, and the Galeans. But afterwards the rest of the Sicilians, assembling by their Ambassadors out of euery City as Gela, held a Conference amongst themselves, for making of a Peace wherein,</p>	<p>The Athenians burnt Thyrea, slay and make prisoners of all the Inhabitants being Æginetæ.</p> <p>Tantalus a Lacedæmonian Captaine carried prisoner to Athens.</p> <p>The Decree of the Athenian people concerning the Cythereans, the Æginetæ taken in Thyrea, and Tantalus a Lacedæmonian that was amongst them.</p> <p>* Oyladi.</p> <p>The Æginetæ put to death.</p> <p>* Sphacteria.</p> <p>The Sicilians make a general peace, by the advice of Hierocles, and so discontinue the Athenians, that waited to take advantage of their discord.</p>



wherein, after many opinions deliuered by men disagree. A  
ing, and requiring satisfaction, euery one as hee thought  
himselfe preiudiced, *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, a  
*Syracusan*, who also preuailed with them the most, spake  
vnto the Assembly, to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF HER- MOCRATES for Peace.

**M**EN of Sicily, I am neither of the least Citie, nor of the  
most afflicted with Warre, that am now to speake, and to B  
deliuer the opinion which I take to conduce most to the common be-  
nefit of all Sicily. Touching Warre, how calamitow a thing it is,  
to what end should a man, particularizing the evils thereof, make a  
long speech before men that already know it? For neither doth the  
not knowing of them necessitate any man to enter into Warre, nor the  
feare of them, diuert any man from it, when he thinks it will turne  
to his aduantage. But rather it so fallies out, that the one thinks  
the gaine greater then the danger; and the other prefers danger be-  
fore present losse. But least they should both the one and the other  
doe it vnreasonably, exhortations vnto peace are profitable, and C  
will be very much worth to vs, if we will follow them, at this pre-  
sent. For it was out of a desire that euery Citie had to assure their  
owne, both that we set our selues into the Warre, and also that we  
endeuour now, by reasoning the matter, to returne to mutuall ami-  
ty. Which if it succeed not so well, that we may depart satisfied e-  
uery man with reason, wee will be at Warres againe. Neuerthelesse  
you must know, that this Assembly, if we be wise, ought not to bee  
onely for the commodity of the Cities in particular, but how to pre-  
serue Sicily in general, now sought to bee subdued (at least in my  
opinion) by the Athenians. And you ought to thinke, that the A- D  
thenians are more vrgent perswaders of the Peace then any  
words of mine; who hauing, of all the Grecians, the greatest  
power, lye here with a few Gallies, to obserue our errors, and by  
a lawfull title of alliance, banksomely to accomodate their naturall ho-  
stility, to their best aduantage. For if wee enter into a Warre, and  
call in these men, who are apt enough to bring their Armie in, vn-  
called, and if we weaken our selues at our owne charges, and withall  
cut out for them the dominion here, it is likely, when they shall  
see vs spent, they will sometime hereafter come vpon vs, with a  
greater Fleet, and attempt to bring all these States into their sub- E  
jection. Now, if we were wise, we ought rather to call in Confe-  
derates,

A derates, and vndergae dangers, for the winning of somewhat that is  
none of ours, then for the empayring of what we already haue; and to  
beleue, that nothing so much destroyes a Citie as Sedition; and that  
Sicily, though wee the inhabitants thereof bee insidiated by the A-  
thenians, as one body, is neuerthelesse Citie against Citie in Sediti-  
on within it selfe. In contemplation whereof, weaught, man with  
man, and Citie with Citie, to returne againe into amity, and with  
one consent, to endeouour the safety of all Sicily; and not to haue this  
conceit, that though the \* *Dorians* be the Athenians enemies, yet  
the \* *Chalchideans* are safe, as being of the race of the Ionians.  
B For they innade not these diuided races, vpon hatred of a side, but  
vpon a conetous desire of those necessities which we enioy in common.  
And this they haue proved themselves, in their coming hither to ayde  
the Chalchideans. For though they neuer received any aide by ver-  
tue of their League, from the Chalchideans, yet haue they on their  
part bene more forward to helpe them, then by the League they were  
bound vnto. Indeed the Athenians, that conet and meditate these  
things, are to be pardoned. I blame not those that are willing to reigne,  
but those that are most willing to be subiect. For it is the nature of  
man, euery where to command such as gine way, and to be shy of such  
C as assaile. Wee are too blame, that know this, and doe not provide  
accordingly, and make it our first care of all, to take good order against  
the common feare. Of which wee should some bee deliuered, if wee  
would agree amongst our selues. For the Athenians come not a-  
gainst vs out of their owne Countrey, but from theirs here, that haue  
called them in. And so, not warre by Warre, but all our quarrels shall  
be ended by peace, without trouble. And those that haue bene cal-  
led in, as they came with faire pretence to iniure vs, so shall they with  
faire reason bee dismissed by vs without their errand. And thus much  
for the profit that will be found by aduising wisely concerning the A-  
D thenians. But when Peace is confessed by all men to be the best of  
things, why should wee not make it also in respect of our selues? Or  
doe you thinke perhaps, if any of you possesse a good thing, or bee pres-  
sed with an euill, that Peace is not better then Warre, to remoue the  
later, or preserue the former, to both? or that it hath not honours,  
and eminence more free from danger? or whatseuer else one might  
discourse at large concerning Warre? Which things considered, you  
ought not to make light of my aduice, but rather make vse of it, euery  
one to provide for his owne safety. Now if some man bee strongly con-  
E cecited to goe through with some designe of his, be it by right or by vio-  
lence, let him take heed that hee faile not, so much the more to his  
griefe, as it is contrary to his hope, knowing that many men ere now,  
hunting

\* The Dorians and Ionians are two Nations, out of which almost all the people of Greece were descended. The Chalchideans and Athenians were Ionians, and the Lacedemonians, and most of Peloponnesus, were Dorians. Hence it is, that the Chalchideans might be thought left, though the Athenians invaded Sicily, but the Dorians not.



hunting after reuenge on such as had done them iniury, and others A  
 trusting by some strength they haue had, to take away anothers right,  
 haue the first sort in stead of being reuenged, been destroyed; and the  
 other, in stead of winning from others, left behind them what they had  
 of their owne. For reuenge succeeds not according to Iustice, as that  
 because an iniury hath bene done, it should therefore prosper, nor is  
 strength therefore sure, because hopefull. It is the instabili-  
 ty of Fortune, that as most predominant in things to come, which though  
 it be the most deceivable of all things yet appears to be the most pro-  
 fitable. For whilst every one feare it alike, we proceed against each  
 other with the greater providence. Now therefore terrified doubly B  
 both with the implicate feare of the incertainty of euents, and with the  
 terror of the Athenians present; and taking these for hindrances  
 sufficient, to haue made vs come short of what we had generally con-  
 ceined to effect, let vs send away our enemies that honer ouer vs, and  
 make an eternall peace amongst our selues, or if not that, then a Truce,  
 at least for as long as may be, and put off our priuate quarrels to some  
 other time. In summe, let vs know this, that following my counsell, we  
 shall euery of vs haue our Cities free, whereby being Masters of our  
 selues, we shall be able, to remunerate according to their merit; such as  
 doe vs good on harme. Whereas reiecting it and following the coun- C  
 sell of others, our contention shall no more be how to be reuenged, or at  
 the best, if it be, we must be forced to become friends to our greatest  
 enemies, and enemies to such as we ought not. For my part, as I sayd  
 in the beginning, I bring to this the greatest Citie, and which is rather  
 an assaillant then assailed; and yet foreseeing these things, I hold it fit  
 to come to an agreement, and not so to hurt our enemies, as to hurt our  
 selues more. Nor yet through foolish \* spight will I looke to be follow-  
 ed as absolute in my will, and master of Fortune; which I cannot com-  
 mand, but will also giue way where it is reason. And so I looke the rest  
 should doe as well as I; and that of your selues, and not forced to it by D  
 the enemy. For it is no dishonour to be overcome kinsmen of kinsmen,  
 one Dorian of another Dorian; and one Chalcidean of another  
 of his owne race, or in sum, any one by another of vs, being neighbours,  
 and cohabiters of the same Region, encompassed by the Sea, and all cal-  
 led by one name Sicilians. Who, as I conceiue, will both warre when  
 it happens, and againe by common conferences make peace by our owne  
 selues. But when Forrainers inuade vs, we shall, if wise, write all of  
 vs to encounter them; in as much as being weakned singly, wee are in  
 danger vniuersally. As for Confederates, let vs neuer hereafter, call  
 in any, nor Arbitrators. For so shall Sicily attaine these two bene- E  
 fits, to be ridde of the Athenians, and of Domestique Warre for the  
 present,

A present, and to be inhabited by our selues with liberty, and less  
 infatigued by others for the time to come.

Hermocrates hauing thus spoken, the Sicilians followed  
 his aduice, and agreed amongst themselves, That the Warre  
 should cease, euery one retaining what they then presently enioyed.  
 And that the Camarinæans should haue Morgantina, paying for  
 the same vnto the Syracusians; a certaine summe of money then  
 assessed.

They that were Confederates with the Athenians, cal-  
 ling such of the Athenians vnto them, as were in authority, B  
 told them that they also were willing to compound, and  
 be comprehended in the same Peace. And the Athenians  
 approuing it, they did so; and hereupon the Athenians  
 departed out of Sicily. The people of Athens, when their  
 Generals came home banished two, namely Pythodorus, and  
 Sophocles, and laid a Fine vpon the third, which was Eury-  
 medon, as men that might haue subdued the estates of Sic-  
 ily, but had been bribed to returne. So great was their  
 fortune at that time, that they thought nothing could  
 C crosse them, but that they might haue achieved both easie,  
 and hard enterprizes with great & slender forces alike. The  
 cause whereof, was the vnrasonable prosperity of most  
 of their designes, subministring strength vnto their hope.

The same Summer the Megareans in the Citie of Mega-  
 ra, pitched both by the Warre of the Athenians, who inua-  
 ded their Territory, with their whole forces, euery yeere  
 twice, and by their owne Outlawes, from Pegæa, who in a  
 sedition driven out by the Commons, grievously afflicted  
 them with robberies, began to talke one to another, how it  
 was fit to call them home againe, and not to let their Citie D  
 by both these meanes to be ruined. The friends of  
 those without, perceiving the humour, they also, more  
 openly now, then before, required to haue it brought to  
 Counsell. But the Ratons of the Commons, feeling that  
 they with the Commons, by reason of the miseries they  
 were in, should not be able to carry it against the other  
 side, made an offer to Hippocrates, the sonne of Aniphanes, and  
 Demophilenes the sonne of Aristobolus, Commanders of the  
 Athenian Army, to deliver them the Citie, as esteeming that  
 E counsell so dangerous for themselves, that the reduction  
 of those whom they had before shut out, would be agreed,

The substance of the  
 conditions of the Peace  
 in Sicily.  
 Camarina.

The Athenians depart Si-  
 cily, and their Commis-  
 sioners punished as traitors.  
 Eucleus haue left Sicily for  
 a bribe.

\* Nothing was more frequent  
 in the Athenian Affe. When  
 at this time, when they were  
 thus united, to accuse one an-  
 other of bribery; for it was a  
 sure way to win fauour with  
 the people, who thought that  
 nothing was able to resist  
 their power.

The Athenians attempt to  
 take Pegæa by treason.

The heads of the Com-  
 mons doe hinder the re-  
 turne of the Outlawes. I  
 plot, the betraying friends  
 Citie to the Athenians.



The plot laid by the Traitors for the putting of the Athenians into the Towne.

\* This Island lying before the Haven Nisæa, made the Port, and the Athenians kept in it, an ordinary Garrison, ever since they took it first, and could see all the Haven, and what vessels lay in it, but could not enter.

The plot of the Traitors, to give the Athenians the Long-walls.

\* To get booty from the Athenians.

\* Not the Gates of Megara, but the Gates in the Long-walls were vnto Nisæa, as appears by the Narration, in page 108.

\* To take it in, for it was almost morning.

The Athenians win the Long-walls.

\* Those that watched in that part of Nisæa, which was neerest to this Gate of the Long-walls.

agreed, that first, the Athenians should possesse themselves A of the Long-walls, (these were about eight furlongs in length, and reached from the Citie to Nisæa, their Haven) thereby to cut of the aide of the Peloponnesians, in Nisæa, in which (the better to assure Megara to the side) there lay no other Souldiers in Garrison, but they. And then afterwards, that these men, would attempt to deliuer them the City aboue, which would the more easily succeed, if that were effected first. The Athenians therefore, after all was done, and said on both sides, and euery thing ready, sayled away by night to \* Minoa, an Island of the Megare- B ans, with 600 men of Armes led by Hippocrates, and sette downe in a certaine pit, out of which Bricks had bene made for the walles, and which was not farre off. But they that were with the other Commander Demosthenes, light-armed Plateans, and others called Peripoli, lay in ambush at the Temple of Mars, not so farre off as the former. And none of the Citie perceiued any thing of this, but onely such as had peculiar care to know the passages of this same night. When it was almost day, the Megare- C an Traitors did thus. They had bene accustomed long, as men that went out for \* booty, with leaue of the Magistrates, of whom they had obtained by good Offices, the opening of the \* Gates, to carry out a little Boate, \* such as wherein the watermen vsed an Oare in either hand, and to conueigh it by night, downe the Ditch to the Sea-side in a Cart; and in a Cart to bring it backe againe, and set it within the Gates, to the end that the Athenians which lay in Minoa, might not know where to watch for them, no Boat being to be seene in the Haven. At this time was that Cart at the Gates, which was opened according to D custome, as for the \* Boate. And the Athenians, seeing it (for so it was agreed on) arose from their Ambush, and ran with all speed, to get in before the Gates should bee shut againe, and to be there whilst the Cart was yet in the Gates and kept them open. And first those Plateans, and Peripoli, that were with Demosthenes, ranne in, in that same place where the Trophie is now extant; and fighting presently within the Gates (for those Peloponnesians that were \* neerest heard the squire) the Plateans ouercame those that resisted, and made good the Gates for the Athe- E nian men of Armes, that were comming after.

After

A After this, the Athenian Souldiers, as they entred, went vp euery one to the wall, and a few of the Peloponnesians that were of the Garrison, made head, at first, and fought, and were some of them slaine, but the most of them took their heeles; fearing in the night, both the enemy that charged them, and also the traitors of the Megareans that fought against them, apprehending that all the Megareans in general had betrayed them. It chanced also that the Athenian Herald, of his owne discretion, made Proclamation, that if any Megarean would take part with the Athenians, he should B come and lay downe his Armes. When the Peloponnesians heard this, they stayed no longer, but seriously beleueing that they ioyntly warred vpon them, fled into Nisæa. As soone as it was day, the walls being now taken, and the Megareans being in a tumult within the Citie, they that had treated with the Athenians, and with them, the rest, as many as were conscious, said it was fit to haue the gates opened, and to goe out and giue the enemy battell. Now it was agreed on betweene them, that when the \* gates were open, the Athenians should rush in. And that themselves would be C easily knowne from the rest, to the end they might haue no harm done them, for that they would besmeare themselves with some ointment. And the opening of the gates would be for their greater safety. For the 4000 men, of Armes of Athens, and 600 horsemen which according to the appointment were to come to the, hauing marched all night, were already arriued. When they had besmeared themselves and were now about the gates one of those who were priuily discovered the conspiracy to the rest that were not. These ioy- D ning their strength, came all together to the gates, denying that it was fit to goe out to fight; (For that neither in former times whē they were stronger then now, durst they do so) or to put the Citie into so manifest a danger. And said, that if they would not be satisfied, the battell should be there right. Yet they discovered not that they knew of the practice, but only, as hauing giuen good aduice, meant to maintaine it. And they stayed at the gates, inso much as the traitors could not perform what they intended. The Athenian Comanders, knowing some crossie accident had hapned, and that they could not take the Citie by assault, fell to E enclosing of Nisæa with a wall, which if they could take before ayde came, they thought Megara would the sooner yeeld. Iron was quickly brought into them from Athens, and

The Traitors giue aduice to open the Gates and giue battell.

\* Of the City is selfe of Megara.

The Treason discovered.

The Athenians falling of Megara, take Nisæa, and demolisheth the Long-walls.

K k

and



\* It is that part of the long wall which they served.

and Masons, and whatsoever was necessary. And beginning at the \* wall they had won, when they had built crosse over to the other side, from thence both wayes they drew it on to the Sea on either side *Nisæa*, and hauing distributed the worke amongst the Army, as well the Wall as the Ditch, they serued themselves of the stones and bricke of the suburbs, & hauing felled trees, and timber, they supplied what was defectiue, with a strong Palisado; the houses also themselves of the suburbs, when they had put on battlements, serued them for a fortification. All that day they wrought, the next day about Evening they had B within very little finished. But then, they that were in *Nisæa*, seeing themselves to want victuall, (for they had none but what came day by day from the Citie aboue) & without hope that the *Peloponnesians* could quickly come to relieue them, conceiuing also that the *Megareans* were their enemies, compounded with the *Athenians* on these termes, To be dismissed every one at a certaine ranome in money, to deliuer up their armes, and the *Lacedæmonians*, both the Captaine, and whosoever of them else was within, to be at discretion of the *Athenians*. Hauing thus agreed, they went out. And the *Athenians*, when they had \* broken off the Longwals from the City of *Megara*, and taken in *Nisæa*, prepared for what was further to be done. *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*, a *Lacedæmonian*, happened at this time to be about *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, preparing of an army to go into *Thrace*. And when he heard of the taking of the Longwals, fearing what might become of the *Peloponnesians* in *Nisæa*, and lest *Megara* should be won, sent vnto the *Bæotians*, willing them to meet him speedily with their forces at *Tripodiscus* (a village of *Megara*, so called at the foot of the hill *Geranea*) and marched presently himselfe with 2700 men of armes of *Corinth*, 400 of *Phlius*, 600 of *Sicyon*, and those of his owne, all that he had yet leuiued; thinking to haue found *Nisæa* yet vntaken. When he heard the contrary (for he set first towards *Tripodiscus* in the night) with 300 men chosen out of the whole army, before newes should arriue of his coming, he came vntoene of the *Athenians* that lay by the Sea side, to the City of *Megara*, pretending in word, & intending also in good earnest, if he could haue done it, to attempt vpon *Nisæa*, but desiring to get into *Megara* to confirme it, and required to be let in, E for that he was, he said, in hope to recouer *Nisæa*. But the *Megarean* Factions being afraid, \* one, lest he should bring in

\* Not pulled them down quite, but only so farre, as not to be a defence in any part of the City if fell, nor to ioyne to the walls of the Citie.

*Brasidas* soneth *Megara* from being rendered to the *Athenians*.

*Brasidas* desireth to put himselfe into the City.

\* The Patrons of the Commoners.

A in the Outlawes, and cast out them; the \* other, left the Commons, out of this very feare, should assault them, whereby the City (being at battell within it selfe, and the *Athenians* lying in wait so neere) would be lost, receiued him not, but resolu'd on both sides to sit still, and attend the successe. For both the one faction and the other expected, that the *Athenians*, and these that came to succour the City, would ioyne battell; and then they might with more safety, such as were the fauoured side, turne vnto them that had the victory. And *Brasidas*, not preuailing, went backe to the rest of the \* Army. Betimes in the morning, arriued B the *Bæotians*, hauing also intended to come to the aide of *Megara*, before *Brasidas* sent, as esteeming the danger to concerne themselves, and were then with their whole forces come forward as farre as *Platea*. But when they had receiued also this message, they were a great deale the more encouraged; and sent 2200 men of Armes, and 200 horse, to *Brasidas*, but went backe with the greater part of their Army. The whole Army being now together of no lesse then 6000 men of Armes. And the *Athenian* men of Armes C lying indeed in good order, about *Nisæa*, and the Sea side, but the light-armed straggling in the plaines, the *Bæotian* horsemen came v unexpected vpon the light-armed Souldiers, and droue them towards the Sea. For in all this time till now, there had come no aide at all to the *Megareans* from any place. But when the *Athenian* horse went likewise out to encounter them, they fought, and there was a battell between the horsemen of either side, that held long, wherein both sides claimed the victory. For the *Athenians* slew the Generall of the *Bæotian* horse, and some few others, and D risted them, hauing themselves bin first chased by them to *Nisæa*. And hauing these dead bodies in their power, they restored them vpon truce, and erected a Tropheie. Neuerthe lesse, in respect of the whole action, neither side went off with assurance, but parting asunder, the *Bæotians* went to the Army, and the *Athenians* to *Nisæa*.

After this, *Brasidas* with his Army, came downe neerer to the Sea, and to the City of *Megara*; and hauing seized on a place of aduantage, set his Army in battell array, and stood still. For they thought the *Athenians* E would bee assaylants, and knew the *Megareans* stood observing whether side should haue the Victory; and

\* The Nobility.

*Brasidas* goeth backe to *Tripodiscus*.  
\* At *Tripodiscus*.

The *Bæotians* come with their forces, and ioyne with *Brasidas*.

The *Bæotian*, and *Athenian* horse skirmish.

The whole Army on either side, face one another, but neither side willing to begin.



\* Brasidas if he saved the Towne from the Athenians had his end, therefore by showing him selfe ready if the Athenians would not fight, he gained this, that he should be let into the Towne, which was all he can expect, and therefore might justly be counted Victore.

\* Brasidas, without doubt.

\* The period is somewhat long, and seems to be one of them that gave occasion to Dionysius Halicarnassus, to censure the Authors elucubration.

The Megareans receive Brasidas and his Army.

The Megareans Outlawes recalled, and sworn to forget former quarrells.

and that it must needs fall out well for them both wayes; A first, because they should not be the assylant, and voluntarily begin the battell and danger; since having shewed themselves ready to fight, the victory must also \* justly be attributed to them \* without their labour. And next it must fall out well in respect of the Megareans. For if they should not have come in fight, the matter had not bene any longer in the power of fortune, but they had without all doubt been presently deprived of the City, as men conquered. Whereas now, if haply, the Athenians declined battell likewise, they should obtaine what they came for without stroke stricken. Which also indeed came to passe. \* For the Megareans, when the Athenians went out and ordered their Army without the Long-walls, but yet (because the enemy charged not) stood also still, (their Commanders likewise, considering that if they should begin the battell, against a number greater then their owne, after the greatest part of their enterprize was already achieved, the danger would be vnequall, For if they should overcome, they could win but Megara, and if they were vanquished, must lose the best part of their men of Armes; C Whereas the enemy, who out of the whole power, and number that was present in the field, did adventure but every one a part, would in all likelihood, put it to the hazard) And so for a while affronted each other, and neither doing any thing, withdrew againe, the Athenians first into Nisæa, and afterwards the Peloponnesians to the place from whence they had set forth; then, I say, the Megareans, such as were the friends of the Outlawes, taking heart, because they saw the Athenians were vnwilling to fight, set open the Gates to Brasidas as Victor, and to the rest of the Captaines of the severall Cities; And when they were in, (those that had practised with the Athenians, being all the while in a great feare) they went to Councell. Afterwards, Brasidas, having dismissed his Confederates, to their severall Cities, went himselfe to Corinth, in pursute of his former purpose to leuy an Army for Thrace. Now the Megareans that were in the Citie, (when the Athenians also were gone home) all that had chiefe hand in the practice with the Athenians, knowing themselves discovered, presently slipt away; but the rest, after they had conferred E with the friends of the Outlawes, recalled them from Pega,

A Pega, vpon great oathes administred vnto them, no more to remember former quarrells, but to giue the Citie their best aduice.

These, when they came into Office, tooke a view of the Armes, and disposing bands of Souldiers in diuers quarters of the Citie, picked out of their enemies, and of those that seemed most to haue co-operated in the treason with the Athenians, about a hundred persons; and having constrained the people to giue their sentence vpon them \* openly, when they were condemned, slew them; and established in the Citie, the estate almost of an Oligarchy. And this change of gouernment, made by a few vpon sedition, did neuertheless continue for a long time after.

The same Summer, when Antandrus was to be furnished by the Mitylenians as they intended, Demodicius, and Aristides, Captaines of certaines Gallies, set forth by the Athenians to fetch in Tribute, being then about Hellespont (for Lamachus that was the third in that Commission, was gone with ten Gallies into Pontus) having notice of the preparation made in that place, and thinking it would be dangerous to haue it happen there, as it had done in Anax, ouer against Samos, in which the Samian Outlawes, having settled themselves, ayded the Peloponnesians in matters of the Sea, by sending them Steersmen, and both bred trouble within the Citie, and entertained such as fled out of it, leuyed an Army amongst the Confederates, and marched to it, and having overcome in fight, those that came out of Antandrus against them, recovered the place againe. And not long after, Lamachus that was gone into Pontus, as he lay at Anchor in the Riuer Calix, in the territory of Heraclea, much raine having fallen aboue in the Countrey, and the streame of a Land Flood coming suddenly downe, lost all his Gallies, and came himselfe and his Army through the Territory of the Bithynians, (who are Thracians dwelling in Asia, on the other side) to Calcedon, a Colony of the Megareans, in the mouth of Pontus Euxinus, by Land,

The same Summer likewise, Demosthenes, Generall of the Athenians, with fortie Gallies, presently after his departure out of Megaris, sayled to Naupactus. For certaine E men in the Cities thereabouts, desiring to change the forme of the Boeotian gouernment, and to turne it into a

Democratie,

The Outlawes being in authority, put to death 100 of the aduerses Citizens.

\* Because they should not be brought to condempne them, as they would not have done, if their sentence had beene secret passage.

The Mitylenian Outlawes lost the City of Antandrus, which they had intended to fortifie and make the seat of their Warre.

Lamachus loseth his ten Gallies by a sudden Land Flood, in Pontus.

Demosthenes goeth to Naupactus, vpon designe against the Boeotians.



The Plot laid be-  
tweene certaine Egri-  
an, and the Atheni-  
ans, how to bring Boeotia into  
the power of the Atheni-  
ans.

Democratie, according to the government of Athens, practi- A  
sed with him and Hippocrates, to betray vnto him the  
estates of Boeotia: Induced thereunto, principally by Pae-  
dorus a Theban Outlaw. And they ordered the designe  
thus. Some had vndertaken to deliuer vp Siphæ. (Siphæ  
is a Citie of the Territory of Thesphæ, standing vpon the  
Sea side, in the Crissaean Gulfe.) and Cheronea. (which was  
a Towne that payed duties to Orchomenus, called heretofore  
Orchomenus in Minyia, but now Orchomenus in Boeotia) some  
others, of Orchomenus, were to surrender into their hands.  
And the Orchomenian Outlawes had a principall hand in B  
this, and were hyring Soldiers to that end out of Relapponne-  
sus. This Cheronea is the ymost Towne of Boeotia to-  
wards Phocia in the Countrey of Phocia, and some Phoci-  
ans also dwelt in it. On the other side, the Athenians were to  
seaze on Delium, a place consecrated to Apollo, in the Terri-  
tory of Tanagra, on the part toward Eubæa. All this ought  
to haue beene done together vpon a day appointed, to the  
end, that the Boeotians might not oppose them with their  
forces vnited, but might be troubled every one to defend  
his owne. And if the attempt succeeded, and that they C  
once fortified Delium, they easily hoped, though no change  
followed in the state of the Boeotians for the present, yet be-  
ing possessed of those places, and by that meanes, continual-  
ly fetching in prey, out of the Countrey, because there was  
for every one a place at hand to retire vnto, that it could  
not stand long at a stay; but that the Athenians ioyning with  
such of them, as rebelled, and the Boeotians not hauing their  
forces vnited, they might in time order the State to their  
owne liking. Thus was the Plot layed.

And Hippocrates himselfe, with the forces of the Citie, D  
was ready when time should serue to \* march; but sent  
Demosthenes before, with forty Gallies to Naupactus; to the  
end that he should leuy an Army of Acarnanians, and other  
their Confederates in these quarters, and sayle to Siphæ, to  
receiue it by Treason. And a day was set downe betwixt  
them, on which these things should haue beene done toge-  
ther.

Demosthenes, when he arriued and found the Oeniades by  
compulsion of the rest of Acarnania, entred into the Atheni-  
an Confederation, and had himselfe raised all the Confede- E  
rates thereabouts, made Warre, first vpon Salynthus, and the

\* Towards Delium.

A the Agræans, and hauing taken in other places therea-  
bouts, stood ready when the time should require, to goe to  
Siphæ.

About the same time of this Summer, Brasidas marching  
towards the Cities vpon Thrace, with 1700 men of Armes,  
when he came to Heraclea in Trachinia, sent a Messenger  
before him to his friends at \* Pharsalus, requiring them to be  
guides vnto him, and to his Army. And when there were  
come vnto him, Panæon, and Dorus, and Hippolochidas, and To-  
rylaus, and Sirophacius. (who was the publike Hoste of the  
B Chalcideans) all which met him Melitia, a towne of Achaia,  
he marched on. There were other of the Thessalians also  
that conuoyed him; and from Larissa, he was conuoyed by  
Niconidas a friend of Perdiccas. For it had bene hard to  
passe Thessaly without a guide, howsoeuer, but especially  
with an Army. And to passe through a neighbour Ter-  
ritory without leaue, is a thing that all Grecians alike are  
iealous of. Besides, that the people of Thessaly had euer  
borne good affection to the Athenians. Inasmuch, as if by  
custome, the government of that Countrey had not bene C

\* Lordly, rather then a \* Common-wealth he could neuer  
haue gone on. For also now as he matched forward, there  
met him at the Riuer Enipeus, others of a contrary mind to  
the former, that forbad him, and told him that he did vn-  
iustly to goe on without the common consent of all. But  
those that conuoyed him, answered; that they would not  
bring him through against their wils; but that comming  
to them on a sudden, they conducted him as friends. And  
Brasidas himselfe said, he came thither a friend, both to the  
countrey, and to them; and that he bore Armes, not against  
D them, but against the Athenians their enemies. And that he  
neuer knew of any enmity, between the Thessalians, & Lace-  
demonians, wherby they might not vse one anothers ground,  
and that euen now he would not goe on without their con-  
sent; for neither could hee; but onely entreated them not  
to stop him. When they heard this, they went their wayes.  
And he, by the aduice of his guides, before any greater num-  
bers should vnite to hinder him, marched on with all possi-  
ble speed, staying no where by the way; and the same day  
he set forth from Melitia, he reached Pharsalus; and encam-  
E ped by the Riuer Apidanus. From thence he went to Phari-  
um. From thence, into Peræbia. The Peræbians, though  
subiect

Brasidas passeth through  
Thessaly, with 1700 men  
of Armes, to aide the  
Chalcideans that delibera-  
ted a revolt.

\* Brasidas absolute govern-  
ment vnder one pers.  
\* Inuious a. equality of pri-  
uiledge in the whole.

The soft answer of Bras-  
idas, notwithstanding hee  
was resolved to passe.

Brasidas goeth apace  
through Thessaly.



The cause why Perdiccas and the Chalcidians called in the Lacedæmonians into those parts.

The cause why the Lacedæmonians so willingly sent an Army to them.

\* By incursions and ravaging the Country, from Pylus, and the Island Cythera.

\* their servants.

An impious Policy of the Lacedæmonians, in the destroying their Helotes.

subject to the *Thessalonians*, set him at *Dion*; in the Dominion of *Perdiccas*, a little City of the *Macedonians*, situate at the foot of *Olympus*, on the side toward *Thessalie*. In this manner, *Brasidas* ran through *Thessalie*, before any there could put in readinesse to stop him; and came into the Territories of the *Chalcidians*, and to *Perdiccas*. For *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcidians*, all that had revolted from the *Athenians*, when they saw the affaires of the *Athenians* prosper, had drawne this Armie out of *Peloponnesus* for feare: the *Chalcidians*, because they thought the *Athenians* would make Warre on them first, as hauing been also incited thereto, by those Cities amongst them that had not revolted; and *Perdiccas*, not that he was their open enemy, but because he feared the *Athenians* for ancient quarrels; but principally because he desired to subdue *Arrhibæus*, King of the *Lyncæstians*. And the ill successe which the *Lacedæmonians* in these times had, was a cause that they obtained an Armie from them, the more easily.

For the *Athenians* vexing *Peloponnesus*, and their particular \* Territory *Laconia* most of all, they thought the best way to diuert them, was to send an Armie to the Confederates of the *Athenians*, so to vex them againe. And the rather, because *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcidians* were content to maintain the Armie, hauing called it thither to helpe the *Chalcidians* in their revolt. And because also they desired a pretence to send away part of their \* *Helotes*, for feare they should take the opportunity of the present state of their affaires, the enemies lying now in *Pylus*, to innouate. For they did also this further. Fearing the youth, and multitude of their *Helotes*, (For the *Lacedæmonians* had euer many Ordinances, concerning how to look to the selues against the *Helotes*,) they caused Proclamation to be made, that as many of the, as claimed the estimation, to haue done the *Lacedæmonians* best seruice in their Warres should be made free; feeling them in this manner, and conceiuing that as they should every one out of pride deeme himselfe worthy to be first made free, so they would soonest also rebell against the. And when they had thus preferred about 2000, which also with Crownes on their heads, went in procession about the Temples, as to receiue their liberty, they, not long after made them away, and no man knew how they perished. And now at this

A this time with all their hearts they sent away 700 men of Armes more of the same men along with *Brasidas*. The rest of the Army were Mercenaries hired by *Brasidas*, out of *Peloponnesus*. But *Brasidas* himselfe the *Lacedæmonians* sent out, chiefly, because it was his owne desire. Notwithstanding the *Chalcidians* also longed to haue him, as one esteemed also in *Sparta*, euery way an active man. And when he was out, he did the *Lacedæmonians* very great seruice. For by shewing himselfe at that present iust, and moderate towards the Cities, hee caused the most of them to revolt, and some of them he also tooke by Treason: Whereby it came to passe, that if the *Lacedæmonians* pleased to come to composition (as also they did) they might haue Townes to render and receiue reciprocally.

The praise of *Brasidas*.

And also long after, after the *Sicilian Warre*, the vertue, and wisdom which *Brasidas* shewed now, to some knowne by experience, by others, beleueed vpon from report, was the principall cause that made the *Athenian* Confederates affect the *Lacedæmonians*; For being the first that went out, and esteemed in all points for a worthy man, he left behind him an assured hope, that the rest also were like him.

C Being now come into *Thrace*, the *Athenians* vpon notice, thereof, declared *Perdiccas* an enemy, as imputing to him this expedition; and reinforced the Garrison in the parts thereabouts.

\* The first that went abroad for Governor into other States, since this Warre. For fifty yeeres before this Warre, *Pausanias* being the gouernour of the Grecian Confederates, at *Bizantium*, behaued himselfe insolently, and then *Cimon* an *Athenian* by the vertues now praised in *Brasidas*, got the Confederates to leave the *Lacedæmonians*, and offend the *Athenians*. *Brasidas* ioynd with *Perdiccas*, matcheth towards *Lyncus*.

*Perdiccas* with *Brasidas* and his Army, together with his owne Forces, marched presently against *Arrhibæus* the sonne of *Brômærus*, King of the *Lyncæstians*, a people of *Macedonia*, confining on *Perdiccas* his dominion, both for a quarrell they had against him, and also as desiring to subdue him.

*Brasidas* refusing to make Warre on *Arrhibæus*.

When he came with his Army, and *Brasidas* with him, to the place where they were to haue fallen in, *Brasidas* told him that hee desired, before hee made Warre, to draw *Arrhibæus* by partly, if he could, to a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For *Arrhibæus* had also made some proffer by a Herald, to commit the matter to *Brasidas* arbitrement. And the *Chalcidean* Ambassadors being present, gaue him likewise aduice, not to thrust himselfe into danger in fauour of *Perdiccas*, to the end they

For the offer of *Arrhibæus*.

And through the aduice of the *Chalcidians*.



Giueh therein dilaffe  
to Perdicas.

they might haue him more prompt in their owne affaires. A Besides, the Ministers of *Perdiccas*, when they were at *Lacedæmon*, had spoken there, as if they had meant to bring as many of the places about him as they could, into the *Lacedæmonian* League. So that *Brasidas* fauoured *Arrhibæus*, for the publike good of their owne State. But *Perdiccas* said that he brought not *Brasidas* thither, to be a Iudge of his Controuerfies, but to destroy those enemies which he should shew him. And that it will be an iniury, seeing he payes the halfe of his Army, for *Brasidas* to parly with *Arrhibæus*. Neuerthelesse, *Brasidas* whether *Perdiccas* would, or not, and though it made a quarrell, had conference with *Arrhibæus*, by whom also hee was induced to withdraw his Army. But from that time forward, *Perdiccas* in stead of halfe, paid but a third part of his Army, as conceiuing himselfe to haue been iniured.

*Brasidas* cometh before  
*Acanthus*.

And is receiued without  
his army.

The same Summer, a little before the Vintage, *Brasidas* hauing ioyned to his owne, the forces of the *Chalcidæans*, marched to *Acanthus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*. And there arose sedition about receiuing him, betwene such as had ioyned with the *Chalcidæans* in calling him thither, and the common people. Neuerthelesse, for feare of their fruits which were not yet gotten in, The multitude was won by *Brasidas* to let him enter alone, and then after he had said his mind to aduise what to doe amongst themselves. And presenting himselfe before the multitude, for he was not vneloquent, though a *Lacedæmonian*, he spake to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS.

MEN of *Acanthus*, The reason why the *Lacedæmonians* haue sent me, and this Army abroad, is to make good what we gaue out in the beginning for the cause of our Warre against the *Athenians*, which was, that we meant to make a Warre for the Liberty of *Greece*. But if we be come late, as deceived by the Warre there, in the opinion we had, that we our selves should soone haue pulled the *Athenians* downe, without any danger of yours, no man hath reason therefore to blame vs. For we are come as soon as occasion serued, and with your helpe will do our best, to bring them vnder. But I wonder why you shut me forth of your

A your gates and why I was not welcome. For we *Lacedæmonians* haue vndergone this great danger, of passing many dayes iourne through the Territory of Strangers, and shewed all possible zeale, be cause we imagined that we went to such Confederates, as before wee came, had vs present in their hearts, and were desirous of our coming. And therefore it were hard, that you should now bee otherwise minded, and withstand your owne, and the rest of the *Grecians* liberty; not onely in that your selues resist vs, but also because others whom I goe to, will be the lesse willing to come in; making difficulty, because you to whom I came first, hauing a flourishing City, and being esteemed wise, haue refused vs: For which I shall haue no sufficient excuse to pleade, but must be thought either to pretend to set vpon liberty vniustly, or to come weake, and without power to maintaine you against the *Athenians*. And yet against this same Army I now haue, when I went to encounter the *Athenians* at *Nisæa*, though more in number, they durst not hazzard battell. Nor is it likely that the *Athenians* will send forth so great a number against you, as they had in their Fleet there at *Nisæa*. I come not hither to hurt, but to set free the *Grecians*, and I haue the *Lacedæmonian* Magistrates bound vnto me by great Oathes, that whatsoever Confederates shall be added to their side, at least by mee, shall still enioy their owne Lawes. And that wee shall not hold you as Confederates to vs, brought in either by force, or fraud, but on the contrary, be Confederates to you, that are kept in seruitude by the *Athenians*. And therefore I clayme not onely that you be not iealous of mee, especially hauing giuen you so good assurance, or thinke me vnable to defend you, but also that you declare your selves boldly with mee. And if any man be vnwilling so to doe, through feare of some particular man, apprehending that I would put the Citie into the hands of a few, let him cast away that feare; for I came not to side, nor doe I thinke I should bring you an assured liberty, if neglecting the ancient vse here, I should enthral, either the Multitude, to the Few, or the Few to the Multitude. For to be governed so, were worse then the domination of a Forrainer. And there would result from it to vs *Lacedæmonians*, not thanks for our labours, but in stead of honour and glory, an imputation of those crimes for which we make Warre amongst the *Athenians*, and which would be more odious in vs then in them, that neuer pretended the \* vertue. For it is more dishonourable, at least, to men in dignity, to amplifie their estate by specious fraud, then by open violence. For the later assayleth with a certaine right of power giuen vs by Fortune, but the other, with the treachery of a wicked conscience.

\* Ambition and desire to  
subdue other States.

\* The desire to assist other  
States.



But besides the oath which they haue sworne already, the greatest A further assurance you can haue, is this, That our actions weighed with our words, you must needs beleue, that it is to our profit to doe, as I haue told you. But if after these promises of mine, you shall say, you cannot, and yet for as much as your affection is with vs, will claime impunity for reiecting vs; Or shall say that this liberty I offer you seemes to bee accompanied with danger, and that it were well done to offer it to such as can receiue it, but not to force it vpon any. Then will I call to witnesse the Gods, and \* Heroes of this place, that my counsell which you refuse, was for your good, and will indenuour by wasting of your Territory to compell you to it. Nor shall I thinke I doe you therein, any wrong; But haue reason for it from two necessities, one, of the Lacedaemonians, lest whilest they haue your affections, and not your society, they should receiue hurt from your contribution of money to the Athenians; another, of the Grecians, lest they should be hindered of their liberty by your example; for otherwise indeed we could not iustly doe it; nor ought we Lacedaemonians to set any at liberty against their wills, if it were not for some common good. We couet not dominion ouer you, but seeing we haste to make others lay downe the same, we should doe iniury to the greater C part, if bringing liberty to the other States in generall, we should tolerate you to crosse vs. Deliberate well of these things, strine to be the beginners of Liberty in Greece, to get your selues eternall glory, so preserve euery man his priuate estate from dammage, and to inuest the whole Citie with a most honourable \* Title. Thus spake Brasidas.

The Acambians, after much said on either side, partly for that which Brasidas had effectually spoken, and partly for feare of their fruits abroad, the most of them decreed D to reuolt from the Athenians, hauing giuen their votes in secret. And when they had made him take the same oath, which the Lacedaemonian Magistrates tooke, when they sent him out; namely, that what Confederates soeuer he should ioine to the Lacedaemonians, should enioy their owne Lawes, they receiued his Army into the City. And not long after, reuolted Stagyrum, another Colony of the Andrians. And these were the Acts of this Summer.

In the very beginning of the next Winter, when the Boeotian Cities should haue been deliuered to Hippocrates and Demosthenes,

\* Semi-gods, sained by the Poets to haue been gotten between a god and a mortall.

\* The Title of a free City.

The reuolt of Acanthum.

The reuolt of Stagyrum.

The end of the eighth Summer.

A Demosthenes, Generals of the Athenians, and that Demosthenes should haue gone to Sipha, and Hippocrates to Delium, ha-  
uing mistaken the dayes, on which they should haue both set forward, Demosthenes went to Sipha \* first, and hauing with him the Acanthians, and many Confederates of those parts in his Fleet, yet lost his labour. For the Treason was detected by one Niconachus a Phocian, of the Towne of Phanotis, who told it vnto the Lacedaemonians, and they againe vnto the Boeotians. Whereby the Boeotians concurring vniuersally to relieue those places, (for Hippocrates was not yet gone to trouble them in their owne seuerall Territories) preoccupied both Sipha, and Cheronea. And the Conspirators knowing the errour, attempted in those Cities no further.

But Hippocrates hauing raised the whole power of the Citie of Athens, both Citizens and others that dwelt amongst them, and all strangers, that were then there, arrived \* afterwards at Delium, when the Boeotians were now returned from Sipha, and there stayed, and tooke in Delium a Temple of Apollo with a wall, in this manner. Round C about the Temple, and the whole consecrated ground, they drew a Ditch, and out of the Ditch, in stead of a wall, they cast vp the earth, and hauing driuen downe piles on either side, they cast thereinto the matter of the Vineyard about the Temple, which to that purpose they cut downe, together with the Stones and Bricks of the ruined buildings. And by all meanes heightened the fortification, and in such places as would giue leaue, erected Turrets of wood vpon the same. There was no Edifice of the Temple standing, for the Cloyster that had been was fallen downe. They began the worke, the third day after they set forth from Athens, and wrought all the same day, and all the fourth and the fifth day, till dinner. And then being most part of it finished, the campe came backe from Delium, about ten Furlongs homewards. And the light-armed Souldiers went most of them presently away, but the men of Armes, laid downe their Armes there, and rested. Hippocrates staid yet behind, and tooke order about the Garrison, and about the finishing of the remainder of fortification. The Boeotians tooke the same time to assemble E at Tanagra, and when all the Forces were come in, that from euery Citie were expected, and when they vnder-  
stood

Demosthenes approacheth Sipha by Sea, to take it by treason, but fayled.

\* Before Hippocrates went to Delium, whereas it ought to haue beene at the same time.

The Treason detected.

Hippocrates marcheth to Delium.

\* After Demosthenes had been at Sipha which was too late. He fortifieth Delium.

The army of the Athenians, hauing taken Delium, begin to retire.

The Boeotians follow them



\* Does *ἡ δὲ Βοιωτία* mean in number.

\* It seems that the severall States of Boeotia being free of themselves, and holding altogether, were united under government, & sent from them severally, at least in the warres, and then they had the leading of the common forces by turns.

stood that the Athenians drew homewards, though the rest A of the \* Boeotian Commanders, which were eleven, approached not giving battell, because they were not now in Boeotia (for the Athenians, when they laid downe their Armes, were in the Confines of Oropia) yet Pagondas the sonne of Ajoladas, being the \* Boeotian Commander, for Thebes, whose turne it was to haue the leading of the Army, was, together with Ariantidas the sonne of Lysimachidas, of opinion on to fight, and held it the best course to try the fortune of a battell; wherefore calling them vnto him euery Company by it selfe, that they might not be all at once from their B Armes, he exhorted the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and to hazzard battell, speaking in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF PAGONDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Boeotia, it ought neuer to haue so much as entered into the thoughts of any of vs the Commanders, that because we finde not the Athenians now in Boeotia, it should therefore be vsfit to giue them battell. For they, out of a bordering Countrey haue entered Boeotia, and fortified in it, with intent to waste it, and are indeed enemies in whatsoeuer ground wee find them, or whenceoeuer they come, doing the acts of hostility. But now if any man thinke it also vsafe, let him henceforth be of another opinion. For providence in them that are invaded, endureth not such deliberation concerning their owne, as may be vsed by them, who retaining their owne, out of desire to enlarge, voluntarily invade the estate of another. And it is the custome of this Countrey of yours, when a forraigne enemy comes against you, to fight with him, both on your owne, and on your neighbours ground alike; but much more you ought to doe it, against the Athenians, when they be borderers. \* For liberty with all men, is nothing else but to be a match for the Cities that are their neighbours. With these then that attempt the subigation, not onely of their neighbours, but of estates farre from them, why should we not try the utmost of our fortune? We haue for example, the estate that the Euboeans ouer against vs, and also the greatest part of the rest of Greece do liue in vnder them. And you must know, that though others fight with their neighbours, about the bounds of their Territories, wee E if we be vanquished shall haue but one bound amongst vs all; so that

\* So that so soon as a State hath a neighbour strong enough to subdue it, it is no more to be thought a free State.

A that wee shall no more quarrell about limits. For if they enter, they will take all our severall states into their owne possession by force. So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the Athenians, then of other people. And such as repon confidence in their strength invade their neighbours, (as the Athenians now doe) vse to bee bolde in warring on those that sit still, defending themselves onely in their owne Territories; whereas they be lesse vrgent to those that are ready to meete them without their owne limits, or also to beginne the Warre when opportunity serueth. We haue experienced hereof in these same men; for after wee had overcome them at Coronea, at what time B through our owne sedition, they held our Countrey in subiection, wee established a great security in Boeotia, which lasted till this present. Remembring which, wee ought now, the elder sort to imitate our former acts there, and the younger sort, who are the children of those valiant Fathers, to endeavour not to disgrace the vertue of their Hoises, but rather with confidence that the God, whose Temple fortified they vnlawfully dwell in, will bee with vs, the Sacrifices wee offered him appearing faire, to march against them, and let them see, that though they may gaine what they coney, when they invade such as will not fight, yet men that haue the generosity to hold their owne in liberty by C battell, and not invade the state of another vnjustly, will neuer let them goe away vnfoughten.

Pagondas with this exhortation perswaded the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and making them \* rise, led them speedily on, for it was drawing towards night, and when he was neere to their Army, in a place from whence by the interposition of a Hill they saw not each other, making a stand, he put his Armie into order, and prepared to giue Battell. When it was told Hippocrates, who was then at Delium, that the Boeotians were marching after them, he sends presently to the Armie, commanding them to bee put in array, and not long after hee came himselfe, hauing left some 300. Horse about Delium, both for a guard to the place, if it should be assaulted, and withall to watch an opportunity to come vpon the Boeotians, when they were in fight. But for these, the Boeotians appointed some Forces purposely to attend them. And when all was as it should be, they shewed themselves from the toppe of the Hill. Where they sate downe with their Armes, in E the same order they were to fight in, being about seuen thousand men at Armes, of light armed Souldiers, aboue tenne

\* It was the custom in those times, for the Souldiers to sit downe with their Armes by them, when they fought any where in the field.

The order of the Army of the Boeotians.



tenne thousand, a thousand Horsemen, and five hundred A  
Targettiers. Their right Wing consisting of the Thebans,  
and their partakers; In the middle battell were the Hali-  
artians, Coroneans, Copeans, and the rest that dwell about  
the \* Lake; In the left were the Thebians, Tanagreans, and  
Orchomenians. The Horsemen; and light-armed Souldi-  
ers were placed on either wing. The Thebans were orde-  
red by twenty five in File, but the rest, every one as it fell  
out. This was the preparation and order of the Bæo-  
tians.

\* The Lake Copais.

The order of the army of  
the Athenians.

The Athenian men of Armes, in number, no fewer then B  
the enemy, were ordered by eight in File throughout.  
Their Horse they placed on either Wing; but for light-  
armed Souldiers, armed as was fit, there were none, nor  
was there any in the City. Those that went out, follow-  
ed the Campe, for the most part without Armes, as being  
a generall expedition both of Citizens, and Strangers;  
and after they once began to make homeward, there stayed  
few behind. When they were now in their order, and rea-  
dy to ioyne battell, Hippocrates the Generall came into the  
Army of the Athenians, and encouraged them, speaking to C  
this effect.

### THE ORATION OF HIPPOCRATES to his Souldiers.

MEN of Athens, my exhortation shall be short, but with  
valiant men, it hath as much force as a longer, and is for a  
remembrance, rather then a command. Let no man thinke,  
because it is in the Territory of another, that we therefore precipi-  
tate our selves into a great danger that did not concerne us. For D  
in the Territory of these men, you fight for your owne. If wee get  
the victory, the Peloponnesians will neuer invade our Territo-  
ries againe, for want of the Boeotian Horsemen. So that in one  
battell, you shall both gaine this Territory, and free your owne.  
Therefore march on against the enemy, every one as becommeth the  
dignity, both of his naturall Citie, (which he glorieth to be chiefe  
of all Greece) and of his Ancestors, who hauing overcome these men  
at Oenophyta, vnder the Conduct of Myronides, were in times  
past Masters of all Boeotia.

Whiles Hippocrates was making this exhortation, and  
had E

A had gone with it ouer halfe the Army, but could proceed  
no further, the Bæotians, (for Pagondas likewise made but  
a short exhortation, and had there sung the Tean) came  
downe vpon them from the hill. And the Athenians like-  
wise went forward to meet them, so fast, that they met to-  
gether running. The utmost parts of both the Armies ne-  
uer came to ioyne, hindred both, by one, and the same cause,  
for certaine currents of water kept them asunder. But the  
rest made sharpe battell, standing close, and struiuing to put  
by each others Bucklers. The left wing of the Bæotians, to  
B the very middle of the Army was ouerthrowne by the A-  
thenians, who in this part had to deale, amongst others prin-  
cipally with the Thebians. For whilst they that were pla-  
ced within the same wing, gaue backe, and were circled in  
by the Athenians in a narrow compasse, those Thebians that  
were slaine, were hewed downe in the very fight. Some al-  
so of the Athenians themselves, troubled with inclosing the,  
through ignorance slew one another. So that the Bæotians  
were ouerthrowne in this part, and fled to the other part,  
where they were yet in fight. But the right wing wherein  
C the Thebians stood, had the better of the Athenians, and by  
little and little, forced them to giue ground, and followed  
vpon them from the very first. It hapned also that Pagondas,  
whilst the left wing of his Army was in distresse, sent two  
Companies of Horse secretly about the hill; whereby that  
wing of the Athenians which was victorious, apprehending  
vpon their sudden appearing that they had bin a fresh Ar-  
my, was put into affright, and the whole Army of the A-  
thenians, now doubly terrified, by this accident, and by the  
Thebians that continually won ground, & brake their ranks,  
D betooke themselves to flight. Some fled toward Delium, and  
the sea, and some towards Oropus; others toward the moun-  
taine Parnethus, and others other wayes, as to each appeared  
hope of safety. The Bæotians, especially their horse, & those  
Locrians that came in, after the enemy was already defeated,  
followed, killing the. But night surprising them, the mul-  
titude of the that fled, was the easier saued. The next day,  
those that were gotten to Oropus and Delium, went thence  
by Sea to Athens, hauing left a Garrison in Delium, which  
place, notwithstanding this defeat, they yet retayned.  
E The Bæotians, when they had erected their Trophy, taken  
away their owne dead, rifled those of the enemy, and left a  
M m guard

The Bæotians interrupt  
the Oration.

The Athenians flee.



Dispute about giving  
leave to the Athenians  
to take up their dead.  
The message of the Ba-  
otians to the Athenians.

\* See Act.

The message of the Athe-  
nians to the Boeotians, by  
a friend of their owne.

guard vpon the place, returned backe to Tanagra, and there A  
entred into consultation, for an assault to be made vpon De-  
lium. In the meane time, a Herald sent from the Athenians,  
to require the bodies, met with a Herald by the way, sent  
by the Boeotians, which turned him backe, by telling him he  
could get nothing done, till himselfe was returned from the  
Athenians. This Herald, when he came before the Athenians,  
deliuered vnto them what the Boeotians had giuen him in  
charge; namely, That they had done iniustly, to transgresse the  
vniuersall law of the Grecians; being a constitution received by them  
all, that the Inuader of anothers countrey, shall abstaine from all holy B  
places in the same. That the Athenians had fortified Delium, and  
dwelt in it, and done whatsoever else men vse to doe in places profane,  
and had drawne that water to the common vse, which was vnlawfull  
for themselves to haue touched, save onely to wash their hands for the  
sacrifice. That therefore the Boeotians, both in the behalfe of the god,  
and of themselves, inuoking Apollo, and all the interestted \* spirits,  
did warne them to be gone, and to remoue their stufte out of the Tem-  
ple. After the Herald had said this, the Athenians sent a He-  
rald of their owne to the Boeotians. Denying that either they had  
done any wrong to the holy place already, or would willingly doe any C  
hurt to it hereafter. For neither did they at first enter into it, to such  
intent; but to requite the greater iniuries which had bene done vnto  
them. As for the law which the Grecians haue, it is no other, but that  
they which haue the dominion of any territory great or small, haue euer  
the Temples also, & besides the accustomed rites, may superinduce what  
other they can. For also the Boeotians, and most men else, all that ha-  
uing driuen out another nation, possesse their territory, did at first in-  
uade the Temples of others, and make them their owne. That therefore,  
if they could win from them more of their Land, they would keepe it;  
and for the part they were now in, they were in it with a good will, and D  
would not out of it, as being their owne. That for the water, they medled  
with it vpon necessity, which was not to be ascribed to insolence, but to  
this, that fighting against the Boeotians that had inuaded their ter-  
ritory first, they were forced to vse it. For whatsoever is forced by War,  
or danger, hath in reason, a kind of pardon, euen with the god himselfe.  
For the Altars, in cases of inuoluntary offences, are a refuge; and  
they are said to violate Lawes, that are euill without constraint, not  
they that are a little bold vpon occasion of distresse.

That the Boeotians themselves, who require restitution of the ho-  
ly places, for a redemption of the dead, are more irreligious by farre, E  
then they, who, rather then let their Temples goe, are content to goe  
without

A without that which were fit for them to receive. And they had  
him say plainly, That they would not depart out of the Boeotian  
Territory, for that they were not now in it, but in a Territory which  
they had made their owne by the \* Sword; And neuertheless, re-  
quired Truce according to the Ordinances of the Countrey, for the  
fetching away of the dead. To this the Boeotians answered,  
That if the dead were in Boeotia, they should quit the ground, and  
take with them, whatsoever was theirs. But if the dead were in  
their owne Territory, the Athenians themselves knew best what to  
doe. For they thought, that though Oropia, wherein the  
dead lay, (for the battell was fought in the border be-  
tweene Attica and Boeotia) by subiection belonged to the  
Athenians, yet they could not fetch them off by force; and  
for Truce, that the Athenians might come safely on Athenian  
ground, they would giue none; but conceived it was a  
handsome answer, to say, That if they would quit the ground,  
they should obtaine whatsoever they required. Which when the  
Athenian Herald heard, he went his way without effect.  
The Boeotians presently sent for Darters and Slingers from  
the Townes on the Melian Gulfe, and with these, and with  
C two thousand men of Armes; of Corinth, and with the  
Peloponnesian Garrison that was put out of Nisaea, and with  
the Megareans, all which arriued after the battell, they march-  
ed forthwith to Delium; and assaulted the wall; and  
when they had attempted the same many other wayes, at  
length they brought to it an Engine, wherewith they also  
tookey it, made in this manner. Hauing slit in two a great  
Mast, they made hollow both the sides, and curiously set  
them together againe in forme of a Pipe. At the end of it  
in chaines, they hung a Caldron, and into the Caldron from  
D the end of the Mast, they conveyed a shourt of Iron, hauing  
with Iron also armed a great part of the rest of the wood.  
They carried it to the wall, being farre off, in Carts, to that  
part where it was most made vp, with the matter of the  
Vineyard, and with wood. And when it was to, they ap-  
plied a paire of great bellows to the end next themselves,  
and blew. The blast passing narrowly through into the  
Caldron, in which were coales of fire, brimstone, and pitch,  
raised an exceeding great flame, and set the wall on fire; so  
that no man being able to stand any longer on it, but aban-  
E doning the same, and betaking themselves to flight, the  
wall was by that meanes taken.

See by the Spect.

The reply of the Boe-  
otians.

The forme of an Engine,  
wherewith they set the  
wall on fire.

Delium recovered by the  
Athenians.



The *Bæotians* deliver to the *Athenians* their dead.

*Demosthenes* landing in *Strymon*, is beaten back by the Inhabitants.

*Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, dyeth, and *Seuthes* his brothers sonne succeedeth him.

*Brasidas* goeth to *Amphipolis*.

The originall of *Amphipolis*.

*Agnon* Founder of *Amphipolis*.

Of the Defendants, some were slaine, and 200 taken A prisoners. The rest of the number recovered their Gallies, and got home. *Delium* thus taken on the seventeenth day after the battell, and the Herald, which not long after, was sent againe about the fetching away of the dead, not knowing it, the *Bæotians* let him have them, and answered no more as they had formerly done. In the battell there dyed *Bæotians* few lesse then five hundred. *Athenians* few lesse then a thousand, with *Hippocrates* the General; but of light-armed Souldiers, and such as carried the provisions of the Army, a great number.

Not long after this battell, *Demosthenes*, that had been with his Army at *Sighe*, seeing the Treason succeeded not, having aboard his Gallies, his Army of *Acarnanians*, and *Agræans*, and foure hundred men of Armes of *Athens*, landed in *Sicynia*. But before all his Gallies came to Shoare, the *Sicynians*, who went out to defend their Territory, put to flight such as were already landed, and chased them backe to their Gallies; having also slaine some, and taken some alive. And whē they had erected a Trophy, they gaue Truce to the *Athenians* for the fetching away of their dead. C

About the time that these things past at *Delium*, dyed *Sitalces*, King of the *Odrysians*, overcome in battell, in an expedition against the *Triballians*; And *Seuthes* the son of *Spartocus*, his brothers sonne, succeeded him, in the kingdome both of the *Odrysians*, and of the rest of *Thrace*, as much as was before subiect to *Sitalces*.

The same Winter, *Brasidas*, with the Confederates in *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Amphipolis*; a Colony of the *Athenians*, situated on the Riuer *Strymon*. The place whereon the City now standeth, *Aristagoras* of *Miletus*, had formerly attempted to inhabite, when he fled from King *Darius*, but was beaten away by the *Edonians*. Two and thirty yeeres after this, the *Athenians* assayed the same, and sent thither ten thousand of their owne Citie, and of others as many as would goe. And these were destroyed all by the *Thracians* at *Drabescum*.

In the 29 yeere after, conducted by *Agnon* the sonne of *Nisias*, the *Athenians* came againe, and having driuen out the *Edonians*, became Founders of this place, formerly called the *Nine-ways*. This Army lay then at *Eion*, a Towne of E Traffique by the Sea-side, subiect to the *Athenians*, at the mouth

A mouth of the Riuer *Strymon*; five and twenty Furlongs from the Citie; *Agnon* named this City *Amphipolis*, because it was surrounded by the Riuer *Strymon*, that runnes on either side it. When he had taken it in, with a long wall from Riuer to Riuer, he put Inhabitants into the place, being conspicuous round about, both to the Sea, and Land.

Against this Citie marched *Brasidas* with his Armie, dislodging from *Arne* in *Chalcideæ*. Being about twilight come as farre as *Aulon* and *Bromiscus*, where the Lake *Bolbe* B entrench into the Sea, hee caused his Armie to suppe, and then marched forward by night. The weather was foule, and a little it snowed, which also made him to march the rather, as desiring that none of *Amphipolis*, but onely the Traytors, should bee aware of his comming. For there were both *Argilians* that dwelt in the same Citie, (now *Argilus* is a Colonie of the *Andrians*) and others, that contriued this, induced thereunto, some by *Perdiccas*, and some by the *Chalcideans*. But aboue all, the *Argilians* beeing of a City neere vnto it, and euer suspected by the *Athenians*, and C secret enemies to the place, as soone as opportunity was offered, and *Brasidas* arrived, (who had also long before dealt vnderhand with as many of them as dwelt in *Amphipolis*, to betray it) both receiued him into their owne Citie, and reuolting from the *Athenians*, brought the Armie forward the same night, as farre as to the bridge of the Riuer. The Towne stood not close to the Riuer, nor was there a Fort at the Bridge then, as there is now, but they kept it onely with a small guard of Souldiers. Having easily forced this guard, both in respect of the Treason, and of D the weather, and of his owne vnexpected approach, hee passed the Bridge, and was presently master of whatsoeuer the *Amphipolitans* had, that dwelt without. Having thus suddenly passed the Bridge, and many of those without beeing slaine, and some fled into the Citie, the *Amphipolitans*, were in very great confusion at it, and the rather, because they were ieialous one of another. And it is said, that if *Brasidas* had not sent out his Armie to take bootie, but had marched presently to the Citie, hee had in all likelihood taken it then. But so it was, that he pitched E ed there, and fell vpon those without, and seeing nothing succeeded by those within, lay still vpon the place. But the

The *Argilians* conspire to betray *Amphipolis*.

*Argilus* reuolteth.

*Brasidas* winneth the Bridge, and is master of all betwene it and the Citie.



The Amphipolitan send  
for aide to Thucydides,  
the Author of this His-  
torie.

the contrary Faction to the Traytors, being superiour in A  
number, whereby the Gates were not opened presently,  
both they and Eucles the Generall, who was then there for  
the Athenians, to keep the towne, sent wito the other Gene-  
rall, Thucydides the *sonne of Olorus*, the Writer of this Histo-  
rie, who had charge in *Thrace*, and was now about *Thasus*  
(which is an Island, and a Colonie of the *Parian*, distant  
from *Amphipolis*, about halfe a dayes sayle) requiring him  
to come and releue them.

When he heard the newes, he went thitherwards in all  
haste, with seuen Gallies which chanced to be with him B  
at that time. His purpose principally was, to prevent  
the yeelding vp of *Amphipolis*, but if he should faile of that,  
then to possesse himselfe of *Eion*, before *Brasidas* his com-  
ming.

*Brasidas*, in the meane time, fearing the aid of the Gallies,  
to come from *Thasus*, and hauing also beene informed that  
Thucydides possessed mines of gold in the parts of *Thrace*  
thereabouts, and was thereby of ability amongst the prin-  
cipall men of the Continent, halted by all meanes to get  
*Amphipolis*, before he should arrive; lest otherwise at his C  
comming, the Commons of *Amphipolis*, expecting that he  
would leuy Confederates, both from the Sea side, and in  
*Thrace*, and releue them, should thereupon refuse to yeeld.  
And to that end, offered them a moderate composition,  
causing to be proclaimed, That whosoever *Amphipolitan*,  
or *Athenian* would, might continue to dwell there, and enioy his  
owne, with equall and like forme of government. And that he that  
would not, should haue sine dayes respite to be gone, and carry away  
his goods.

*Brasidas*, fearing to be  
prevented by Thucydides,  
halteth by easie condi-  
tions, to procure the  
towne to yeeld.

When the Commons heard this, their mindes were tur-  
ned; and the rather, because the *Athenians* amongst them  
were but few, and the most, were a promiscuous multi-  
tude; And the kinsmen of those that were taken without,  
flocked together within, and in respect of their feare, they  
all thought the Proclamation reasonable. The *Athenians*  
thought it so, because they were willing to goe out, as ap-  
prehending their owne danger to be greater, then that  
of the rest, and withall, not expecting aid in haste; and the  
rest of the multitude, as being thereby both deliuered of  
the danger, and withall to retaine their Citie, with the E  
equall forme of government. Infomuch, that they which  
confpired

A confpired with *Brasidas*, now openly iustified the offer to  
be reasonable, and seeing the minds of the Commons were  
now turned, and that they gaue care no more to the words  
of the *Athenian* Generall, they compounded, and vpon the  
conditions proclaimed, receiued him. Thus did these  
men deliuer vp the City.

*Amphipolis* yeelded.

Thucydides with his Gallies, arriued in the euening of  
the same day at *Eion*. *Brasidas* had already gotten *Amphipo-  
lis*, and wanted but a night of taking *Eion* also, for if these  
Gallies had not come speedily to relieue it, by next mor-  
B ning it had beene had.

Thucydides cometh too  
late to releue *Amphipo-  
lis*, and putteth himselfe  
into *Eion*.

After this, Thucydides assured *Eion*, so as it should bee  
safe, both for the present, though *Brasidas* should assault it,  
and for the future; and tooke into it, such as according to  
the Proclamation made, came downe from *Amphipolis*. *Bra-  
sid*as, with many Boats came suddenly downe the Riuer  
to *Eion*, and attempted to seaze on the point of the ground  
lying out from the wall into the Sea, and thereby to com-  
mand the mouth of the Riuer; he assayed also the same,  
at the same time by Land, and was in both beaten off; but

And defendeth it against  
*Brasidas*.

C *Amphipolis* hee furnished with all things necessary.

Then reuolted to him *Myrcinus*, a City of the *Edonians*,  
(*Pittacus*, the King of the *Edonians*, being slaine by the sons  
of *Goaxus*, and by *Braure* his owne wife.) And not long af-  
ter, *Gapselus* also, and *Oesyme*, Colonies of the *Thasians*. *Per-  
diccas* also, after the taking of these places, came to him,  
and helped him in assuring of the same. After *Amphipolis*  
was taken, the *Athenians* were brought into great feare;  
especially, for that it was a City that yeelded them much  
profit, both in Timber which is sent them for the building  
of Gallies, and in reuennue of money; and because also,

Great inclination of the  
people of those parts to  
come in to *Brasidas*.

D though the *Lacedaemonians* had a passage open to come a-  
gainst their Confederates (the *Thessalians* conuoying them)  
as farre as to *Strymon*, yet if they had not gotten that  
Bridge, the Riuer being vpwards, nothing but a vast  
Fenne, and towards *Eion*, well guarded with their Gallies,  
they could haue gone no further, which now they  
thought they might easily doe, and therefore feared, lest  
their Confederates should reuolt. For *Brasidas* both  
shewed himselfe otherwise very moderate, and also gaue  
E out in speech, that he was sent forth to recouer the liber-  
ty of Greece. And the Cities, which were subiect to the

The *Athenians* begin to  
feare.

*Athenians*,



*Athenians*, hearing of the taking of *Amphipolis*, and what *A* assistance he brought with him, and of his gentle nature besides, were extremely desirous of innovation; and sent *Messengers* privately to bid him draw neere, every one striving who should first revolt. For they thought they might doe it boldly, falsely estimating the power of the *Athenians* to be lesse then afterwards it appeared, and making a iudgment of it according to blind wilfulness, rather then safe forecast. It being the fashion of men, what they wish to betruce to admit, euen vpon an vngrounded hope, and what they wish not, with a \* Magistrall kind of arguing to reiect. Withall, because the *Athenians* had lately receiued a blow from the *Bootians*, and because *Brasidas* had said, not as was the truth, but as serued best to allure them, that when he was at *Nisæa*, the *Athenians* durst not fight with those forces of his alone, they grew confident thereon, and beleueed not that any man would come against them. But the greatest cause of all was, that for the delight they tooke at this time to innovate, and for that they were to make triall of the *Lacedæmonians*, not till now angry, they were content by any meanes to put it to the hazzard. Which being perceiued, the *Athenians* sent Garrison Souldiers into those Cities, as many as the shortnesse of the time, and the season of Winter would permit. And *Brasidas* sent vnto *Lacedæmon*, to demand greater forces; and in the meane time prepared to build Gallies on the Riuer of *Strymon*. But the *Lacedæmonians*, partly through enuy of the principall men, and partly, because they more affected the redemption of their men taken in the \* Island, and the ending of the Warre, refused to furnish him.

The same Winter, the *Megareans* having recovered their Long-walls, holden by the *Athenians*, rased them to the very ground.

*Brasidas*, after the taking of *Amphipolis*, having with him the Confederates, marched with his Army into the Territory called *Aëte*. This *Aëte* is that prominent Territory, which is disjoyned from the Continent, by a Ditch made by the \* King. And *Athos* a high mountain in the same, determineth at the *Egean* sea. Of the Cities it hath one is *same*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, by the side of the said Ditch, on the part which looketh to the Sea, towards,

• Λογισμὸν αὐτοκράπσει.

The Athenians send Garrisons to the places thereabouts.

*Brafidæ* enuied at home.

\* *Sphaerocera*.

The Megareans demolish their Long-walls, which were before but disjoyned from the City, by the Athenians.

Brasidas invadeth the  
Territory of Aële, where  
Althos standeth.

\* Xerxes when he invaded Greece;

**A** *Eubœa*; The rest are *Tayssus*, *Cleona*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophyssus*, and *Dion*, and are inhabited by promiscuous Barbarians of \*two languages; some few there are also of the *Chalcidean* Nation, but the most are *Pelagique*, of those *Tyrrhene* Nations that once inhabited *Athens*, and *Lemnos*; and of the *Bisaltique* and *Chrestonique* Nations, and *Edonians*; and dwell in small Cities, the most of which yielded to *Braſidas*. But *Sane*, and *Dion* held out; for which cause he ſlayed with his Army and waſted their Territories. But ſeeing they would not hearken vnto him, he led his Army preſently

\*The Greeks, and their  
own Barbarian.

The manner how the  
Towne was betrayed.

It pointed, which was fire, and received the rest of the Targ-  
getiers by the Gate that leadeth to the Market place.



The Towne taken.

Brasidas, when he saw the signe, made his Army rise and A with a huge cry of all at once, to the great terrour of those within, entered into the City running. Some went directly in by the Gate, and some by certaine squared Timber-trees, which lay at the wall (which hauing been lately downe, was now againe in building) for the drawing vp of Stone. Brasidas therefore, with the greatest number, betooke himselfe to the highest places of the City, to make sure the winning of it, by possessing the places of aduantage.

The Athenians escape into a Castle of the same called Leocythus.

But the rest of the Rabble ran dispersed here and B there, without difference. When the Towne was taken, the most of the *Toroneans* were much troubled, because they were not acquainted with the matter; but the Conspirators, and such as were pleased with it, ioyned themselves presently with those that entered. The *Athenians* (of which there were about fifty men of Armes asleepe in the Market place) when they knew what had happened, fled all, except some few that were slaine vpon the place, some by Land, some by water in two Gallies that kept watch there, and saued themselves in *Leocythus*, which was C a Fort which they themselves held, cut off from the rest of the City to the Sea-ward, in a narrow isthmus. And thither also fled all such *Toroneans* as were affected to them. Being now day, and the City strongly possessed, Brasidas caused a Proclamation to be made, that those *Toroneans* which were fled with the *Athenians*, might come backe, as many as would, to their owne, and Inhabite there in security. To the *Athenians* he sent a Herald, bidding them depart out of *Leocythus*, vnder Truce, with all that they had, as a place D that belonged to the *Chalcideans*. The *Athenians* denied to quit the place, but the Truce they desired for one day, for the taking vp of their dead. And Brasidas granted it for two. In which two dayes, hee fortified the building's neere, and so also did the *Athenians* theirs. Hee also called an Assembly of the *Toroneans*, and spake vnto them, as hee had done before to the *Acanthians*, adding, That there was no iust cause, why either they shoud had praesented to put the Citie into his hands, should be otherwise thought of, or accounted Traitors for it, seeing that they did it, with no intent to bring the Citie into seruitude, nor were they brought vnto with money, but for the benefite, and libertie of the E

Brasidas his speech to the Toroneans.

A the Citie, or that they which were not made acquainted with it, should thinke, that themselves were not to reape as much good by it as the others. For he came not to destroy either Citie, or man: But had therefore made that Proclamation touching those that fled with the *Athenians*, because he thought them neuer the worse for that friendship, and made account when they had made tryall of the *Lacedaemonians*, they would shew as much good will also vnto them, or rather more, in as much as they would behaue themselves with more equity; and that their present feare, was onely vpon want of tryall. Withall, he wished them to prepare themselves to be true Confederates B for the future, and from hence forward, to looke to haue their faults imputed. For, for what was past he thought they had not done any wrong, but suffered it rather from other men that were too strong for them and therefore were to be pardoned, if they had in ought beene against him.

Brasidas taketh Leocythus.

When he had thus said, and put them againe into heart, the Truce being expired, he made diuers assaults vpon *Leocythus*. The *Athenians* fought against them from the Wall, though a bad one, and from the houses, such as had Battlements, and for the first day, kept them off. But the C next day, when the enemies were to bring to the Wall a great Engine, out of which they intended to cast fire vpon their Wooden Fences, and that the Army was now coming vp to the place where they thought they might best apply the Engine, and which was easiest to be assaulted, The *Athenians*, hauing vpon the top of the building, erected a Turret of Wood, and carried vp many Buckets of Water, and many men being also gone vp into it, the building ouercharged with weight, fell suddenly to the ground, and that with so huge a noyse, that though those which D were neere and saw it, were gaggued more then afraid, yet such as stood further off, especially the farthest of all, supposing the place to be in that part already taken, fled as fast as they could towards the Sea, and went aboard their Gallies.

Brasidas, when he perceiued the Battlements to be abandoned, and saw what had happened, came on with his Army, and presently got the Fort, and slew all that he found within it. But the rest of the *Athenians*, which before abandoned the place, with their Boats and Gallies, E put themselves into *Pallene*.

There was in *Leocythus* a Temple of *MYNERVA*.  
N n 2 And



And when *Brasidas* was about to give the assault, hee **A** had made Proclamation, that whosoever first scaled the wall, should have \* 30 *Mina* of silver, for a reward. *Brasidas* now conceiving that the place was won, by means not humane, gave those 30 *mina*, to the Goddess, to the use of the Temple. And then pulling downe *Lecythus*, he built it anew, and consecrated vnto her the whole place. The rest of this Winter, he spent in assuring the places he had already gotten, and in contriving the conquest of more. Which Winter ending, ended the eighth yeere of this Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, in the Spring of the Summer following, made a cessation of Armes, presently, for a yeere, hauing reputed with themselves, the *Athenians*, that *Brasidas* should by this meanes cause no more of their Cities to revolt, but that by this leaseure they might prepare to secure them; and that if this suspension liked them, they might afterwards make some agreement for a longer time; The *Lacedæmonians*, that the *Athenians* fearing what they feared, would vpon the taste of this intermission of their miseries, and weary-life, be the willing to compound, and with the restitution of their men, to conclude a Peace for a longer time. For they would faine haue recouered their men, whilest *Brasidas* his good fortune continued, and whilest, if they could not recouer them, they might yet (*Brasidas* prospering, and setting them equall with the *Athenians*) try it out vpon euen termes, and get the victory. Whereupon a suspension of Armes was concluded, comprehending both themselves, and their Confederates, in these words:

Concerning the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, it **D** seemeth good vnto vs, that whosoever will, may without fraud, and without feare, aske counsell thereof, according to the Lawes of his Countrey. The same also seemeth good to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, here present, and they promise moreover, to send Ambassadors to the *Boeotians* and *Phocæans*, and doe their best to perswade them to the same.

That concerning the treasure belonging to the god, we shall take care to find out those that haue offended therein, both wee and you, proceeding with right and equity, according to the Lawes of our severall States. And that whosoever else will, may doe the same, every **E** one according to the Law of his owne Countrey.

if

\* 30 pound, 15 shillings  
sterling.

THE NINTH  
YEERE.  
Truce for a yeere.  
The motives to Truce  
on either side.

The Articles of the  
Truce.

**A** If the *Athenians* will accord that each side shall keepe within their owne bounds, retaining what they now possesse, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the rest of the Confederates, touching the same, thinke good thus,

That the *Lacedæmonians* in *Coryphasium*, stay within the mountaines of *Buphras*, and *Tomeus*, and the *Athenians* in *Cythera*, without ioyning together in any League, either we with them, or they with vs.

That those in *Nisæa* and *Minoa*, passe not the high way, which from the Gate of *Megara*, neere the Temple of *Nisus*, leadeth to the Temple of *Neptune*, and so straight forward to the Bridge that lies ouer into *Minoa*. That the *Megareans* passe not the same Highway, nor into the Iland which the *Athenians* haue taken; Neither hauing commerce with other.

That the *Megareans* keepe what they now possesse in *Troezen*, and what they had before by agreement with the *Athenians*, and haue free Navigation, both vpon the Coastes of their owne Territories, and their Confederates.

That the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall passe the Seas not in a \* long Ship, but in any other boat, rowed with *Oares*, of burden not exceeding 500 *Talents*. That the *Heralds* and *Ambassadors* that shall passe betweene both sides for the ending of the Warre, or for trials of Iudgement, may goe, and come, without impeachment, with as many followers as they shall thinke good, both by Sea, and Land.

That during this time of Truce, neither we nor you receiue one others fugitives, free, nor bond.

That you to vs, and we to you, shall afford Law according to the use of our severall States, to the end our Controuersies may be decided Iudicially, without Warre.

**D** This is thought good by the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates. But if you shall conceive any other Articles more faire, or of more equity then these, then shall you goe and declare the same at *Lacedæmonia*. For neither shall the *Lacedæmonians*, nor their Confederates refuse any thing, that you shall make appeare to be iust. But let those that goe, goe with full Authority, euen as you doe now require it of vs. That this Truce shall be for a yeere.

The people decreed it. *Acamantis* was it. President of the Assembly. *Phænippus* the \* Scribe. *Niciades* \* Overseer, and *Laches* pronounced these words: With good fortune to the people of *Athena*; a suspension of Armes is concluded; according as the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates haue agreed;

\* Long Ships were of use for the Warre, and therefore here excluded, yet they had leave to use vessels that went with the Oares, so they were of another summe.

\* *Epistates*.  
\* *Epistates*.  
\* *Epistates*.  
The name of an Officer that kept the Cities all, which Office was but for a day, and he that had it, was one of the officers.



\* February.

\* For many years, they sacrificed at the making of all accords between Cities.

The revolt of Scione.

Brasidas goeth over in a Boat, but with a Gally before him, and his reason.

agreed; And they consented before the people, that the suspension A should continue for a yeere; beginning that same day, being the fourteenth of the month \* Elaphebolion. In which time the Ambassadors and Heralds going from one side to the other, should treat about a finall end of the Warres. And that the Commanders of the Army, and the Presidents of the City calling an Assembly, the Athenians should hold a Councell touching the manner of Embassage, for ending of the Warre first. And the Ambassadors there present should now immediately sweare this Truce for a yeere. The same Articles, the Lacedæmonians propounded, and the Confederates agreed vnto, with the Athenians, and their Confederates B in Lacedæmon, on the twelfth day of the Gerastion. The men that agreed vpon these Articles, and \* sacrificed, were these, viz. Of the Lacedæmonians, Taurus the sonne of Echetimidæ, Athenens the sonne of Pericleidas, and Tibilocharidas, the sonne of Eryxidædas. Of the Corinthians, Eneas the sonne of Ocytes, and Euphamidas the sonne of Aristonymus. Of the Sicyonians, Damotimas the sonne of Naucrates, and Onesimus the sonne of Megacles. Of the Megareans, Nicasus the sonne of Cenalus, and Menecrates the sonne of Amphidorus. Of the Epidaurians, Amphias the sonne of Eupéidas; Of the Athenians, the Generals themselves, Nicostratus the sonne of Diotrebæ, Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, and Autocles the sonne of Tolmaus. This was the Truce, and during the same, they were continually in Treacy, about a longer Peace.

About the same time, whilest they were going to and fro, Scione a City in Pallene revolted from the Athenians to Brasidas. The Scioneans say that they be Pollenians descended of those of Peloponnesus, and that their Ancestors passing the Seas from Troy, were driuen in by a Tempest, which tossed the Achæans vp and downe, and planted them D selves in the place they now dwell in. Brasidas vpon their revolt, went over into Scione by night; and though he had a Gallie, with him that went before; yet he himselfe followed a loose, in a Light-horseman. His reason was this, that if his Light-horseman should be assaulted by some greater Vessell, the Gally would defend it. But if hee met with a Gally equall to his owne, hee made account that such a one would not assault his Boat, but rather the Gally, whereby he might in the meane time goe through in safety. When he was over, and had called E the Scioneans to assembly, he spake vnto them as hee had done

A done before to them of Acanthus, and Torone, adding, That they of all the rest were most worthy to be commended, in as much as Pallene, being cut off in the Isthmus by the Athenians that possesse Rotidæa, and being no other then Ilanders, did yet of their owne accord come forth to meet their liberty, and stayed not through cowardlinesse; till they must of necessity haue been compelled to their owne manifest good. Which was an argument, that they would valiantly vndergoe any other great matter, to haue their State ordered to their mindes. And that he would verily hold them for most faithfull friends to the Lacedæmonians, and also otherwise

B doe them honour. The Scioneans were erected with these words of his; and now euery one alike encouraged, as well they that liked not what was done, as those that liked it, entertained a purpose, stoutly to vndergoe the Warre; and receiued Brasidas both otherwise honourably; and crowned him with a Crowne of gold; in the name of the Citie, as the deliuerer of Greece. And priuate persons honoured him with Garlands, and came to him, as they vse to doe, to a Champion that hath wonne a prize. But he leauing there a small Garrison for the present, came backe, C and not long after, carried ouer a greater Army, with designe, by the helpe of those of Scione, to make an attempt vpon Menda and Ponda. For he thought the Athenians would send succour to the place, as to an Iland, and desired to prevent them. Withall he had in hand a practise with some within to haue those Cities betrayed. So he attended; ready to vndertake that enterprize, both by land

But in the meane time came vnto him in a Gally, Aristonymus for the Athenians, and Arbenus for the Lacedæmonians, that carried about the newes of the Truce. Wherevpon D he sent away his Army againe to Torone. And these men related vnto Brasidas the Articles of the agreement. The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, in this was approoued of what was done, and Aristonymus shall in all other things satisfaction. But for the Scioneans, whose revolt by computation of the dayes, he had found to be after the making of the Truce, he denied that they were comprehended therein. Brasidas said much in contradiction of this, and that the Citie revolted before the Truce, and refused to render it. But when Aristonymus had sent to Athens, to informe them of the matter, the Athenians were ready presently to haue sent an Army against Scione. The Lacedæmonians

Brasidas his speech to the Scioneans.

The honour done to Brasidas by the Scioneans.

Brasidas receiueh newes of the suspension of Arnes.

Difference betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, about the restitution of Scione, which revolted after the Truce made, but before the Lacedæmonians knew of it.



The Athenians prepare  
to warre on Scione.

Decree of the Athenians  
against Scione.

The revolt of Menda.

\* Sure he would not reject  
them.

Perdiccas and Brasidas  
ioynly invade Arrhibeum.

*nians* in the meane time, sent Ambassadors to the *Athenians*, to tell them, that they could not send an Army against it without breach of the Truce, and vpon *Brasidas* his word, challenged the City to belong vnto them, offering themselves to the decision of Law. But the *Athenians* would by no meanes put the matter to iudgement. But meant, with all the speed they could make, to send an Army against it. Being angry at the heart, that it should come to this passe, that euen Islanders durst revolt, & trust to the vnprofitable helpe of the strength of the *Lacedaemonians* by Land. Besides, touching the time of the revolt, the *Athenians* had more truth on their side then themselves alleadged. For the revolt of the *Scioneans* was after the Truce two dayes. Whereupon, by the aduice of *Cleon*, they made a Decree, to take them by force, and to put them all to the Sword. And forbearing Warre in all places else, they prepared themselves onely for that.

In the meane time revolted also *Menda* in *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Bretrians*. These also *Brasidas* receiued into protection, holding it for no wrong, because they came in openly in time of Truce. And somewhat there was also, which he charged the *Athenians* with, about breach of the Truce. For which cause the *Mendians* had also bene the bolder, as \* sure of the intention of *Brasidas*, which they might guesse at by *Scione*, in as much as he could not be gotten to deliuer it. Withall, the *Few* were they, which had practised the revolt, who being once about it, would by no meanes giue it ouer, but fearing lest they should be discouered, forced the multitude, contrary to their owne inclination to the same. The *Athenians* being hereof presently aduertised, and much more angry now then before, made preparation to Warre vpon both, and *Brasidas* expecting that they would send a Fleet against them, receiued the women and children of the *Scioneans*, and *Mendians* into *Olynthus* in *Chalcidoea*, and sent ouer thither 500 *Peloponnesian* men of Armes, and 300 *Chalcideans* Targettiers, and for Commander of them all, *Polydamidas*. And those that were left in *Scione*, and *Menda*, ioyned in the administration of their affaires, as expecting to haue the *Athenian* Fleet immediately with them.

In the meane time *Brasidas*, and *Perdiccas*, with ioyned forces march into *Lyncium* against *Arrhibeum*, the second time.

*Perdiccas*

*A* *Perdiccas* led with him the power of the *Macedonians* his subiects, and such *Grecian* men of Armes as dwelt among them. *Brasidas*, besides the *Peloponnesians* that were left him, led with him the *Chalcideans*, *Acanthians*, and the rest, according to the Forces they could seuerally make. The whole number of the *Grecian* men of Armes were about 3000. The horsemen, both *Macedonians*, and *Chalcideans*, somewhat lesse then 1000, but the other Rabble of *Barbarians* was great. Being entred the Territory of *Arrhibeum*, and finding the *Lyncestians* encamped in the field,

*B* they also sate downe opposite to their Campe. And the Foot of each side, being lodged vpon a hill, and a Plain lying betwixt them both, the horsemen ran downe into the same, and a skirmish followed, first betweene the Horse onely of them both; but afterwards, the men of Armes of the *Lyncestians*, comming downe to aide their Horse from the hill, and offering battell first, *Brasidas* and *Perdiccas* drew downe their Army likewise, and charging put the *Lyncestians* to flight, many of which being slaine, the rest retired to the hill top, and lay still. After this, they erected a Trophy, and staid two or three dayes expecting the *Illyrians*,

*C* who were comming to *Perdiccas* vpon hire, and *Perdiccas* meant afterwards to haue gone on against the Villages of *Arrhibeum* one after another, and to haue sitten still there no longer. But *Brasidas* hauing his thoughts on *Menda*, lest if the *Athenians* came thither before his returne, it should receiue some blow, seeing withall that the *Illyrians* came not, had no liking to doe so, but rather to retire. Whilst they thus varied, word was brought that the *Illyrians* had betrayed *Perdiccas*, & ioyned themselves with *Arrhibeum*. So

*D* that now it was thought good to retyre, by them both, for feare of these, who were a warlike people, but yet for the time when to march, there was nothing concluded by reason of their variance. The next night, the *Macedonians*, and multitude of *Barbarians* (as it is vsuall with great Armies to be terrified vpon causes vknownne) being suddenly affrighted and supposing them to be many more in number then they were, and euen now vpon them betooke themselves to present flight, & went home. And *Perdiccas*, who at first knew not of it, they constrained when he knew, before he had

*E* spoken with *Brasidas*, (their Campes being farre asunder) to be gone also. *Brasidas* betimes in the morning when hee vnderstood

The Lyncestians flee.

*Perdiccas* expecteth mercenary aide out of *Illyria*.

The *Illyrians* come and turne to *Arrhibeum*.

The *Macedonians* vpon a sudden feare run away, and desert *Brasidas*.

*Brasidas* his retreat.

OO vnderstood



understood that the Macedonians were gone away without him, and that the Illyrians, and Arrhibeans were coming upon him, putting his men of Armes into a square forme, and receiving the multitude of his light-armed into the middlest, intended to retire likewise. The youngest men of his Souldiers, he appointed to run out upon the enemy, when they charged the Army any where with shot; and he himselfe with three hundred chosen men, marching in the Rere, intended, as he retired, to sustaine the formost of the enemy fighting, if they came close vp. But before the enemy approached, he encouraged his Souldiers, as the shortnesse of time gave him leaue, with words to this effect.

## THE ORATION OF

BRASIDAS to his  
Souldiers.

**M**EN of Peloponnesus, If I did not mistrust, in respect you are thus abandoned by the Macedonians, and that the Barbarians which come upon you, are many, that you were afraid, I should not at this time instruct you, and encourage you as I doe. But now against this desertion of your companions, and the multitude of your enemies, I will endeavour with a short instruction and hortation, to give you encouragement to the full. For, to be good Souldiers, is unto you naturall, not by the presence of any Confederates, but by your owne valour; and not to feare others for the number, seeing you are not come from a Citie where the Many beare rule over the Few, but the Few over Many, and have gotten this power by no other meanes then by overcoming in fight. And as these Barbarians, whom through ignorance you feare, you may take notice both by the former battels fought by vs against them before, in favour of the Macedonians, and also by what I my selfe coniecture, and have heard by others, that they have no great danger in them. For when any enemy whatsoever maketh shew of strength, being indeed weak, the truth once knowne, doth rather serve to embolden the other side, whereas against such as have valour indeed, a man will be the boldest, when he knoweth the least. These men here, to such as have not tried them, doe indeed make terrible offers, for the sight of their number; is fearefull; the greatnesse of their cry intolerable; and the

vaine

A vaine shaking of their weapons on high, is not without signification of menacing. But they are not answerable to this, when with such as stand then, they come to blowes. For fighting without order, they will quit their place without shame, if they be once pressed, and seeing it is with them, honourable alike to fight, or run away, their valours are neuer called in question. And a battell wherein every one may doe as he list, affords them a more handsome excuse to save themselves. But they trust rather in their standing out of danger, and terrifying vs a farre off, then in coming to hands with vs; for else they would rather have taken that course then this. And you see manifestly, that all that was before terrible in them, is in effect little, and serves onely to urge you to be going, with their shew and noise. Which if you sustaine at their first coming on, and againe withdraw your selves still, as you shall have leasure, in your order and places, you shall not onely come the sooner to a place of safety; but shall learne also against hereafter, that such a Rabble as this; to men prepared to endure their first charge, doe but make a flourish of valour, with threats from a farre, before the battell; but to such as give them ground, they are cagre enough to seeme courageous, where they may doe it safely.

**C** When Brasidas had made his exhortation, he led away his Army. And the Barbarians seeing it, pressed after them with great cries and tumult; as supposing he fled. But seeing that those who were appointed to runne out upon them, did so, and met them, which way soever they came on; and that Brasidas himselfe with his chosen band sustained them where they charged close; and endured the first brunt, beyond their expectation, and seeing also that afterwards continually when they charged, the other received them and fought, and when they ceased, the other retired; then at length the greatest part of the Barbarians forbore the Grecians, that with Brasidas were in the open field, and leaving a part to follow them with shot, the rest ranne with all speed after the Macedonians which were fled; of whom, as many as they overtook, they slew; and withall, prepossessed the passage, which is a narrow one betweene two hills; giving entrance into the Countrey of Arrhibeans, knowing that there was no other passage, by which Brasidas could get away. And when he was come to the very strait, they were going about him, to have cut him off. He, when he saw this, commanded the 300 that were with him, to runne every man as fast

Brasidas draweth away his army, and the Barbarians follow him.

The Illyrians pursue the Macedonians, leaving part of their army to follow Brasidas.

Brasidas seazeth the top of the hill by which he was to passe.



as he could to one of the tops, which of them they could A  
easiest get vp to, and try if they could drue downe those  
Barbarians that were now going vp to the same, before any  
greater number was about to hemme them in. These ac-  
cordingly fought with, and ouercame those Barbarians vp-  
on the hill, and thereby the rest of the Army marched the  
more easily to the top. For this beating of them from the  
vantage of the hill, made the Barbarians also afraid; so that  
they followed them no further, conceiuing withall, that  
they were now at the Confinnes, & already escaped through.  
B  
Brasidas, hauing now gotten the hills, & marching with more  
safety, came first the same day to Arissa, of the dominion of  
Perdiccas. And the Soldiers of the selues being angry with  
the Macedonians, for leauing them behind, whatsoeuer teems  
of Oxen, or fardles fallen from any man (as was likely to  
happen in a retreat, made in feare, and in the night) they  
lighted on by the way, the Oxen they cut in pieces, & took  
the fardles to the selues. And from this time did Perdiccas  
first esteeme Brasidas as his enemy, and afterwards hated the  
Peloponnesians, not with ordinary hatred for the Athenians  
sake, but being vicerly fallen out with him, about his own  
particular interest, sought meanes as soone as he could, to  
compound with these, & to be disleagued from the other.

Brasidas at his returne out of Macedonia to Torone, found  
that the Athenians had already taken Menda, and therefore  
staying there (for he thought it impossible to passe ouer in-  
to Pullene, and to recouer Menda) he kept good watch vpon  
Torone. For about the time that these things passed amongst  
the Lyncestean, the Athenians after all was in readinesse, set  
sayle for Menda and Scione, with 50 Gallies, whereof 10  
were of Chini, and 1000 men of Armes of their owne City, D  
600 Archers, 1000 Thracian Mercenaries, and other Tar-  
getiers of their owne Confederates thereabouts, vnder the  
conduct of Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, and Nicosratum the son  
of Diotrophes. These lanching from Potidea with their Gal-  
lies, and putting in at the Temple of Neptune, marched pre-  
sently against the Mendians. The Mendians with their own  
forces, 300 of Scione that came to aide them, and the aydes  
of the Peloponnesians, in all 700 men of Armes, and Polyda-  
midas their Commander, were encamped vpon a strong hill  
without the City. Nicias with 120 light-armed Soldiers E  
of Methone, and 60 chosen men of Armes of Athens, and all  
his

The Spight of Brasidas  
Soldiers against the  
Macedonians for abando-  
ning them.

Perdiccas and Brasidas fall  
out.

The Mendians encampe  
without the Citie.

A his Archers attempting to get vp by a path that was in  
the hills side, was wounded in the attempt, and could not  
make his way by force. And Nicosratum which had the rest of  
the Army, going another way farther about, as he climbed  
the hill being hard of access, was quite disordered, and the  
whole Army wanted little of being utterly discomfited.  
So for this day, seeing the Mendians and their Confederates  
stood to it, the Athenians retired, and pitched their Campe.  
And at night the Mendians retired into the City. The next  
day the Athenians layling about vnder that part of the City  
B which is towards Scione, seized on the suburbs, and all that  
day waited their fields, no man coming forth to oppose  
them; for there was also sedition in the Citie; and the 300  
Scidreians the night following went home againe. The next  
day, Nicias with the one halfe of the Army, marched to the  
Confinnes, and waited the Territory of the Scioneans; and  
Nicosratum at the same time with the other halfe, lay downe  
against the City, before the higher Gates towards Potidea.  
Polydamidas (for it fell out that the Mendians, & their aides  
had their Armes lying within the wall, in this part) set his  
C men in order for the battell, and encouraged the Mendians  
to make a sally. But when one of the faction of the Com-  
mons in sedition, said to the contrary, that they would not  
goe out, and that it was not necessary to fight, and was vp-  
on this contradiction, by Polydamidas pulled and molested,  
the Commons in passion presently took vp their Armes,  
and made towards the Peloponnesians, and such other with  
them as were of the contrary faction, and falling vpon  
them, put the to flight, partly with the suddenesse of the  
charge, and partly through the feare they were in of the  
D Athenians, to whom the Gates were at the same time ope-  
ned. For they imagined that this insurrection was by some  
appointment made betweene them. So they fled into the  
Citadell, as many as were not presently slaine, which was  
also in their owne hands before. But the Athenians (for now  
was Nicias also come backe, and at the Towne side) rushed  
into the City, with the whole Army, and rised it, not as o-  
pened to them by agreement, but as taken by force. And  
the Capitaines had much ado to keepe them that they al-  
so killed not the men. After this, they bad the Mendians  
E vie the same forme of gouernement they had done before,  
and to giue iudgement vpon those they thought the prin-  
cipall

Nicias wounded.

Sedition in Menda.

The Gates opened to  
the Athenians vpon ses-  
sion.

Menda pillaged by the  
Athenians.



The Athenians leade their  
army againſt Scione.

capall authors of the reuolt, amongſt themſelues. Thoſe A  
that were in the Cittadell, they ſhut vp with a wall reach-  
ing on both ſides to the Sea, and left a guard to defend it;  
and hauing thus gotten Menda, they led their Army againſt  
Scione.

The Scionians, and the Peloponneſians, comming out a-  
gainſt them, poſſeſſed themſelues of a ſtrong hil before the  
Citie, which if the enemy did not winne, he ſhould not be  
able to encloſe the City with a wall. The Athenians ha-  
uing ſtrongly charged them with ſhot, and beaten the de-  
fendants from it, encamped vpon the hill, and after they B  
had ſet vp their Trophy, prepared to build their wall a-  
bout the Citie. Not long after, whileſt the Athenians were  
at worke about this, thoſe aides that were beſieged in the  
Cittadell of Menda, forcing the watch by the Sea-ſide,  
came by night, and eſcaping moſt of them through the  
Campe before Scione, put themſelues into that City.

Perdiccas maketh Peace  
with the Athenians.

As they were encloſing of Scione, Perdiccas ſent a He-  
rald to the Athenian Commanders, and concluded a Peace  
with the Athenians, vpon hatred to Braſidas, about the retreat  
made out of Lynceus, hauing then immediately begun to C  
treat of the ſame. For it happened alſo at this time that Iſ-  
chagoras a Lacedemonian was leading an Army of foot vnto  
Braſidas. And Perdiccas, partly becauſe Nicias aduiſed him,  
ſeeing the Peace was made, to giue ſome cleare token that  
he would be firme; and partly becauſe he himſelfe deſired  
not that the Peloponneſians ſhould come any more into  
his Territories, wrought with his hoſtes in Theſſaly, hauing  
in that kind, euer viſed the prime men, and ſo ſtopped the  
Army and Munition, as they would not ſo much as try the  
Theſſalians, whether they would let them paſſe or not. D  
Neuertheleſſe Iſchagoras, and Ameinias, and Ariſteus them-  
ſelues went on to Braſidas, as ſent by the Lacedemonians to  
view the ſtate of affaires there. And alſo tooke with them  
from Sparta, contrary to the Law, ſuch men as were but in  
the beginning of their youth to make them gouernours of  
Cities, rather then to commit the Cities to the care of ſuch  
as were there before. And Cleonidas the ſonne of Cleonymus,  
they made gouernour of Amphipolis, and Epitelas the ſonne of  
Hegesander, gouernour of Torone.

The walls of Theſpie de-  
molished by the Thebans.

The ſame Summer, the Thebans demolished the wallles E  
of the Theſpians, laying Atticifme to their charge. And  
though

A though they had euer meant to doe it, yet now it was ea-  
ſier, becauſe the flower of their youth was ſlaine in the  
battell againſt the Athenians.

The Temple of Iuno in Argos, was alſo burnt downe  
the ſame Summer, by the negligence of Chryſis the Prieſt,  
who hauing ſet a burning Torch by the Garland, fell a-  
ſleepe, inſomuch as all was on fire, and flamed our before  
ſhee knew. Chryſis the ſame night, for feare of the Ar-  
giues, fled preſently to Pblum, and they according to the  
Law formerly vſed, choſe another Prieſt in her roome, cal-  
B led Phacinis. Now when Chryſis fled, was the eighth yeere  
of this Warre ended, and halfe of the ninth.

The Temple of Iunio  
Argos burnt by negli-  
gence of an old woman  
Prieſt.

Phacinis, Prieſt of Iuno,  
in the place of Chryſis.

Siege laid to Scione.  
The end of the ninth  
Summer.

Scione in the very end of this Summer was quite en-  
cloſed, and the Athenians hauing left a guard there, went  
home with the reſt of their Army.

The Winter following, nothing was done betweene the  
Athenians and the Lacedemonians, becauſe of the Truce. But  
the Mantineans, and the Tegeates, with the Confederates of  
both, fought a battell at Laodicea, in the Territory of Ore-  
ſſia, wherein the victory was doubtfull, for either ſide put  
C to flight one Wing of their enemies, both ſides ſet vp  
Trophies, and both ſides ſent of their ſpoyles vnto Delphi.  
Neuertheleſſe, after many ſlaine on either ſide, and equall  
battell, which ended by the comming of night, the Tegeates  
lodged all night in the place, and erected their Trophye  
then preſently, whereas the Mantineans turned to Buc-  
lion, and ſet vp their Trophye afterwards.

Battell betweene the  
Mantineans and the  
Tegeates.

The ſame Winter ending, and the Spring now approa-  
ching, Braſidas made an attempt vpon Potidea; For com-  
ming by night, he applyed his Ladders, and was thitherto  
D vndiſcerned. He tooke the time to apply his Ladders,  
when the Bell paſſed by, and before he that carried it  
to the next, returned. Neuertheleſſe, being diſco-  
uered, he ſcaled not the Wall, but preſently  
againewithdrew his Army with ſpeed,  
not ſtaying till it was day. So ended  
this Winter, and the ninth yeere  
of this Warre written by

Braſidas attempteth  
Potidea.

The end of the ninth  
yeere.

THUCYDIDES.

\* \* \*

E



A



B

THE  
FIFTH BOOKE  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The former yeeres Truce ended; Cleon warreth on the Chalcedicke Cities, and reconereth Torone. Phæax is sent by the Athenians, to moue a Warre amongst the Sicilians. Cleon and Brasidas, who were on both sides the principall maintainers of the Warre, are both slaine at Amphipolis. Presently after their death, a Peace is concluded, and after that againe, a League betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Diuers of the Lacedæmonian Confederates heretofore discontented, seeke the Confederacy of the Argiues. These make League, first with the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans, then with the Lacedæmonians, and then againe (by the artifice of Alcibiades) with the Athenians. After this the Argiues make Warre vpon the Epidaurians, and the Lacedæmonians vpon the Argiues. The Athenian Captaines and the Melians, treat by way of Dialogue, touching the yeelding of Melos, which the Athenians after wards besiege and winne. These are the Actes of almost sixe yeeres more of the same Warre.

D

THE Summer following, the Truce for a yeere, which was to last till the \* Pythian Holidayes, expired. During this Truce, the Athenians remoued the Delians out of Delos, because though they were consecrated, yet for a certaine crime committed of old they steamed them polluted persons; because also they thought there wanted this part to make perfect the purgation

The Truce for a yeere expired.  
\* Exercises dedicated to Apollo, and celebrated at Delphi, about the 12 of the month Elaphobolium, as may be gathered by the beginning of the Truce on that day.  
The Delians remoued out of Delos, vpon superstition.

P p

purgation



\* Lib. 3. pag. 101.

The Delians fear themselves in Adramyttium.

Cleon goeth out with an army into the parts vpon Thrace.

He assaulteth Torone.

\* Into the Haven of Torone.

Pafitelidas with the Garrison of the Towne, endeavoureth to defend it.

Cleon taketh Torone.

Pafitelidas, a Lacedaemonian Captaine, taken aliue.

purgation of the Iland; in the purging whereof, as I declared \* before, they thought they did well to take vp the sepulchres of the dead. These Delians seated themselves afterwards, euery one as he came, in Adramyttium in Asia a Towne given vnto them by Pharnaces.

After the Truce was expired, Cleon preuailed with the Athenians, to be sent out with a Fleet against the Cities, lying vpon Thrace; He had with him of Athenians, 1200 men of Armes, and 100 horsemen, Of Confederates more, and thirty Gallies. And first arriuing at Scione, which was yet besieged, he tooke aboard some men of Armes, of those that kept the siege, and sailed into the Haven of the Colophonians, not farre distant from the Citie of Torone. And there hauing heard by fugitiues, that Brasidas was not in Torone, nor those within sufficient to giue him battell, hee marched with his Army to the City, and sent ten of his Gallies about into the \* Haven. And first he came to the New-wall, which Brasidas had raised about the Citie to take in the Suburbs, making a breach in the Old-wall, that the whole might be one Citie. And Pafitelidas, a Lacedaemonian, Captaine of the Towne, with the Garrison there present, came to the defence, & fought with the Athenians that assaulted it. But being oppressed, (and the Gallies which were before sent about being by this time come into the Haven) Pafitelidas was afraid, lest those Gallies should take the Towne, vnfurnished of defendants, before he could get backe, and that the Athenians on the other side should winne the wall, and he be intercepted betwene them both; and thereupon abandoned the wall, and ran backe into the Citie. But the Athenians that were in the Gallies, hauing taken the towne before he came, and the Land-army following in after him, without resistance, and entering the City by the breach of the Old-wall, slew some of the Peloponnesians, and Toroneans on the place, and some others, amongst whom was the Captaine Pafitelidas, they tooke aliue. Brasidas was now comming with aide towards Torone, but aduertised by the way, that it was already lost, went backe againe, being about forty Furlongs short of preuenting it. Cleon and the Athenians erected two Trophies, one at the Haven, another at the Wall.

The Women and Children of the Toroneans, they made slaves, but the men of Torone, and the Peloponnesians, and such

A such Chalcideans as were amongst them, in all, about 700; they sent away prisoners to Athens. The Peloponnesians were afterward, at the making of the Peace, dismissed, the rest were redeemed, by the Olympians by exchange of man for man.

About the same time the Boeotians tooke Panactum, a Fort of the Athenians, standing in their Confinnes, by treason.

Cleon, after he had settled the Garrison in Torone, went thence by Sea about the mountaine Athos, to make Warre against Amphipolis.

About the same time Phaeax the (sonne of Erasistratus, who with two others was sent Ambassador into Italy, and Sicily, departed from Athens with two Gallies. For the Leontines, after the Athenians, vpon the making of the Peace, were gone out of Sicily, receiued many strangers into the freedom of their City, and the Commons had a purpose also to haue made diuision of the Land. But the great men perceiuing it, called in the Syracusians, and draue the Commons out. And they wandred vp and down, euery one as he chanced, & the great men, vpon conditions agreed on with the Syracusians, abandoning and deserting that city, went to dwell with the priuiledge of free Citizens in Syracuse.

After this againe, some of them, vpon dislike, relinquished Syracuse, and leazured on Phoece, a certaine place, part of the City, of the Leontines, and vpon Bricinnie, a Castle in the Leontine Territory; thither also came vnto them most of the Commons, that had before been driven out, and settling themselves, made Warre from those places of strength. Vpon intelligence hereof, the Athenians sent Phaeax thither, to perswade their Confederates there, and if they could, all the Sicilians ioyntly, to make Warre, vpon the Syracusians that were now beginning to grow great, to try if they might thereby preserve the common people of the Leontines. Phaeax arriuing preuailed with the Camarineans, and Agrigentines; but the businesse finding a stop at Gelan, hee went vnto, no more as conceiuing he should not be able to perswade the.

So he returned through the cities of the Siculi vnto Catania, hauing been at Bricinnie, by the way, and there encouraged them to hold out, and from Catania he set saile, and departed. In his voyage to Sicily both going, and comming, hee dealt as hee went by, with sundry Cities also, of Italy, to enter into friendship with the Athenians.

Seven hundred men sent prisoners to Athens.

Panactum taken by the Boeotians.

Cleon goeth to Amphipolis.

Phaeax sent Ambassador to the Sicilians.

The Leontine Commons driven out of the City, by the Syracusians.

The Leontine Nobility become Syracusians, and goe to Syracuse to dwell.

The Leontines make War on the Syracusians.

Phaeax moueth the Sicilians to Warre vpon the Syracusians.

The Gelans stop the motion made by Phaeax.



He also lighted on those *Locrians*, which hauing dwelt A once in *Messina*, were afterwards driuen out againe; being the same men, which after the Peace in *Sicily*, vpon a sedition in *Messina*, wherein one of the factious called in the *Locrians*, had been then sent to inhabite there, and now were sent away againe. For the *Locrians* held *Messina* for a while. *Phæax* therfore chancing to meet with these, as they were going to their owne City, did them no hurt, because the *Locrians* had been in speech with him about an agreement with the *Athenians*. For when the *Sicilians* made a generall Peace, these onely of all the Confederates, refused B to make any Peace at all with the *Athenians*. Nor indeed would they haue done it now, but that they were constrained thereunto by the Warre they had with the *Ioni-ans*, and *Melaens* their owne Colonies and borderers. And *Phæax*, after this, returned to *Athens*.

*Cleon*, who was now gone from *Torone*, and come about to *Amphipolis*, making *Eion* the seat of the Warre, assaulted the Citie of \* *Stagirus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, but could not take it; But *Gampelus*, a Colony of the *Thasians* hee tooke by assault. And hauing sent Ambassadors to *Perdiccas*, to will him to come to him with his forces, according to the League, and other Ambassadors into *Thrace* vnto *Pollis*, King of the *Odorinians*, to take vp as many mercenary *Thracians*, as he could, he lay still in *Eion*, to expect their comming. *Brasidas* vpon notice hereof, late downe ouer against him at *Cerdylum*. This is a place belonging to the *Argilians*, standing high, and beyond the Riuer, not farre from *Amphipolis*, and from whence hee might discerne all that was about him. So that *Cleon* could not but be secie, if he should rise with his Army to goe against *Amphipolis*, which he expected he would doe, and that in contempt of his small number he would goe vp with the Forces he had then present. Withall he furnished himselfe with 1500 mercenary *Thracians*, and tooke vnto him all his *Edonians*, both horsemen, and Targettiers. He had also of *Macedonians*, and *Chalcidians*, 1000 Targettiers besides them in *Amphipolis*. But for men of Armes, his whole number was at the most 2500; and of *Grecian* horsemen 300. With 1500 of these came *Brasidas*, and late downe at *Cerdylum*, the rest stood ready ordered with *Clearchus* E their Captaine, within *Amphipolis*. *Cleon* for a while lay still,

*Phæax* maketh Peace with the *Locrians*.

*Cleon* maketh Warre on *Amphipolis*.

\* *Stagirus* the Citie where *Aristotle* was borne. *Gampelus* taken by *Cleon*.

*Brasidas* stretch downe ouer against *Cleon*, at *Cerdylum*.

The Forces of *Brasidas*.

7

A still, but was afterwards forced to doe as was expected by *Brasidas*. For the Souldiers being angry with their stay there, and recounting with themselves, what a command his would be, and with what ignorance, and cowardize, against what skill and boldnesse of the other, and how they came forth with him against their wils, he perceiued their muttering, and being vnwilling to offend them with so long a stay in one place, dislodged, and led them forward. And he tooke the same course there, which hauing succeeded well before at *Pylus*, gaue him cause to B thinke himselfe to haue some iudgement. For he thought not that any body would come forth to giue him battell, and gaue out, he went vp principally to see the place. And stayed for greater forces; not to secure him in case he should be compelled to fight, but that he might therewith enuiron the Citie on all sides at once; and in that manner take it by force. So he went vp, and set his Army down on a strong hill before *Amphipolis*, standing himselfe to view the Fens of the riuer *Steymon*, and the situation of the Citie towards *Thrace*; and thought he could haue retired againe C at his pleasure without battell. For neither did any man appeare vpon the walls, nor come out of the Gates which were all fast shut, inasmuch as he thought he had committed an errour, in comming without Engines; because he thought he might by such meanes haue wonne the Citie, as being without defendants. *Brasidas*, as soone as he saw the *Athenians* remoue, came downe also from *Cerdylum*, and put himselfe into *Amphipolis*. He would not suffer them to make any sally, nor to face the *Athenians* in order of battell, mistrusting his owne Forces, which he D thought inferior, not in number (for they were in a maner equall) but in worth (for such *Athenians* as were there, were pure, and the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians*, which were amongst them, were of the very ablest) but prepared to set vpon them by a wile. For if he should haue stiewed to the enemy, both his number, and their Armour, such as for the present they were forced to vie, he thought that thereby he should not so soone get the victory, as by keeping them out of sight, and out of their contempt, till the very point. Wherefore chusing to himselfe 1500 men of E Armes, and committing the charge of the rest to *Clearchus*, he resolved to set suddenly vpon them before they should retire;

*Cleon* goeth vp to *Amphipolis* against his owne minde.

*Cleon*, not expecting a sally, vieweth the situation of the Towne.

*Brasidas* stretcheth himselfe into *Amphipolis*.

A stratagem of *Brasidas*.

7



retire, as not expecting to take them so alone another time, if their succours chanced to arrive. And when he had called his Souldiers together, to encourage them, and to make knowne unto them his designe, he said as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

**M**EN of Peloponnesus, as for your Countrey, how by valour it hath ever retained her liberty; and that being Dorians, you are now to fight against Ionians, of whom you were ever wont to get the victory, let it suffice that I have touched it thus briefly. But in what manner I intend to charge, that, I am now to enforce you of; lest the venturing by few at once, and not altogether, should seeme to proceed from weaknesse, and so dishearten you. I doe coniecture that it was in contempt of vs, and as not expecting to be fought withall, that the enemy both came vp to this place, and that they have now betaken themselves carelesly, and out of order to view the Countrey. But he that best observing such errors in his enemies, shall also, to his strength, give the onset, not alwayes openly, and in ranged battell, but as is best for his present advantage, shall for the most part attaine his purpose. And these wiles carry with them the greatest glory of all; by which deceiving most the enemy, a man doth most benefit his friends. Therefore whilest they are secure without preparation, and intend, for ought I see, to steale away, rather then to stay, I say, in this their loosenesse of resolution, and before they put their minds in order, I for my part, with those I have chosen, will, if I can; before they get away fall in upon the midst of their Army, running. And you Clearidas, afterwards, as soone as you shall see me to have charged (and as it is probable) to have put them into affright; take those that are with you, both Amphipolitans, and all the rest of the Confederates, and setting open the Gates, runne out upon them, and with all possible speed, come vp to stroke of hand (for there is great hope this way to terrifie them, seeing they which come after, are ever of more terrour to the enemy, then those that are already present, and in fight.) And be valiant, as is likely you should that are a Spartan; and you Confederates follow manfully, and beleene that the parts of a good Souldier, are willingness, sense of shame, and obedience to his Leaders; and that this day you shall either gaine your selues liberty by your valour, and to be called Confederates of the Lacedaemonians, or else not onely to serve the Athenians your selues; and at the best

A best if you be not led Captives, nor put to death, to be in greater servitude then before, but also to be the hinderers of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. But be not you cowards, seeing how great a matter is at stake: and I for my part will make it appeare, that I am not more ready to perswade another, then to put my selfe into action.

When Brasidas had thus said, he both prepared to goe out himselfe, and also placed the rest that were with Cleasridas before the Gates, called the Thracian Gates, to issue forth afterwards as was appointed. Now Brasidas hauing been in fight, when he came downie from Cerdylum, and againe when he sacrificed in the City, by the Temple of Pallas, which place might be seene from without; it was told Cleon, whilst Brasidas was ordering of his men, (for he was at this time gone off a little to looke about him) that the whole Army of the enemies was plainly to be discerned within the Towne, and that the feet of many men, and horses, ready to come forth, might be discerned from vnder the Gate. Hearing this, he came to the place, and when he saw it was true, being not minded to fight; vntill his aides arrived, and yet making no other account, but that his retreat would be discovered, he commanded at once to give the signall of retreat, and that, as they went, the left Wing should march formost, which was the only meanes they had to withdraw towards Eion. But when he thought they were long about it, causing the right Wing to wheel about, and lay open their disarmed parts to the enemy, hee led away the Army himselfe. Brasidas at the same time, hauing spied his opportunity; and that the Army of the Athenians remoued, said to those about him; and the rest,

D These men stay not for vs; it is apparant by the wagging of their Speares, and of their heads. For where such motion is, they vse not stay for the charge of the enemy. Therefore open me some body the Gates appointed, and let vs boldly and speedily fall upon them. Then hee went out himselfe at the Gate towards the Trench; and which was the first Gate of the Long-wall, which then was standing; and at high speed tooke the straight way; in which, as one passeth by the strongest part of the Towne, there standeth now a Trophy. And charging upon the midst of the Athenian Army, E which was terrified both with their owne disarray, and the valour of the man forced them to flee. And Cleasridas,

Brasidas prepareth to assault the army of the Athenians.

Cleon is admonished of a fall towards:

And leadeth his army backe.

Brasidas taketh this opportunity for this fall.

(as



(as was appointed) having issued out, by the *Thracian* A  
*Grates*, was withall comming vpon them. And it fell  
 out that the *Athenians* by this unexpected and sudden at-  
 tempt, were on both sides in confusion; and the left wing  
 which was next to *Eion*, and which indeed was marching  
 away before, was immediately broken off, from the rest  
 of the Army, and fled. When that was gone, *Brasidas*  
 comming vp to the right wing, was there wounded. The  
*Athenians* saw not when he fell, and they that were neere,  
 tooke him vp, and carried him off. The right wing stood  
 longer to it; and though *Cleon* himselfe presently fled, (as B  
 at first he intended not to stay) and was intercepted by a  
*Myrcinian* Targettier, and slaine, yet his men of Armes  
 casting themselves into a circle, on the top of a little hill,  
 twice or thrice resisted the charge of *Clearidas*, and shrunke  
 not at all, till begirt with the *Myrcinian* and *Chalcidean*  
 horse, and with the Targettiers, they were put to flight  
 by their Darts. Thus the whole Army of the *Atheni-*  
*ans*, getting away with much adoe ouer the hills, and by  
 seuerall wayes: all that were not slaine vpon the place, or  
 by the *Chalcidean* horse, and Targettiers, recovered *Eion*. C  
 The other side taking vp *Brasidas* out of the battell, and  
 hauing so long kept him aliue, brought him yet breathing  
 into the City. And he knew that his side had gotten the  
 victory; but expired shortly after. When *Clearidas* with  
 the rest of the Army, were returned from pursute of the  
 enemy, they rifled those that were slaine, and erected a  
 Trophie.

After this the Confederates following the Corpses of  
*Brasidas*, all of them in their Armes, buried him in the City  
 at the publique charge, in the entrance of that which is D  
 now the Market place. And the *Amphipolitans* afterwards  
 hauing taken in his Monument with a wall, \* killed vnto  
 him, as to a \* Heroe, honoured him with Games and an-  
 niuersary sacrifice, and attributed their Colony vnto him,  
 as to the Founder, pulling downe the Edifices of \* *Ag-*  
*non*, and defacing whatsoeuer Monument might main-  
 taine the memory of his foundation. This they did both  
 for that they esteemed *Brasidas* for their preferuer, and also  
 because at this time, through feare of the *Athenians*, they  
 courted the *Lacedemonians* for a League. As for *Agnon*, E  
 because of their hostility with the *Athenians*, they thought  
 it

*Brasidas* is wounded and  
 falleth.

*Cleon* flieth, and is slaine.

*Brasidas* his army getteth  
 the victory.

*Brasidas* liueth onely so  
 long as to know he had  
 the victory.

The honour done to  
*Brasidas* after his death.

\* Killed sacrifices vnto him.  
 \* Or semied.

\* Who was their true  
 Founder.

A it neither expedient for them to giue him honours, nor that  
 they would be acceptable vnto him if they did. The  
 dead bodies they rendred to the *Athenians*; of whom there  
 were slaine about 600, and but seuen of the other side, by  
 reason, that it was no set battell, but fought vpon such an  
 occasion and precedent affright. After the dead were tak-  
 en vp, the *Athenians* went home by Sea, and *Clearidas*, and  
 those with him, stayed to settle the estate of *Amphipolis*.

About the same time of the Summer now ending, *Ram-*  
*phias*, *Aniocharidas*, and *Epicydidas*, *Lacedemonians*, were lea-  
 ding a supply towards the parts vpon *Thrace*, of 500 men B  
 of Armes, and when they were come to *Heraclea*, in *Tra-*  
*chinia* they stayed there, to amend such things as they  
 thought amisse; Whilst they stayed, this battell was  
 fought, And the Summer ended.

The next Winter they that were with *Ramphias*, went  
 presently forward, as farre as the hill *Pierium* in *Thessaly*.  
 But the *Thessalians* forbidding them to goe on, and *Brasidas*  
 to whom they were carrying this Army being dead, they  
 returned homewards; conceiuing that the opportunity  
 C now serued not, both because the *Athenians* were vpon this  
 ouerthrow gone away, and for that they themselves were  
 vnable to performe any of those designs, which the other  
 had intended. But the principall cause of their returne  
 was this, that they knew at their comming forth, that the  
*Lacedemonians* had their mindes, more set vpon a Peace,  
 then Warre.

Presently after the battell of *Amphipolis*, and returne of  
*Rhamphias* out of *Thessaly*, it fell out, that neither side did  
 any act of Warre, but were inclined rather to a Peace;  
 D the *Athenians* for the blow they had receiued at *Delium*,  
 and this other, a little after, at *Amphipolis*; and because they  
 had no longer that confident hope in their strength, on  
 which they relied, when formerly they refused the Peace,  
 as hauing conceiued vpon their present successe, that they  
 should haue had the vpper hand.

Also they stood in feare of their owne Confederates,  
 left emboldned by these losses of theirs, they should more  
 and more reuolt, and repented that they made not the  
 Peace, after their happy successe at *Pylus*, when occasion  
 E was offered to haue done it honourably. And the  
*Lacedemonians* on the other side did desire Peace, because

Supplies going to *Brasidas*, stay by the way at  
*Heraclea*.

The end of the tenth  
 Summer.  
 The supplies going to  
*Brasidas*, hearing of his  
 death, returne to *Laceda-*  
*mon*.

The *Athenians* and *Lace-*  
*demonians* incline to  
 Peace.  
 The causes why the *A-*  
*thensians* desired Peace.

The causes why the *Lace-*  
*demonians* desired peace.



because the Warre had not proceeded as they expected: for they had thought they should in a few yeeres have warred downe the power of *Athens*, by waisting their Territory; and because they were falne into that calamity in the Island, the like whereof had neuer happened vnto *Sparta* before: because also their Countrey was continually rauaged by those of *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and their *Helotes* continually fled to the Enemy; and because they feared lest those which remained, trusting in them that were runne away, should in this estate of theirs, raise some innouation, as at other times before they had done. Withall it hapned, that the 30. yeeres peace with the *Argiues*\* was now vpon the point of expiring; and the *Argiues*\* would not renew it, without restitution made them of *Cynuria*; so that to warre against the *Argiues* and the *Athenians* both at once, seemed impossible. They suspected also, that some of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* would reuolt to the *Argiues*, as indeed it came afterwards to passe. These things considered, it was by both parts thought good to conclude a Peace; but especially by the *Lacedemonians*, for the desire they had to recover their men taken in the Island, for the *Spartans* that were amongst them; were both of the prime men of the City, and their kinsmen. And therefore they began to treat, presently after they were taken.

But the *Athenians*, by reason of their prosperity, would not lay downe the War at that time on equall termes. But after their defeat at *Delium*, the *Lacedemonians* knowing they would be apter now to accept it, made that Truce for a yeere, during which they were to meet, and consult about a longer time. But when also this other ouerthrow happened to the *Athenians* at *Amphipolis*, and that both *Cleon* and *Brasidas* were slaine (the which on either side were most opposit to the Peace; the one, for that hee had good success and honour in the Warre; the other, because in quiet times his euill actions would more appeare, and his calumniation bee the lesse beleueed) those two that in the two States aspired most to bee chiefe, *Pleistoanax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, and *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, who in Military charges had bene the most fortunate of his time, did most of all other desire to haue the Peace goe forward; *Nicias*, because he was desirous, hauing hitherto neuer bene ouerthrowne, to carry his

\* *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* were sent to *Argos* to renew the Peace, but the *Argiues* holding the *Lacedemonians* to be no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians*, refused it.

*Cleon* and *Brasidas* opposers of the Peace for secular ends.

*Pleistoanax* and *Nicias* persuaders to Peace.

*Nicias* his ends in seeking Peace.

A his good fortune through, and to giue both himselfe, and the Citie rest from their troubles for the present; and for the future to leaue a name, that in all his time hee had neuer made the Common-wealth miscarry: which hee thought might be done by standing out of danger; and by putting himselfe as little as hee might into the hands of Fortune. And to stand out of danger is the benefit of Peace. *Pleistoanax* had the same desire, because of the imputation laid vpon him, about his returne from exile, by his enemies, that suggested vnto the *Lacedemonians* vpon euery losse they received, that the same befell them, for hauing contrary to the Law repealed his banishment. For they charged him further, that hee and his Brother *Aristocles*, had suborned the Prophetesse of *Delphi*, to answer the \* *Deputies* of the *Lacedemonians* when they came thither, most commonly with this, That they should bring backe the seed of the \* *Semigol*, the sonne of *Iupiter*, out of a strange Countrey into his orone: and that if they did not, they should plow their land with a silver plough: and so at length to haue made the *Lacedemonians*, 19. yeeres after, with such Dances and Sacrifices as they who were the first founders of *Lacedemon* had ordained to be vsed, at the enchroneing of their Kings, to fetch him home againe, who liued in the meane time in exile in the Mountaine *Lycium*, in a House whereof the one halfe was part of the Temple of *Iupiter*, for feare of the *Lacedemonians*; as being suspected to haue taken a bribe to withdraw his Armie out of *Attica*.

Being troubled with these imputations, and considering with himselfe, there being no occasion of calamity in time of Peace, and the *Lacedemonians* thereby recouering their men; that he also should cease to bee obnoxious to the calumniation of his enemies; whereas in Warre, such as had charge, could not but bee quarrelled vpon their losses, hee was therefore forward to haue the Peace concluded.

And this Winter they fell to treaty, and withall the *Lacedemonians* braued them with a preparation already making against the Spring, sending to the Cities about for that purpose, as if they meant to fortifie in *Attica*; to the end that the *Athenians* might giue them the better care. When after many meetings, and many demands, on eyther side; it was at last agreed, that Peace should

The reason why *Pleistoanax* desired the peace.

\* *Sages*, *ambassadors* to the *Lacedemonians* so called.

\* *Hercules*, from whom *Pleistoanax* was descended.

*Pleistoanax* banished for withdrawing his Army out of *Attica*.

The *Lacedemonians* desiring the peace, make shew of Warre.

Peace concluded.



The Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleians, and Megareans, refuse to be comprehended.

THE ARTICLES OF THE PEACE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS, AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.  
\* Ambassadors about matters of Religion.

be concluded, each part rendring what they had taken in A the Warre, saue that the Athenians should hold Nisea, (for when they likewise demanded Platea, and the Thebans answered, that it was neither taken by force, nor by treason, but rendred voluntarily, the Athenians said that they also had Nisea in the same manner.) The Lacedæmonians calling together their Confederates, and all but the Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleians, and Megareans, (for these disliked it) giuing their votes for the ending of the Warre, they concluded the Peace, and confirmed it to the Athenians with sacrifice, and swore it, and the Athenians againe vnto them, vpon B these Articles.

The Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, haue made Peace, and sworne it, Citie by Citie, as followeth:

Touching the publique Temples, it shall bee lawfull to whomsoever will, to sacrifice in them, and to haue acesse vnto them, and to aske counsell of the Oracles in the same, and to send their \* Deputies vnto them, according to the custome of his Countrey, securely both by Sea and Land.

The whole place consecrate, and Temple of Apollo, in Delphi, C and Delphi it selfe, shall be governed by their owne Law, taxed by their owne State, and indged by their owne Iudges, both City and Territory, according to the institution of the place.

The Peace shall endure betweene the Athenians, with their Confederates, and the Lacedæmonians with their Confederates, for fiftie yeeres, both by Sea and Land, without fraud, and without harme-doing.

It shall not be lawfull to beare Armes, with intention of hurt, neither for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, against the Athenians, nor for the Athenians and their Confederates, against D the Lacedæmonians, by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

If any Controuersie shall arise betweene them, the same shall be decided by Law, and by Oath, in such manner as they shall agree on.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall render Amphipolis to the Athenians.

The Inhabitants of whatsoever City the Lacedæmonians shall render vnto the Athenians, shall be at liberty, to goe forth whither they will, with bagge and baggage.

Those Cities which paid the tribute, taxed in the \* time of Ari- E stides, continuing to pay it, shall be governed by their owne Lawes, and

\* Which was the first time that the Athenians began to ciuillize the rest of Greece far when in the end of the Median Warre, the Lacedæmonians left that Command, the Athenians undertooke it, and taxed the several Cities with tribute towards the Warre. The War ended, the tribute ended not.

A and now that the Peace is concluded, it shall be lawfull for the Athenians, or their Confederates, to beare Armes against them; or to doe them any hurt, as long as they shall pay the said tribute. The Cities are these, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus. And they shall be Confederates of neither side, neither of the Lacedæmonians, nor of the Athenians. But if the Athenians can perswade these Cities vnto it, then it shall bee lawfull for the Athenians to haue them for Confederates, hauing gotten their consent.

B The Mecybernians, Sanæans, and Singæans, shall inhabit their owne Cities on the same conditions, with the Olynthians and Acanthians.

The Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, shall render Panactum vnto the Athenians. And the Athenians shall render to the Lacedæmonians, \* Coryphasium, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante.

C They shall likewise deliuer whatsoever Lacedæmonians are in the prison of Athens, or in any prison of what place soeuer, in the Athenian dominion; and dismisse all the Peloponnesians, besieged in Scione, and all that Brasidas did there put in, and whatsoever Confederates of the Lacedæmonians are in prison, either at Athens, or in the Athenian State. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall deliuer whomsoever they haue in their hands of the Athenians, or their Confederates, in the same manner.

Touching the Scioneans, Toronæans, and Sermyllians, and whatsoever other Citie belonging to the Athenians, the Athenians shall doe with them, what they thinke fit.

D The Athenians shall take an Oath to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, Citie by Citie; and that Oath shall be the greatest that in each Citie is in use; The thing that they shall swear, shall be this. I stand to these Articles, and to this Peace, truly and sincerely. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall take the same Oath to the Athenians. This oath they shall on both sides euery yeere renew, and shall erect Pillars; [inscribed with this Peace] at Olympia, \* Pythia, and in the Isthmus, at Athens, within the Cittadell; and at Lacedæmon, in the \* Amycleum.

E And if any thing be on either side forgotten, or shall be thought fit vpon good deliberation to be changed; it shall be lawfull for them to doe it, \* in such manner as the Lacedæmonians, and Athenians shall thinke fit, jointly.

\* The promontory where Pyrius stood, put here for Pylus.

\* By Delphi where the Pythian games were kept.

\* Amycleum, a Temple of Apollo.

\* This Article displeased the Confederates of Lacedæmon, because the Argives might by this be changed without them.

This



\* February.

This Peace shall take beginning from the 24 of the moneth Artemisium, Pleistolas being Ephore, at Sparta, and the 15 of \* Elaphebolium, after the account of Athens, Alcæus, being Archon.

They that tooke the Oath, and sacrificed, were these; of the Lacedæmonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ichagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Antheppus, Tellis, Alcénidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians these, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthidemus, Procles, Pythadorus, Agnon, Myrtillus, Thrasyclus, Theagenes, Aristocretes, Isclcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes

\* It appears here that the Moneth Elaphebolion amongst the Athenians was the last Moneth of their Winter quarter.

This Peace was made in the very \* end of Winter, and the Spring then beginning, presently after the Citie Bacchanals, and full tenne yeeres, and some few dayes over, after the first invasion of *Attica*, and the beginning of this Warre. But now for the certainty hereof, let a man consider the times themselves, and not trust to the account of the names of such as in the severall places bare chiefe offices, or for some honour to themselves, had their names ascribed, for markes to the actions foregoing. For it is not exactly knowne who was in the beginning of his office, or who in the midst, or how he was, when any thing fell out. But if one reckon the same by Summers and Winters, according as they are written, hee shall finde by the two halfe yeeres, which make the whole, that this first Warre was of tenne Summers, and as many Winters continuance.

The true way of accounting the yeeres of this Warre.

The Lacedæmonians begin to performe the Articles, & presently deliver their prisoners.

The Lacedæmonians (for it fell vnto them by lot to begin the restitution) both dismissed presently those Prisoners they had then in their hands, and also sent Ambassadors, *Ichagoras*, *Menas*, and *Philocaridas* into the parts vpon *Torace*, with command to *Cleiridas* to deliver vp *Amphipolis* to the Athenians, & requiring the rest of their Confederates there to accept of the Peace in such manner as was for euer of them accorded. But they would not doe it, because they thought it was not for their aduantage. And *Cleiridas* also, to gratifie the *Chalcidians*, surrendred not the City, alledging that hee could not doe it whether they would or not. And comming away soone after with those Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, both to purge himselfe, if he should be

The Amphipolians refuse to render themselves vnder the Athenians.

A bee accused by those with *Ichagoras*, for disobeying the States command, and also to try if the Peace might by any meanes be shaken: when he found it firme, hee himselfe being sent backe by the *Lacedæmonians*, with command principally to surrender the place, and if he could not doe that, then to draw thence all the *Peloponnesians* that were in it, immediately tooke his journey. But the Confederates chanced to bee present themselves in *Lacedæmon*, and the *Lacedæmonians* required such of them as formerly refused, that they would accept the Peace: but they, vpon the same pretence on which they had reiected it before, said, That vlesse it were more reasonable, they would not accept it. And the *Lacedæmonians* seeing they refused, dismissed them, and by themselves entred with the Athenians into a League; because they imagined that the *Argives* would not renew their Peace (because they had refused it before, when *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* went to *Argos*), and held them for no dangerous Enemies without the Athenians: and also conceiued, that by this meanes the rest of *Peloponnesus* would not stirre, for if they could, they would turne to the Athenians. Wherefore the Ambassadors of Athens being then present, and conference had, they agreed, and the Oath and League was concluded on, in the termes following:

*Cleiridas* endeouoreth to dissolve the Peace.

The Lacedæmonians make league with the Athenians.

The Lacedæmonians shall be Confederates with the Athenians for fiftie yeeres.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND THE ATHENIANS.

If any enemy invade the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and doe the Lacedæmonians any harme, the Athenians shall ayde the Lacedæmonians against them in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the Enemy, after he hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then that Citie shall be held as enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, and shall be warred vpon by them both; and both Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre jointly. And this to be done iustly, readily, and sincerely.

And if any enemy shall invade the Territories of the Athenians, and doe the Athenians any harme, then the Lacedæmonians shall ayde the Athenians against them, in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the enemy, after hee hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then shall that Citie be held for enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, and shall be warred vpon by both, and both the Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre together.



together. And this to bee done iustly, readily, and sincerely.

If their slaves shall rebell, the Athenians shall assist the Lacedæmonians with all their strength possible.

These things shall be sworne vnto by the same men on eyther side that swore the peace, and shall be every yeere renewed by the Lacedæmonians at their conning to the \*Bacchanals at Athens; and by the Athenians at their going to the Hyacinthian Feast at Lacedæmon; and either side shall erect a Pillar [inscribed with this League] one at Lacedæmon, neere vnto Apollo in the Amyleum, another at Athens, neere Minerua in the Citadell.

If it shall seeme good to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians to adde or take away any thing touching the League, it shall be lawfull for them to doe it ioyntly.

Of the Lacedæmonians tooke the Oath, these, Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Anthispus, Alcínadas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians, Lampon, Istmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Eurthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon; Lamachus and Demosthenes.

This League was made not long after the Peace. And the Athenians deliuered to the Lacedæmonians the men they had taken in the Island; and by this time began the Summer of the eleuenth yeere. And hitherto hath bene written these tenne yeeres which this first Warre continued, without intermission.

After the Peace and League made beewene the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, after the tenne yeeres Warre, Pleistolas being Ephore at Lacedæmon, and Alcarn Archon of Athens; though there were Peace to those that had accepted it; yet the Corinthians and some Cities of Peloponnesus, endeououred to ouerthrow what was done, and presently arose another stirre, by the Confederates, against Lacedæmon. And the Lacedæmonians also after a while became suspect vnto the Athenians, for not performing somewhat agreed on in the Articles. And for sixe yeeres and tenne moneths, they abstayned from entring into each others Territories with their Armes: but the Peace being but weake, they did each other abroad what harme they could; and in the end, were forced to dissolue the Peace,

made

\* Bacchanalia Vibiae, which were celebrated yearly, not much before this time.

The Athenians deliuer the prisoners taken at Pylos.

THE ELEVENTH YEERE.

The Lacedæmonians slacke in performance of the Articles of the Peace.

A made after those ten yeeres, and fell againe into open War.

This also hath the same Thucydides of Athens, written from point to point, by Summers and Winters, as euery thing came to passe; vntill such time as the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, had made an end of the Athenian dominion, and had taken their Long-wals, and Peirææ. To which time from the beginning of the War, it is in all 27 yeeres. As for the composition betweene, if any man shall thinke it not to be accounted with the War, he shal thinke amisse. For let him look into the actions that passed as they are distinctly set down, and he shall find, that, that deserueth not to be taken for a Peace, in which they neither rendered all, nor accepted all, according to the Articles. Besides, in the Mantinea and Epidaurian wars, and in other actions, it was on both sides infringed. Moreover, the Confederates on the borders of Thrace continued in hostility as before; and the Boeotians had but a truce from one ten dayes to another. So that with the first ten yeeres war, and with this doubtfull cessation, & the war that followed after it, a man shal find, counting by the times, that it came to iust so many yeeres, and some few dayes, & that those who built vpon the prediction of the Oracles, haue this number onely to agree.

B And I remember yet, that from the very beginning of this War, and so on, till the end, it was vttered by many, that it should be of thrice 9 yeeres continuance. And for the time therof I liued in my strength, & applied my mind to gaine an accurate knowledge of the same. It hapned also that I was banished my countrey for 20 yeeres, after my charge at Amphipolis, whereby being present at the affaires of both, and especially of the Lacedæmonians, by reason of my exile, I could at leasure the better learn the truth of all that passed.

D The quarrels therefore, & perturbations of the Peace, after those ten yeeres, & that which followed, according as from time to time the Warre was carried, I will now pursue.

After the concluding of the 50 yeeres Peace, and the League which followed, and when those Ambassadors which were sent for, out of the rest of Peloponnesus, to accept the said Peace, were departed from Lacedæmon, the Corinthians (the rest going all to their owne Cities) turning first to Argos, entered into Treaty with some of the Argiue Magistrates, to this purpose; That the Lacedæmonians had made a Peace and League with the Athenians, their heretofore mortall enemies; tending not to the

R r

benefit,

From the beginning to this end of the Warre 27 yeeres.

The time of this Peace, not to be esteemed Peace.

The number of yeeres which the whole Warre lasted.

Thucydides, for his ill success at Amphipolis, banished Athens for 20 yeeres.

The Corinthians contriue with the Argiues to make a League in Peloponnesus without the Lacedæmonians.



benefit, but to the enslaving of *Peloponnesus*, it behoued them to consider of a course, for the safety of the same, and to make a Decree, That any City of the *Grecians* that would, and were a free City, and admitted the like, and equall trials of Iudgement with theirs, might make a League with the *Argives*, for the one mutually to aide the other, and to assigne them a Few men, with absolute authority from the State, to treat with; and that it should not be motioned to the People, to the end, that if the multitude would not agree to it, it might be vnknowne that euer they had made such a motion, affirming that many would come into this Confederacy vpon hatred to the *Lacedemonians*. And the *Corinthians*, when they had made this ouerture, went home. These men of *Argos*, hauing heard them, and reported their proposition, both to the Magistrates, & to the People, the *Argives* ordered the same accordingly, and elected 12 men, with who it should be lawfull for any *Grecian* to make the League that would, except the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, with neither of which they were to enter into any League, without the consent of the *Argive* People. And this the *Argives* did the more willingly admit, as well for that they saw the *Lacedemonians* would make Warre vpon them, for the Truce betweene them was now vpon expiring, as also because they hoped to haue the Principality of *Peloponnesus*. For about this time *Lacedemon* had but a bad report, and was in contempt for the losses it had receiued. And the *Argives* in all points were in good estate, as not hauing concurred in the *Attique* War, but rather been in peace with both, and thereby gotten in their reuenue. Thus the *Argives* receiued into League all such *Grecians* as came vnto them.

First of all therefore, came in, the *Mantineans*, and their Confederates, which they did for fear of the *Lacedemonians*. For a part of *Arcadia*, during the wage of *Athens*, was come vnder the obedience of the *Mantineans*, ouer which, they thought, the *Lacedemonians* now they were at rest, would not permit them any longer to command. And therefore they willingly ioyned with the *Argives*, as being they thought, a great City, euer enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, & gouerned as their owne by Democracy. When the *Mantineans* had reuolted the rest of *Peloponnesus* began also to mutter amongst themselves, that it was fit for them to do the like; conceiuing that there was somewhat in it, more then they knew, that made

Twelue men chosen at  
*Argos* to treat about a  
League.

The *Mantineans* enter  
League with the *Argives*.

The rest of *Peloponnesus*  
encline to the same  
League.

A made the *Mantineans* to turne; and were also angry with the *Lacedemonians* amongst many other causes, for that it was written in the Articles of the *Attique* Peace, That it should be lawfull to adde vnto, or take away from the same, what euer should seeme good to the two Cities of the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*. For this was the Article that the most troubled the *Peloponnesians*, and put them into a iealousie that the *Lacedemonians* might haue a purpose ioyning with the *Athenians* to bring them into subiection. For in iustice the power of changing the Articles, ought to haue bene ascribed to all the Confederates in generall. Whereupon, many fearing such an intention, applied themselves to the *Argives*, euery one seuerally struing to come into their League.

The *Lacedemonians* perceiuing this stirre to begin in *Peloponnesus*, and that the *Corinthians* were both the contriuer of it, and entred themselves also into the League with *Argos*, sent Ambassadors vnto *Corinth*, with intention to preuent the sequell of it, and accused them, both for the whole designe, and for their owne reuolt in particular, which they intended to make from them, to the League of the *Argives*; saying that they should therein infringe their oath, and that they had already done vniustly, to refuse the Peace made with the *Athenians*; for as much as it is an Article of their \* League, that what the maior part of the Confederates should conclude, vnlesse it were hindred by some God or Heroe, the same was to stand good. But the *Corinthians* (those Confederates which had refused the Peace as well as they, being now at *Corinth*; for they had sent for them before) in their answer to the *Lacedemonians*, did not openly alledge the wrongs they had receiued; as that the *Athenians* had not restored *Sollum*, nor *Anactorium*, nor any thing else they had in this Warre lost, but pretended not to betray those of *Thrace*, for that they had in particular taken an oath vnto them, both when (together with *Pendae*) they first reuolted and also another afterwards. And therefore they said they did not breake the oath of their League, by reiecting the Peace with *Athens*. For hauing sworne vnto them by the Gods, they should in betraying them, offend the Gods. And whereas it is said, Vnlesse some God or Heroe hinder it, This appeareth to be a Diuine hinderance. Thus they answered for their old oath.

The Article of adding  
and altering nullified.

The *Lacedemonians* ex-  
postulate with the *Corin-  
thians*, about this League  
with *Argos*.

\* The *Peloponnesian*  
League against *Athens*.

The Apologie of the *Co-  
rinthians* for their refusing  
the Peace.

Their answer touching  
their League with *Argos*.



Then, for their League with the *Argives*, they gave this answer: That when they had advised with their friends, they would do afterwards what should be just. And so the Ambassadors of *Lacedæmon* went home. At the same time were present also in *Corinth*, the Ambassadors of *Argos*, to invite the *Corinthians* to their League, and that without delay. But the *Corinthians* appointed them to come againe at their next sitting.

Presently after this, came unto them an Ambassage also from the *Eleans*. And first, they made a League with the *Corinthians*; and going thence to *Argos*, made a League with the *Argives*, according to the \* declaration before mentioned. The *Eleans* had a quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians* concerning *Lepreum*. For the *Lepreates*, having heretofore warred on certain of the *Arcadians*, and for their aid called the *Eleans* into their Confederacy, with condition to give the moiety of the Land to be won from them, when the Warre was ended, the *Eleans* gave unto the *Lepreates*, the whole Land to be enjoyed by themselves, with an imposition thereon of a \* Talent to be paid to *Jupiter Olympian*, which they continued to pay, till the beginning of the *Athenian* Warre. But afterwards, upon pretence of that Warre, giving over the payment, the *Eleans* would have forced them to it againe. The *Lepreates* for helpe, having recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the cause being referred to their decision, the *Eleans* afterwards, upon suspicion that the *Lacedæmonians* would not do them right, renounced the reference, and wasted the Territory of the *Lepreates*. The *Lacedæmonians* nevertheless gave sentence, That the *Lepreates* should be at liberty to pay it, or not, and that the *Eleans* did the injury; and because the *Eleans* had not stood to the reference, the *Lacedæmonians* put into *Lepreum*, a Garrison of men of Armes. The *Eleans* taking this, as if the *Lacedæmonians* had received their revolted City, and producing the Article of their League, That what every one possessed, when they entered into the Attique Warre, the same they should possess when they gave it over, revolted to the *Argives*, as wrong'd, and entered league with them, as is before related.

After these, came presently into the *Argive* League, the *Corinthians*, and the *Chalcidians* upon *Thrace*. The *Bæotians* also, and *Megareans* threatened as much, but because they thought the *Argive* Democracy would not be so commodious

The *Eleans* make a league first with *Corinth*, then with *Argos*.

\* The decree of the *Argives* that any *Grecian* that would might make a league with them, treating with the 12 Commissioners by them chosen to that purpose.

\* 180 pound ten shillings sterling.

Quarrell of the *Eleans* against the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Corinthians*, and the *Townes* upon *Thrace* enter into the league with *Argos*.

ous for them, who were governed according to the government of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Oligarchie*, they stirred no further in it.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Athenians* expugned *Scione*, slew all that were within it at mans estate, made slaves of the women and children, and gave their Territory to the *Plateans*.

They also replanted the *Delians*, in *Delos*, both in consideration of the defeats they had received after their expulsion, and also because the Oracle at *Delphi* had commanded it.

The *Phocæans* and *Locrians* also began a Warre at that time against each other.

And the *Corinthians* and *Argives*, being now leagued, went to *Tegea*, to cause it to revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; conceiving it to be an important piece of *Peloponnesus*, and making account, if they gained it to their side, they should easily obtaine the whole. But when the *Tegeates* refused to become enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, who till then had beene very forward, grew lesse violent, and were afraid, that no more of the rest would come in. Nevertheless they went to the *Bæotians*, and solicited them to enter into league with them, and the *Argives*, and to doe as they did. And the *Corinthians* further desired the *Bæotians* to goe along with them to *Athens*, and to procure for them the like ten dayes Truce, to that which was made betweene the *Athenians* and *Bæotians*, presently after the making of the fifty yeeres Peace, on the same termes that the *Bæotians* had it, and if the *Athenians* refused; then to renounce theirs, and make no more Truces hereafter without the *Corinthians*. The *Corinthians* having made this request, the *Bæotians* willed them touching the League with the *Argives* to stay a while longer, and went with them to *Athens*, but obtained not the ten dayes Truce, the *Athenians* answering, that if the *Corinthians* were Confederates with the *Lacedæmonians*, they had a Peace already. Nevertheless, the *Bæotians* would not relinquish their ten dayes Truce, though the *Corinthians* both required the same, and affirmed that it was so before agreed on. Yet the *Athenians* granted the *Corinthians* a cessation of Armes, but without solemn ratification.

The same Summer the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole power,

The *Athenians* recover *Scione*.

The *Delians* replanted in *Delos*.

*Phocis* and *Locris* in Warre.

The *Corinthians* seek to turne the Cities of *Peloponnesus* and other Confederates from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Argives*.

The *Corinthians* seek the ten dayes Truce with *Athens*, as the *Bæotians* had it.

The *Bæotians* take time to answer, concerning a League with *Argos*.

The *Athenians* deny the ten dayes Truce to the *Corinthians*.

\* *Lepreum* doth. The *Lacedæmonians* demolish the Fort of *Cyllista*.



power, vnder the Conduct of Pleistoanax, the sonne of Paulanias, King of the Lacedæmonians, made Warre vpon the Parrhasians of Arcadia, subiects of the Mantineans, partly as called in, by occasion of sedition, and partly because they intended, if they could, to demolish a fortification which the Mantineans had built, and kept with a Garrison in Cypsela, in the Territory of the Parrhasians, towards Sciritis of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians therefore wasted the Territory of the Parrhasians. And the Mantineans leauing their owne Citie to the Custody of the Argives, came forth to aide the Parrhasians their Confederates. But being unable to defend both the Fort of Cypsela, and the Cities of the Parrhasians too, they went home againe, and the Lacedæmonians when they had set the Parrhasians at liberty, and demolished the fortification, went home likewise.

The same Summer, when those Souldiers which went out with Brasidas, and of which Clearidas, after the making of the Peace, had the charge, were returned from the parts vpon Thrace, the Lacedæmonians made a decree, that those Helots which had fought vnder Brasidas, should receiue their liberty, and inhabite where they thought good, but not long after, they placed them, together with such others as had been newly enfranchised in Lepreum, a City standing in the Confinnes betweene Laconia, and the Eleans, with whom they were now at variance.

Fearing also lest those Citizens of their owne, which had been taken in the \* Iland, and had deliuered vp their Armes to the Athenians, should vpon apprehension of disgrace for that calamity, if they remained capable of honours, make some innouation in the State, they disabled them, though some of them were in office already, and their disablement was this, That they should neither beare office, nor be capable to buy and sell, yet in time they were againe restored to their former honours.

The same Summer also, the Distideans tooke Thyssus, a Towne in Mount Aithos, and Confederate of the Athenians.

This whole Summer there was continuall commerce betweene the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, neuertheless they began, both the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians, to haue each other in suspicion immediately after the Peace, in respect of the places not yet mutually surrendred. For the Lacedæmonians, to whose lot it fell to make restitu-

The Lacedæmonians put a Garrison into Lepreum, of men newly enfran-  
chised.

\* Sphacteria, ouer against Pylus.

The Lacedæmonians dis-  
abled those that were taken  
in Sphacteria, to beare of-  
fice, or to make bargain.

The Distideans take Thyssus from the Athenians.

Jealousie betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

A tion first, had not rendred Amphipolis, and the other Cities, nor had caused the Peace to be accepted by the Confederates vpon Thrace, nor by the Bœotians, nor Corinthians, though they had euer professed, that in case they refused, they would ioyne, with the Athenians, to bring them to it by force, and had prefixed a time (though not by writing) within the which, such as entred not into this Peace, were to be held as enemies vnto both. The Athenians therefore, when they saw none of this really performed, suspected that they had no sincere intention, and thereupon refused to

B render Pylus, when they required it; nay, they repented that they had deliuered vp the prisoners they tooke in the Iland, and detained the rest of the Townes they then held, till the Lacedæmonians should haue performed the conditions on their part also. The Lacedæmonians, to this, alledged, That they had done what they were able to doe. For they had deliuered the Athenian prisoners that were in their hands, and had withdrawne their Souldiers from the parts vpon Thrace, and what-soeuer else was in their owne power to performe. But Amphipolis they said, was not in their power to surrender: That they would

C endeavour to bring the Bœotians and Corinthians, to accept the Peace, and to get Panactum restored; and all the Aethenian prisoners in Bœotia, to be sent home. And therefore desired them to make restitution of Pylus, or if not so, at least to draw out of it, the Messenians and Helotes (as they for their part had drawne their Garrisons out of the Townes vpon Thrace) and, if they thought good, to keepe it, with a Garrison of Athenians. After diuers, and long Conferences had this Summer, they so farre preuailed with the Athenians, at the last, as they drew thence, all the Messenians, and Helotes, and all other Laconian fugitiues and placed them in Cranij, a City of Cephallenia. So for this Summer there was Peace, and free passage from one to another.

In the beginning of Winter, (for now there were other Ephores in office; not those in whose time the Peace was made, but some of them that opposed it) Ambassadors being come from the Confederates; and the Athenian, Bœotian, and Corinthian Ambassadors being already there, and hauing had much conference together, but concluded nothing, Cleobulus, and Xenares, Ephores that most desired the dissolution of the Peace, when the rest of the Ambassadors were gone home, entred into priuate Conference with

Amphipolis not yet rendered, nor the Peace accepted in the parts about Thrace, nor by the Bœotians and Corinthians.

The Athenians refuse to render Pylus.

The Apologie of the Lacedæmonians for not performing the Articles.

The Athenians draw the Messenians and Helotes out of Pylus.

The end of the eleuenth Summer.

The Lacedæmonian Ephores endeavour to dissolve the peace.



A proposition of a league  
betweene the Lacedæ-  
monians, Argives, Boeotians  
and Corinthians.

with the Boeotians and Corinthians, exhorting them to A  
runne both the same course; and aduised the Boeotians to  
endouir first to make a League themselves with the  
Argines, and then to get the Argines together with  
themselves, into a League with the Lacedæmonians. For  
that they might by this meanes avoyd the necessity of ac-  
cepting the Peace with Athens. For the Lacedæmonians  
would more regard the friendship and League of the Ar-  
gines, then the enmitie and dissolution of the Peace with  
the Athenians. For hee knew the Lacedæmonians had euer  
desired to haue Argos their friend vpon any reasonable con- B  
ditions, because they knew that their Warre without  
Peloponnesus, would thereby bee a great deale the easier.  
Wherefore they entreated the Boeotians to put Panactum  
into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, to the end that if they  
could get Pylus for it in exchange, they might make War  
against the Athenians the more commodiously.

The Boeotians and Corinthians being dismissed by Xenares  
and Cleobulus, and all the other Lacedæmonians of that Fac-  
tion, with these points to be deliuered to their Common-  
wealths, went to their severall Cities. And two men of C  
Argos, of principall authority in that Citie, hauing wait-  
ted for, and met with them by the way, entered into a crea-  
ty with them, about a League betweene the Argines and  
the Boeotians, as there was betweene them and the Corinthi-  
ans, and the Eleans, and Mantineans already. For they  
thought, if it succeeded, they might the more easily haue  
either Warre or Peace, (forasmuch as the cause would  
now bee common) either with the Lacedæmonians, or  
whomsoever else it should be needfull.

Whē the Boeotian Ambassadors heard this, they were wel D  
pleased. For as it chanced, the Argines requested the same  
things of them, that they, by their friends in Lacedæmon,  
had beene sent to procure for the Argins. These men there-  
fore of Argos, when they saw that the Boeotians accepted of  
the motion, promised to send Ambassadors to the Boeoti-  
ans about it, and so departed.

When the Boeotians were come home, they related there  
what they had heard, both at Lacedæmon, and by the way,  
from the Argins. The Gouvernours of Boeotia were glad  
thereof, and much more forward in it now, then formerly E  
they had beene, seeing that not onely their friends in La-  
cedæmon

The Argives propound a  
League to the Boeotians  
and Corinthians.

And promise to send  
Ambassadors into Boe-  
tia to that purpose.

A Lacedæmon desired, but the Argines themselves hastned to  
haue done the selfe-same thing. Not long after this, the  
Ambassadors came to them from Argos, to sollicit the dis-  
patch of the businesse before propounded, but the gouer-  
nours of Boeotia commended onely the proposition, and dis-  
missed them, with promise to send Ambassadors about the  
League to Argos. In the meane time the Gouvernours of  
Boeotia thought fit, that an oath should first be taken by  
themselves, and by the Ambassadors from Corinth, Megara,  
and the Confederates vpon Thrace, to giue mutuall assi-

B stance vpon any occasion to them that should require it,  
and neither to make War nor Peace without the common  
consent. And next that the Boeotians and Megareans, (for  
these two ran the same course) should make a League with  
the Argines. But before this oath was to be taken, the Go-  
uernours of Boeotia communicated the busines to the 4 Boeotian  
Councils, in the which the whole authority of the State  
consisteth, and withall presented their aduice, That any Ci-  
ty that would, might ioyne with them, in the like oath for mutuall  
assistance. But they that were of these Councils approoued

C not the proposition, because they feared to offend the Lacedæ-  
monians in being sworne to the Corinthians, that had revoluted  
from their confederacy. For the Gouvernours of Boeotia had  
not reported vnto them, what had past at Lacedæmon, how  
Cleobulus, and Xenares the Ephores, and their friends there, had  
aduised them, to enter first into league with the Argines, and  
Corinthians, and then afterwards to make the same league  
with the Lacedæmonians. For they thought that the Coun-  
cels, though this had neuer been told them, would haue de-  
creed it no otherwise than they vpon premeditation should  
aduise. So the businesse was checked, and the Ambassa-

D dors from Corinth, and from the Cities vpon Thrace, depar-  
ted without effect. And the Gouvernours of Boeotia, that were  
before minded, if they had gotten this done, to haue leagued  
themselves also with the Argines, made no mention of the  
Argines in the Councils at all, nor sent the Ambassadors to  
Argos, as they had before promised, but a kind of carelesse-  
nesse and delay possessed the whole businesse.

The same Winter the Olynthians tooke Maceberne, held  
with a Garrison of the Athenians by assault.

E After this the Lacedæmonians (for the conferences be-  
tweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians about restitu-

S f

tion

The Boeotians propound  
an oath betweene them-  
selves, the Corinthians,  
Chalcidians, and Megareans,  
of mutuall assistance.

The Argive league with  
the Boeotians, falleth off.

Maceberne taken from the  
Athenians by assault.

The Lacedæmonians enter  
into a League with the  
Boeotians, knowing it to be  
against Iustice.



tion reciprocally continued still) hoping that if the *Athenians* should obtaine from the *Bæotians*, *Panaetum*; that then they also should recouer *Pylus*, sent Ambassadors to the *Bæotians*, which request that *Panaetum*, and the *Athenian* prisoners might be put into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they might get *Pylus* restored in exchange. But the *Bæotians* answered, that vntlesse the *Lacedæmonians* would make a particular League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*, they would not doe it. The *Lacedæmonians*, though they knew they should therein wrong the *Athenians*, for that it was said in the Articles, that neither party should make either League, or Warre, without the others consent: yet such was their desire to get *Panaetum*, to exchange it for *Pylus*, and withall, they that longed to breake the Peace with *Athens*, were so eager in it, that at last they concluded a league with the *Bæotians*, Winter then ending, and the Spring approaching. And *Panaetum* was presently pulled downe to the ground. So ended the eleuenth yeere of this Warre.

THE TWELVETH  
YEERE.  
The Argives seeke Peace  
with the Lacedæmonians.

In the Spring following, the *Argives*, when they saw that the Ambassadors which the *Bæotians* promised to send vnto them, came not, and that *Panaetum* was razed, and that also there was a private league made betwene the *Bæotians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, were afraid lest they should on all hands be abandoned, and that the Confederates would all goe to the *Lacedæmonians*. For they apprehended that the *Bæotians* had been induced, both to raze *Panaetum*, and also to enter into the *Athenian* Peace, by the *Lacedæmonians*; and that the *Athenians*, were priuy to the same. So that now they had no meanes to make league with the *Athenians* neither, whereas before they made account that if their truce with the *Lacedæmonians* continued not, they might vpon these differences, haue ioyned themselues to the *Athenians*. The *Argives* being therfore at a stand, and fearing to haue Warre all at once with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeates*, *Bæotians*, and *Athenians*, as hauing formerly refused the truce with the *Lacedæmonians*, and imagined to themselues the principality of all *Peloponnesus*, they sent Ambassadors with as much speed as might be, *Eustrophus* & *Æson* persons, as they thought most acceptable vnto them, with this cogitation, that by compounding with the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as for their present estate they might, how soeuer the world went, they should at least liue at quiet.

When

A When these Ambassadors were there, they fell to treat of the Articles vpon which the agreement should be made. And at first the *Argives* desired to haue the matter referred, either to some private man, or to some City, concerning the Territory of *Cynuria*, about which they haue alwayes differed, as lying on the borders of them both (it containeth the Cities of *Thyrea* and *Athens*, and is possessed by the *Lacedæmonians*) But afterwards, the *Lacedæmonians* not suffering mention to be made of that, but that if they would haue the Truce goe on as it did before, they might;

B the *Argive* Ambassadors, got them to yeeld to this, That for the present, an accord should be made for fifty yeeres, but withall, that it should be lawfull neuertheless, (if one challenged the other thereunto) both for *Lacedæmon*, and *Argos* to try their Titles to this Territory by battell, (so that there were in neither City, the Plague or a Warre to excuse them; (as once before they had done, when as both sides thought they had the victory.) And that it should not be lawfull for one part to follow the chase of the other further then to the bounds either of *Lacedæmon* or *Argos*.

The Territory of *Cynuria*, ground of the quarrels betwene *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*.

An odde condition of a Truce.

C And though this seemed to the *Lacedæmonians* at first to be but a foolish proposition, yet afterwards, (because they desired by all meanes to haue friendship with the *Argives*) they agreed vnto it, and put into writing what they required. How soeuer, before the *Lacedæmonians* would make any full conclusion of the same, they willed them to returne first to *Argos*, and to make the People acquainted with it, and then; if it were accepted, to returne at the *Hyacinthian* Feast, and swear it. So these departed.

Whilest the *Argives* were treating about this, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Andromenes*, and *Phedimus*, and *Antimenidas*, Commissioners for receiuing of *Panaetum*, and the prisoners from the *Bæotians*, to render them to the *Athenians*, found that *Panaetum* was demolished, and that their pretext was this, That there had been anciently an Oath by occasion of difference betwene the *Athenians* and them, That neither part should inhabite the place solely, but ioynely both. But for the *Athenian* prisoners, as many as the *Bæotians* had, they that were with *Andromenes* receiued, conuoyed and deliuered them vnto the *Athenians*, and withall told them of the razing of *Panaetum*, alledging it as rendered, in that, no enemy of *Athens* should dwell in it hereafter.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors require *Pylus* in exchange for *Panaetum*.

So

But



The Athenians take in euill part, both the razing of Panactum, and the League made with the Boeotians.

The Argives make League with Athens, by means of Alcibiades.

The cause why Alcibiades desireth to breake with the Lacedaemonians.

Alcibiades sendeth for the Argives to Athens to make a League.

But when this was told them, the Athenians made it a **A** haynous matter, for that they conceiued that the Lacedaemonians had done them wrong, both in the matter of Panactum which was pulled downe, and should haue beene rendered standing; and because also they had heard of the priuate League made with the Boeotians, whereas they had promised to ioyne with the Athenians in compelling such to accept of the Peace, as had refused it; withall they weighed whatsoeuer other points the Lacedaemonians had beene short in, touching the performance of the Articles, and thought themselves abused; so that they answered the **B** Lacedaemonian Ambassadors roughly, and dismissed them.

This difference arising betweene the Lacedaemonians, and the Athenians, it was presently wrought vpon by such also of Athens, as desired to haue the Peace dissolved.

Amongst the rest was Alcibiades the sonne of Clinias, a man though yong in yeeres, yet in the dignity of his Ancestors honoured as much as any man of what Citie soeuer: Who was of opinion, that it was better to ioyne with the Argives; not onely for the matter it selfe, but also out of stomacke, labouring to crosse the Lacedaemonians, because they **C** had made the Peace by the means of Nicias, and Laches, without him; whom for his youth they had neglected, and not honoured, as for the ancient hospitality betweene his house and them, had been requisite, which his father had indeed renounced, but he himselfe by good Offices done to those prisoners, which were brought from the Iland, had a purpose to haue renewed: But supposing himselfe on all hands disparaged, he both opposed the Peace at first, alledging that the Lacedaemonians would **D** not be constant; and that they had made the Peace, onely to get the Argives by that meanes away from them, and afterwards to inuade the Athenians againe; when they should be destitute of their friends; And also as soone as this difference was on foote, he sent presently to Argos of himselfe, willing them with all speed to come to Athens, as being thereunto inuited, and to bring with them the Eleans and Mantineans, to enter with the Athenians into a League, the opportunity now seruing; and promising that he would helpe them all he could.

The Argives hauing heard the message, and knowing **E** that the Athenians had made no League with the Boeotians,

Athians, and that they were at great quarrell with the Lacedaemonians, neglected the Ambassadors they had then in Lacedaemon, (whom they had sent about the Truce) and applied themselves to the Athenians, with this thought, that if they should haue Warre, they should by this meanes be backed with a City that had been their ancient friend, gouerned like their owne by Democracy, and of greatest power by Sea. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to Athens to make a League; and together with theirs, went also the Ambassadors of the Eleans, and Mantineans. Thither also with all speed came the Lacedaemonian Ambassadors, Philocharidas, Leon, and Endius, persons accounted most gracious with the Athenians, for feare, left in their passion, they should make a League with the Argives; and withall to require the restitution of Pylus for Panactum, and to excuse themselves concerning their League with the Boeotians, as not made for any harme intended to the Athenians.

Now speaking of these things before the Councell, and how that they were come thither, with full power to make agreement concerning all Controuerfies betwixt them, they put Alcibiades into feare, lest, if they should say the same before the people, the multitude would be drawne vnto their side, and so the Argive League fall off. But Alcibiades deuifeth against them this plot. He perswadeth the Lacedaemonians not to confesse their plenary power before the people, and giueth them his faith, that then Pylus should be rendred, (for he said he would perswade the Athenians to it, as much as he now opposed it) and that the rest of their differences should be compounded. This he did to alienate them from Nicias, and that by accusing them before the people, as men that had no true meaning; nor euer spake one and the same thing, he might bring on the league with the Argives, Eleans, & Mantineans. And it came to passe accordingly. For when they came before the people, and to the question, whether they had full power of concluding, had (contrary to what they had said in Conncell) answered no, the Athenians would no longer endure them, but gaue care to Alcibiades, that exclaimed against the Lacedaemonians farre more now then euer, **E** and were ready then presently to haue the Argives, and those others with them brought in, and to make the League.

The Lacedaemonian Ambassadors come in haste to Athens, to prevent their League with the Argives.

Alcibiades perswadeth the Lacedaemonian Ambassadors, to deny before the people, that they had power to conclude.

Alcibiades inuiceth against the Lacedaemonians.



318	<i>The History of</i> THUCYDIDES. Lib. 5.
<i>Nicias endeavoured to have the Peace goe on with the Lacedæmonians.</i>	League. But an Earthquake happening, before any thing A was concluded, the assembly was adjourned. In the next dayes meeting, <i>Nicias</i> , though the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> had been abused, and he himselfe also deceived, touching their coming with full power to conclude, yet he persisted to as- firme, that it was their best course to be friends with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , and to deferre the <i>Argives</i> businesse, till they had sent to the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> againe to be assured of their intention; saying, that it was honour unto themselves, and dishonour to the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> to have the Warre put off. For, for themselves, being in estate of prosperity, it B was best to preferue their good fortune, as long as they might; whereas to the other side, who were in euill estate, it should be in place of gaine to put things as soone as they could to the hazzard. So he perswaded them to send Ambassadors, whereof himselfe was one, to require the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , (if they meant sincerely) to render <i>Pan-actum</i> standing, and also <i>Amphipolis</i> : and if the <i>Bæotians</i> would not accept of the Peace, then to vndoe their League with them, according to the Article, That the one should not make league with any, without the consent of the o- C ther. They willed him to say further; That they themselves also, if they had had the will to doe wrong, had ere this made a league with the <i>Argives</i> , who were present then at Athens, for the same purpose. And whatsoever they had to accuse the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> of besides, they instructed <i>Nicias</i> in it, and sent him and the other, his fellow Ambassadors, away. When they were arriued, and had deliuered what they had in charge, and this last of all, That the Athenians would make League with the <i>Argives</i> , vlesse the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> would re- D nounce their League with the <i>Bæotians</i> , if the <i>Bæotians</i> accep- ted not the Peace, the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> denyed to renounce their league with the <i>Bæotians</i> , (for <i>Xenares</i> the Ephor, and the rest of that faction carried it) but at the request of <i>Nicias</i> , they renued their former Oath. For <i>Nicias</i> was afraid he should returne with nothing done, and be carped at (as after also it fell out) as * author of the <i>Lacedæmoni- an Peace</i> .
<i>Nicias is sent Ambassador to Lacedæmon to get satisfaction about perfor- mance of the Articles.</i>	At his returne, when the Athenians vnderstood that nothing was effected at <i>Lacedæmon</i> , they grew presently into choler, and apprehending iniury (the <i>Argives</i> , and E their Confederates being there present, brought in by <i>Al- cibades</i> )
<i>Nicias was the Author of the Peace betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, and that Peace was therefore called Nicias.</i>	

Lib. 5. <i>The History of</i> THUCYDIDES.	319
A <i>Alcibiades</i> , they made a Peace, and a League with them, in these words.	
The Athenians, and <i>Argives</i> , and <i>Mantineans</i> , and <i>Eleans</i> , for themselves, and for the Confederates commanded by euery of them, haue made an accord for 100 yeeres without fraud or damage, both by Sea and Land.	THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BE- TWEENE THE ATHE- NIAN AND THE AR- GIVES, &c.
It shall not be lawfull for the <i>Argives</i> nor <i>Eleans</i> , nor <i>Manti- neans</i> , nor their Confederates to beare Armes against the Atheni- ans, or the * Confederates vnder the command of the Athenians, or their Confederates, by any fraud or machination whatsoever. And B the Athenians, <i>Argives</i> , and <i>Mantineans</i> , haue made League with each other for 100 yeeres on these termes.	* Confederates were of two sorts, such as on equal termes entred League with others, and such as forced others in the Warre by compulsion, or as subiects, both called in the Greeke, συμμάχοι, properly, but not properly Confederates.
If any enemy shall inuade the Territory of the Athenians, then the <i>Argives</i> , <i>Eleans</i> , and <i>Mantineans</i> shall goe vnto Athens, to assist them according as the Athenians shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after hee haue spoyle the Territory shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy to the <i>Argives</i> , <i>Eleans</i> , <i>Mantineans</i> , and A- thenians, and Warre shall be made against it, by all those Cities. And it shall not be lawfull for any of those Cities to giue ouer the C Warre, without the consent of all the rest.	
And if an enemy shall inuade the Territory, either of the <i>Ar- gues</i> , or of the <i>Eleans</i> , or of the <i>Mantineans</i> , then the Athe- nians shall come vnto <i>Argos</i> , <i>Elis</i> , and <i>Mantineia</i> , to assist them, in such sort as those Cities shall send them word to doe, in the best man- ner they possibly can. But if the enemy after he hath wasted their Territory, shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an ene- my, both to the Athenians, and also to the <i>Argives</i> , <i>Eleans</i> , and <i>Mantineans</i> , and Warre shall be made against it, by all those Cities; and it shall not be lawfull for any of them to giue ouer the Warre a- D gainst that Citie, without the consent of all the rest.	
There shall no armed men be suffered to passe through the Domini- ons either of themselves, or of any the Confederates vnder their seue- rall commands to make Warre in any place whatsoever, vlesse by the suffrage of all the Cities, Athens, <i>Argos</i> , <i>Elis</i> , and <i>Manti- neia</i> , their passage be allowed.	
To such as come to assist any of the other Cities, that Citie which sendeth them shal giue maintenance for thirtie dayes after they shal ar- rive in the Citie that sent for them; and the like at their going away. But if they will vse the Army for a longer time, then the Citie that E sent for them, shall find them maintenance, at the rate of three Oboles of <i>Ægina</i> a day for a man of Armes, and of a Drachma of <i>Ægina</i> for a horse-man.	The



The Citie which standeth for the aydes shall haue the leading, and A command of them, whilst the Warre is in their owne Territory: But if it shall seeme good vnto these Cities to make a Warre in common, then all the Cities shall equally participate of the command.

\* Beasts offered in sacrifice.

The Athenians shall sweare vnto the Articles both for themselves, and for their Confederates; and the Argiues, Eleans, Mantineans, and the Confederates of these shall every one sweare vnto them Citie by Citie, and their oath shall be the greatest that by custome of the severall Cities is vsed, and with most perfect \* hostes, and in these words: I will stand to this League according to the Articles thereof, iustly, innocently, and sincerely, and not transgresse the same by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

This oath shall be taken at Athens, by the Senate, and the Officers of the Commons, and administred by the Prytaneis. At Argos it shall be taken by the Senate, and the Councell of Eighty, and by the Artynæ, and administred by the Councell of Eighty. At Mantinea it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Senate, and by the rest of the Magistrates, and administred by the Theori, and by the Tribunes of the Souldiers. At Elis it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Officers of the Treasury, and by the Councell of 600, and administred by the Procurators of the People, and by the Keepers of the Law.

This oath shall be renued by the Athenians, who shall goe to Elis, and to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty dayes before the Olympian Games; and by the Argiues, Eleans, and Mantineans, who shall come to Athens, ten dayes before the Panathenæan Holydayes.

The Articles of this League and Peace and the oath, shall be inscribed in a pillar of stone, by the Athenians in the Cittadell; by the D Argiues in their Market place, within the Precinct of the Temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans in their Market place, within the precinct of the Temple of Iupiter. And at the Olympian Games, now at hand, there shall be erected ioyntly by them all, a brazen pillar in Olympia, [with the same inscription.]

If it shall seeme good to these Cities to adde any thing to these Articles; whatsoeuer shall be determined by them all in common Councell, the same shall stand good.

Thus was the League and the Peace concluded, and that which was made before betweene the Lacedæmonians & the E Athenians, was notwithstanding, by neither side renounced. But

A But the Corinthians, although they were the Confederats of the Argiues, yet would they not enter into this League; nay, though there were made a League before this, betweene them and the Argiues, Eleans, and Mantineans, that where one, there all, should haue Warre, or Peace, yet they refused to sweare to it; but said that their League defensiu was enough, whereby they were bound to defend each other, but not to take part one with another in inuading. So the Corinthians fell off from their Confederates, and inclined againe to the Lacedæmonians.

B This Summer were celebrated the Olympian Games, in which Androsthenes an Arcadian, was the first time Victor in the exercise called \* Paneraium. And the Lacedæmonians were by the Eleans prohibited the Temple there; so as they might neither sacrifice, nor contend for the prizes, amongst the rest; for that they had not payed the Fine set vpon them, (according to an Olympique Law) by the Eleans, that laide to their charge that they had put Souldiers into the Fort of Phyrcon, and into Lepreum in the time of the Olympique Truce.

C The Fine amounted vnto \* 2000 Mina, which was \* two Mina for every man of Armes, according to the Law. But the Lacedæmonians by their Ambassadors which they sent thither, made answer, That they had bene vnjustly condemned, alledging that the Truce was not published in Lacedæmon, when their Souldiers were sent out.

To this the Eleans said againe, That the Truce was already begonne amongst themselves, who refused to publish it first in their owne Dominion, and thereupon, whilst they lay still, and expected no such matter, at in time of Truce, the Lacedæmonians did them D the injury at vnawares.

The Lacedæmonians hereunto replied, That it was not necessary to proceed to the publishing of the truce in Lacedæmon at all, if they thought themselves wronged already; but rather, if they thought themselves not wronged yet, then to doe it by way of prevention, that they should not Arme against them afterwards.

The Eleans stood stiffely in their first Argument; that they would neuer be perswaded but injury had been done them; but were neuertheless contented, if they would render Lepreum, both to remit their own part of the money, and also to pay that part for them which was due vnto the God.

The Corinthians still refuse the Peace with Athens, and incline againe to the Lacedæmonians.

The Olympian Games.

\* Paneraium consisted of wrestling and fighting with Fists. The Lacedæmonians forbidden the exercises, and why.

\* 600 pound sterling.  
\* 6 pound 5 shillings sterling.

Contention between the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, before the Grecians, at Olympia, about a mulct set vpon the Lacedæmonians, by the Eleans, for breaking the Olympique Truce.

Tc

When



When this would not be agreed vnto, they then required A this, not that they should render *Lepreum* vnlesse they would, but that then they should come to the Altar of *Iupiter Olympian*, seeing they desired to haue free vse of the Temple, and there before the *Grecians* to take an oath, to pay the fine at least hereafter. But when the *Lacedæmonians* refused that also, they were excluded the Temple, the sacrifices, and the games, and sacrificed at home; But the rest of the *Grecians*, except the *Lepreates*, were all admitted to be spectators. Neuerthelesse, the *Eleans* fearing lest they would come and sacrifice thereby force, kept a guard there B of their yongest men, in Armes, to whom were added *Argines* and *Mantineans*, of either Citie 1000, and certaine *Athenian* horsemen, who were then at *Argos*, waiting the celebration of the Feast. For a great feare possessed all the Assembly, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should come vpon them with an Army; and the rather, because *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilau*, a *Lacedæmonian*, had been whipped by the Serjeants vpon the Race, for that when his Chariot had gotten the prize, after Proclamation made, that the Chariot of the *Bæotian* State had wonne it (because he himselfe was not C admitted to run) he came forth into the Race, and crowned his Chariot; to make knowne that the Chariot was his owne. This added much vnto their feare, and they verily expected some accident to follow. Neuerthelesse, the *Lacedæmonians* stirred not, and the Feast passed ouer.

After the *Olympian* Games, the *Argines* and their Confederates went to *Corinth*, to get the *Corinthians* into their League, and the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors chanced to be there also; and after much conference, and nothing concluded, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, they brake off the conference, and returned euery one to his owne Citie. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the men of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, fought a battell against the *Ælians*, *Delopians*, *Melians*, and certaine *Thessalians*. For the neighbour Cities, were enemies to this Citie, as built to the prejudice onely of them, and both opposed the same from the time it was first founded, annoying it what they could, and also in this battell ouercame them; and slew *Xenares* a *Lacedæmonian*, their Commander, with some others, *Heracleots*. Thus ended this Winter, and the twelfth yeere of this Warre.

In

A In the very beginning of the next Summer, the *Bæotians* tooke *Heraclea* miserably afflicted, into their owne hands; and put *Hegeppidas* a *Lacedæmonian* out of it; for his euill government. They tooke it, because they feared, lest whilest the *Lacedæmonians* were troubled about *Peloponnesus*, it should haue beene taken in by the *Athenians*. Neuerthelesse the *Lacedæmonians* were offended with them for doing it.

The same Summer *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, being Generall of the *Athenians*, by the practice of the *Argines*, B and their Confederates, went into *Peloponnesus*, and hauing with him a few men of Armes, and Archiers of *Athens*, and some of the Confederates which he tooke vp there, as he passed through the Countrey with his Army, both ordered such affaires by the way concerning the League, as was fit; and comming to the *Paræans*, perswaded them to build their walls downe to the Sea-side, and purposed to raise another wall himselfe towards *Rhium* in *Achaia*. But the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and such others as this wall would haue preiudiced, came forth and hindred him.

C The same Summer fell out a Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and the *Argines*; the pretext thereof was about a Beast for sacrifice, which the *Epidaurians* ought to haue sent, in consideration of their pastures, to *Apollo Pythius*, and had not done it; the *Argines* being the principall owners of the Temple. But *Alcibiades*, and the *Argines* had indeed determined to take in the City, though without pretence at all; both that the *Corinthians* might not stirre, and also that they might bring the *Athenian* succours from *Ægina*, into those parts a neerer way, then by compassing the Promontory of *Seyllaous*. And therefore the *Argines* prepared, as of D themselues, to exact the sacrifice by iniustice.

About the same time also, the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole forces, came forth as farre as *Leuctra*, in the Confinnes of their owne Territory towards *Lyceum*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* their King. No man knew against what place they intended the Warre; No not the Cities themselues out of which they were leuyed. But when in the sacrifices which they made for their passage, the tokens obserued were vnlucky, they went home again, and sent word about to their Confederates (being now E the moneth \**Carneius*) to prepare themselues after the next

T t 2

\* Feast

*Lichas* a *Lacedæmonian* whipped vpon the *Olympian* Race.

The twelfth Summer.

Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and *Argines*.

\* Their holy month, in which they kept a Feast to *Apollo*.



*Argives* T H

*July*

Ambassadors meet about Peace, but cannot agree.

\* Feast of the New Moone (kept by the Dorians,) to be againe upon their march. The *Argives*, who set forth the 29 day of the moneth before \* *Carneum*, though they celebrated the same day, yet all the time they continued invading and wasting *Epidauria*. And the *Epidaurians* called in their Confederates to help them, whereof some excluded themselves upon the quality of the moneth, and others came but to the Confines of *Epidauria*, and there stayed. Whilst the *Argives* were in *Epidauria*, the Ambassadors of divers Cities, solicited by the *Athenians*, met together at *Maninea*, where in a conference amongst them, *Epharmidas* of *Corinth* said, That their actions agreed not with their words, for as much as whilst they were sitting there to treat of a Peace, the *Epidaurians* with their Confederates, and the *Argives* stood armed in the meane time against each other in order of battell. That it was therefore fit that some body should goe first into the Armies from either side, and dissolve them, and then come againe and dispute of Peace.

This advice being approued, they departed, and withdrew the *Argives* from *Epidauria*; and meeting afterwards againe in the same place, they could not for all that agree, and the *Argives* againe invaded and wasted *Epidauria*.

The *Lacedaemonians* also drew forth their Army against *Argos*, but then againe their sacrifice for passage, being not to their mind, they returned. And the *Argives*, when they had spoyle about the third part of *Epidauria*, went home likewise. They had the assistance of one thousand men of Armes of *Athens*, and *Alcibiades* their Commander, but these hearing that the *Lacedaemonians* were in the field, and seeing now there was no longer need of them departed and so passed this Summer.

The next Winter the *Lacedaemonians* unknowne to the *Athenians*, put 300 Garrison Soldiers under the Command of *Agassipidas*, into *Epidaurum* by Sea. For which cause the *Argives* came and expostulated with the *Athenians*, that whereas it was written in the Articles of the League, that no enemy should be suffered to passe through either of their Dominions, yet had they suffered the *Lacedaemonians* to passe by \* Sea; and said they had wrong, unless the *Athenians* would againe put the *Messenians*, and *Helotes* into *Pylos* against the *Lacedaemonians*. Hereupon the *Athenians*, at the perswasion of *Alcibiades*, wrote upon the \* *Laconian*

pillar

\* The *Argives* acknowledge the Sea on their owne coast, to be of the Dominion of *Athens*.

\* which was erected for the Articles of the Peace to be written in.

A pillar [under the inscription of the Peace] that the *Lacedaemonians* had violated their oath, and they drew the *Helotes* out of \* *Crany*, and put them againe into *Pylos*, to infest the Territory with driving of booties, but did no more.

All this Winter, though there was Warre betweene the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*, yet was there no set battell, but onely Ambushes and Skirmishes, wherein were slaine on both sides, such as it chanced.

But in the end of Winter, and the Spring now at hand, the *Argives* came to *Epidaurum* with Ladders, as destitute of men by reason of the Warre, thinking to haue wonne it by assault, but returned againe with their labour lost. And so ended this Winter, and the thirteenth yeere of this Warre.

In the middle of the next Summer, the *Lacedaemonians* seeing that the *Epidaurians*, their Confederates, were tyred, and that of the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, some had already revolted, and others were but in euill termes, and apprehending that if they prevented it not, the mischief would spread still farther, put themselves into the field with all their owne forces, both of themselves and their *Helotes*, to make Warre against *Argos*, under the Conduct of *Agas* the sonne of *Archidamus* their King. The *Tegaeans* went also with them, and of the rest of *Arcadia*; all that were in the *Lacedaemonian* League. But the rest of their Confederates both within *Peloponnesus*, and without, were to meet together at *Phlius*. That is to say, of the *Baotians* 5000 men of Armes, and as many Light-armed, 100 horse, and to every \* horseman, another man on foot, which holding the horses mane, ran by with equall speed. Of *Corinthians*, 2000 men of Armes, and of the rest more or lesse,

as they were. But the *Phlians*, because the Army was assembled in their owne Territory, put forth their whole power. The *Argives* having had notice both formerly of the preparation of the *Lacedaemonians*, and afterward of their marching on to ioyne with the rest at *Phlius*, brought their Army likewise into the field. They had with them the aides of the *Manineans*, and their Confederates, and 3000 men of Armes of the *Eleans*; and marching forward, met the \* *Lacedaemonians* at *Mophydrium*, a Towne of *Arcadia*, each side leazing on a hill. And the *Argives* prepared to giue battell to the *Lacedaemonians*; whiles they were

\* In *Cephalonia* where they had before placed them.

THE FOURTEENTH YEERE.

Preparation of the *Lacedaemonians* against *Argos*.

\* drawing

\* The *Lacedaemonians*, *Tegaeans*, and some *Arcadians*, not the whole League, which was not yet united.



The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates meet at *Phlius*. The *Argives* go to meet them at the Forrest of *Nemea*.

The Lacedæmonians come into the Plaines before *Argos*.

were single. But *Agis* dislodging his Army by night, marched on to *Phlius* to the rest of the Confederates, in seene. Vpon knowledge hereof, the *Argives* betimes in the morning retired first to *Argos*, and afterwards to the Forrest of *Nemea*, by which they thought the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates would fall in. But *Agis* came not the way which they expected, but with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, and *Epidaurians*, whom he acquainted with his purpose, tooke another more difficult way to passe, and came downe into the *Argive* Plaines. The *Corinthians* also, and *Pellenians*, and *Phliansians*, marched another troublesome way; Onely the *Bæotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, were appointed to come downe by the way of the Forrest of *Nemea*, in which the *Argives* were incamped; to the end that if the *Argives* should turne head against the *Lacedæmonians*, these might set vpon them at the backe with their horse.

Thus ordered, *Agis* entred into the Plaines, and spoyled *Samintus*, and some other Townes thereabouts. Which when the *Argives* vnderstood, they came out of the Forrest somewhat after breake of day to oppose them, and lighting among the *Phliansians* and *Corinthians*, slew some few of the *Phliansians*, but had more slaine of their owne, by the *Corinthians*, though not many. The *Bæotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, marched forward towards *Nemea*, and found that the *Argives* were departed. For when they came downe, and saw their Country wasted, they put themselves into order of battell; and the *Lacedæmonians*, on the other side did the same, and the *Argives* stood intercepted in the midst of their enemies. For in the Plaine between them and the City, stood the *Lacedæmonians*, and those with them; aboue them were the *Corinthians*, *Phliansians*, and *Pellenians*; and towards *Nemea* were the *Bæotians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Megareans*. And horsemen they had none, for the *Athenians* alone, of all their Confederates, were not yet come. Now the generality of the Army of the *Argives*, and their Confederates, did not thinke the danger present so great, as indeed it was, but rather that the aduantage in the battell would be their own, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were intercepted, not onely in the *Argives* Territory, but also hard by the Citie. But two men of *Argos*, *Thraſylus*, one of the chief Commanders of the Army, and *Aleiphron*, \*entertay-

The *Argives* enclosed between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Bæotians*.

And the *Lacedæmonians* enclosed between the army of the *Argives* and their Citie.

\*entertaynes: He that lodges the *Lacedæmonians* when any of them came to *Argos*.

Aner of the *Lacedæmonians*, when the Armies were euen ready to ioyne, went vnto *Agis*, and dealt with him to haue the battell put off, for as much as the *Argives* were content and ready, both to propound, and accept of equall Arbitrators, in whatsoeuer the *Lacedæmonians* should charge them withall, and in the meane time, to haue peace with them solemnly confirmed.

This these *Argives* said of themselves, without the command of the generality, and *Agis*, of himselfe likewise, accepting their proposition, without deliberation had with the maior part; and hauing communicated it onely to some one more of those that had charge in the Army, made Truce with them for foure moneths; in which space, they were to performe the things agreed vpon betwixt them. And then presently he withdrew his Armie, without giuing account to any of the rest of the League why he did so. The *Lacedæmonians*, and the Confederates followed *Agis*, according to the Law, as being their Generall, but amongst themselves taxed him exceedingly; for that hauing a very faire occasion of battell, the *Argives* being inclosed on all sides, both by their Horse and Foot, hee yet went his way, doing nothing worthy the great preparation they had made. For this was in very truth the fairest Army that euer the *Grecians* had in the field vnto this day; but it was most to be seene, when they were \*altogether in the Forrest of *Nemea*. Where the *Lacedæmonians* were with their whole Forces, besides the *Arcadians*, *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliansians*, and *Megareans*; and these all chosen men of their severall Cities, and such as were thought a match, not onely for the League of the *Argives*, but for such another added to it. The Army thus offended with *Agis*, departed; and were dissolved euery man to his home. The *Argives* were much more offended with those of their Citie, which without the consent of the multitude, had made the Truce, they also supposing that the *Lacedæmonians* had escaped their hands in such an aduantage, as they neuer had the like before. In that the battell was to haue been fought vnder their City walls, and with the assistance of many and good Confederates. And in their returne, they began to stone *Thraſylus*, at the *Charadrum*, the place where the Souldiers before they enter into the City from warfare, vie to haue their

Propositions of Peace made by two private men of *Argos*:

And accepted by *Agis*, without the knowledge of the rest of the Commanders.

*Agis* withdraweth his Army, and is censured for it by the Confederates.

\*That is, going home for still then they maye seeke, aliogeth in *Nemea*.

*Thraſylus* punished for propounding the Peace.



The Athenians infligate the Argives to breake the Truce.

The Argives breake the Truce, and bessege Orchomenus.

\* There was another Orchomenus in Boeotia.

Orchomenus yielded.

\* As being in particular hostility with it.

The Argives goe next against Tegea, which displeased the Eleans, and they goe home.

The Lacedaemonians question their King, for infligging the Argives to goe off unslought.

their Military causes heard) but he flying to the Altar, A saved himselfe, neuertheless they confiscated his goods.

After this, the Athenians comming in, with the ayde of 1000 men of Armes, and 300 Horse, vnder the Conduct of Laches and Nicias, the Argives (for they were afraid for all this, to breake the Truce with the Lacedaemonians) willed them to be gone againe, and when they desired to treat, would not present them to the People, till such time as the Mantineans, and Eleans (who were not yet gone) forced them vnto it by their importunity. Then the Athenians, in the presence of Alcibiades, that was Ambassadour there, B spake vnto the Argives, and their Confederates, saying, That the Truce was condudly made, without the assent of the rest of their Confederates, and that now (for they were come time enough) they ought to fall againe to the Warre, and did by their words so preuaile with the Confederates, that they all, saue the Argives, presently marched against \* Orchomenus of Arcadia.

And these, though satisfied, stayed behind at first, but afterwards they also went; and sitting downe before Orchomenus, ioyntly besieged, and assaulted the same; desiring to take it in, as well for other causes, as chiefly for that the Hostages which the Arcadians had given to the Lacedaemonians, were there in custody. The Orchomenians fearing the weaknesse of their wals, and the greatnesse of the Army, and lest they should perish, before any reliefe arrived, yielded vp the Towne on conditions: To be receiued into the League; to giue Hostages for themselves; and to surrender the Hostages held there by the Lacedaemonians, into the hands of the Mantineans.

The Confederates after this, having gotten Orchomenus, sat in Councell, about what Towne they should proceed against next. The Eleans gaue aduice to goe against \* Lepreum, but the Mantineans, against Tegea. And the Argives and Athenians concurred in opinion with the Mantineans. But the Eleans taking it in euill part, that they did not decree to goe against Lepreum, went home; but the rest prepared themselves at Mantinea, to goe against Tegea, which also some within had a purpose to put into their hands.

The Lacedaemonians, after their returne from Argos with their foure moneths Truce, seuerely questioned Agis, for that upon so faire an opportunity, as they neuer had before, he subdued not Argos to the State, for so many and so good

A good Confederates, would hardly be gotten together againe at one time. But when also the newes came of the taking of Orchomenus, then was their indignation much greater, and they presently resolved; contrary to their owne custome, in their passion, to raze his house, and fine him in the summe of \* 10000 Drachinaes. But he besought them that they would doe neither of these things yet, and promised that leading out the Armie againe, he would by some valiant action cancell those accusations; or, if not, they might proceed afterwards to doe with him whatsoeuer they thought good. So they forbore both the Fine, and the razing of his house; but made a decree for that present, such as had neuer beene before, that tenne Spartans should bee elected and ioyned with him as Councellours, without whom it should not be lawfull for him, to leade the Army into the field.

In the meane time came newes from their side in Tegea, that vnto them they came presently with aide, the Tegeans would renolt to the Argives, and their Confederates, and that they wanted little of being reuolted already.

C Vpon this, the Lacedaemonians, with speed leuied all their forces, both of themselves, and their Helotes, in such number, as they had neuer done before, and marched vnto Orestium in Msenalia, and appointed the Arcadians, such as were of their League, to assemble, and follow them at the heele to Tegea.

The Lacedaemonians being come thither to Orestium, from thence sent backe the sixt part of their Armie: (in which they put both the youngest and the eldest sort,) for the custody of the Citie, and with the rest marched on to Tegea; and not long after, arrived also their Confederates of Arcadia.

D They sent also to Corinth, and to the Boeotians, Phocians, and Locrans, to come with their aydes, with all speed, to Mantinea. But these had too short a warning, nor was it easie for them; vntill they came altogether, and stayed for one another, to come through the enemies Countrey, which lay betweene, and barred them of passage. Neuertheless, they made what hast they could. And the Lacedaemonians taking with them, their Arcadian Confederates present, entered into the Territory of Mantinea, and pitching their Camp by the Temple of Hercules, wasted the Territory about

\* 313 pound 10 Shillings 6 pence.

The Lacedaemonians put their Army into the field, to rescue Tegea.

The Lacedaemonians waste the Territory of Mantinea.

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The



The *Argives*, and their Confederates, as soone as they A came in sight, seized on a certaine place fortified by nature, and of hard access, and put themselves into battell array. And the *Lacedemonians* marched presently towards them, and came vp within a stone or a darts cast. But then one of the ancient men of the Army cryed out vnto *Agis*, seeing him to goe on against a place of that strength, that he went about to amend one fault with another, signifying that he intended to make amends for his former retreat from *Argos*, which hee was questioned for, with his now vnseasonable forwardnesse. But he, B whether it were vpon that increpation, or some other sudden apprehension of his owne, presently withdrew his Army before the fight began, and marching vnto the Territory of *Tegea*, turned the course of the water into the Territory of *Mantineia*; touching which water, because into what part soeuer it had his course, it did much harme to the Countrey, the *Mantineans*, and *Tegeates* were at Warres. Now his drift was, by the turning of that water, to prouoke those *Argives*, and their Confederates which kept the hill, when they should heare of it, to come down, C and oppose them, that so they might fight with them in the Plaine. And by that time he had stayed about the water a day, he had diuerted the streame. The *Argives*, & their Confederates were at first amazed at this their sudden retreat, from so neere them, and knew not what to make of it. But when after the retreat they returned no more in sight, and that they themselves lying still on the place, did not pursue them, then began they anew to accuse their Commanders, both for suffering the *Lacedemonians* to depart formerly, when they had them inclosed at so faite an advantage before *Argos*; and now againe, for not pursuing them when they ran away, but giuing them leaue to saue themselves, & betraying the Army. The Commanders for the present, were much troubled hereat, but afterwards they drew downe the Armie from the Hill, and comming forth into the Plaine, encamped, as to goe against the enemy. D The next day the *Argives* and their Confederates put themselves into such order as (if occasion serued) they meant to fight in, & the *Lacedemonians* returning from the water to the temple of *Hercules*, the same place where they had formerly E encamped, perceiue the enemies to be all of the in order of battell

The *Argives* come downe from their advantage, to seeke the enemy.

A battell hard by them, come downe already from the hill. Certainly the *Lacedemonians* were more affrighted at this time, then euer they had beene to their remembrance before. For the time they had to prepare themselves was exceeding short, and such was their diligence that euery man fell immediately into his owne Rank; *Agis* the King commanding all, according to the Law. For whilest the King hath the Army in the field, all things are commanded by him, and he signifieth what is to be done, to the \* *Polemarchi*, they to the *Lochagi*, these to the *Pentcontateres*, B and these againe to the *Enomotarchi*, who lastly make it knowne, euery one to his owne *Enomatia*. In this manner, when they would haue any thing to be done, their commands passe through the Army, and are quickly executed. For almost all the *Lacedemonian* Army, saue a very few, are Captaines of Captaines, and the care of what is to be put in execution, lyeth vpon many. Now their left Wing consisted of the \* *Sciritae*, which amongst the *Lacedemonians* haue euer alone that place. Next to these were placed the *Brasidian* Souldiers lately come out of *Thrace*, C and with them, \* those that had been newly made free. After them in order, the rest of the *Lacedemonians*, Band after Band; and by them *Arcadians*, first the *Herseans*, after these the *Menaliens*. In the right Wing were the *Tegeates*, and a few *Lacedemonians* in the point of the same Wing. And vpon the out side of either Wing, the horsemen. So stood the *Lacedemonians*. Opposite to them, in the right Wing, stood the *Mantineans*, because it was vpon their owne Territory, and with them such *Arcadians* as were of their League. Then the 1000 chosen *Argives* which D the City had for a long time caused to be trayned for the Warres, at the publique charge; and next to them the rest of the *Argiues*. After these the *Chioneans*, and *Orneates*, their Confederates. And lastly, the *Athenians* with the Horsemen (which were also theirs) had the left Wing. This was the order and preparation of both the Armies.

The Army of the *Lacedemonians* appeared to be the greater. But what the number was, either of the particulars of either side, or in generall, I could not exactly write. E For the number of the *Lacedemonians*, agreeable to the secrecy of that State, was vnknowne; and of the other side, for

The *Lacedemonians* put themselves in order hastily.

\* *Polemarchi* Martials of the field. The Commanders of Regiments, Colonels, Pentcontateres, Captaines of Companies, Enomotarchi, Captaines of the fourth part of Company, an Enomati, was in this Army thirty two Souldiers.

\* A Band of the *Lacedemonians* so called, perhaps from Scirus, a Towne in *Lacedonia*.

\* read *Sciritae*.

The order of the battell of the *Argives*.



the ottentation vsuall wick all men, touching the number A  
of themfelues was vnbeleueed. Neuertheleffe the num-  
ber of the *Lacedæmonians* may be attained by computing  
thus. Besides the *Scirita*, which were 600. there fought  
in all feuen \* Regiments, in euery Regiment were foure  
\* Companies, in each Company were foure \* *Enomatia*, and  
of euery *Enomatia*, there stood in Front, foure; but they  
were not ranged all alike in File, but as the Captaines of  
Bands thought it necessary. But the Army in generall  
was so ordered, as to be eight men in depth, and the first  
Ranke of the whole, besides the *Scirita*, consisted of 448 B  
Souldiers.

Now when they were ready to ioyne, the Comman-  
ders made their hortatines, euery one to those that were  
vnder his owne command. To the *Mantineans* it was said,  
That they were to fight for their Territory, and concerning their  
liberty, and seruitude, that the former might not be taken from them,  
and that they might not againe taste of the later. The *Argiues*  
were admonished, That whereas anciently they had the leading  
of Peloponnesus, and in it an equal share, they should not now  
suffer themselves to be deprived of it for euer; and that withall, they C  
should now reuenge the many iniuries of a City, their neighbour and  
enemy. To the *Athenians* it was remembred, how honoura-  
ble a thing it would be for them, in company of so many and good  
Confederates, to be inferior to none of them; and that if they had  
once vanquished the *Lacedæmonians* in Peloponnesus, their  
owne Dominion would become both the more assured, and the larger  
by it, and that no other would inuade their Territory hereafter.  
Thus much was said to the *Argiues* and their Confede-  
rates. But the *Lacedæmonians* encouraged one another,  
both of themfelues, and also by the \* manner of their Dis- D  
cipline in the Warres; taking encouragement, being vali-  
ant men, by the commemoration of what they already  
knew, as being well acquainted, that a long actual expe-  
rience, conferred more to their safety, then any short ver-  
ball exhortation, though neuer so well deliuered. After  
this followed the battell.

The *Argiues* and their Confederates, marched to the  
charge with great violence, and fury. But the *Lacedæmoni- E*  
ans, slowly, and with many Flutes, according to their Mi-  
litary Discipline, not as a point of Religion, but that mar-  
ching euenly, and by measure, their Rankes might not be  
distracted,

\* *Agis*, left then ordinary  
Regiments with 50, more then  
ordinary Companies.  
\* Companies of 50, but more  
or less in them as occasion  
sered.

\* *Enomatia*, the fourth part  
of a Pentecostie. By this  
account euery *Enomatia*  
had 32, euery Band or *Agis*  
128, the whole Army besides  
the *Scirita* 3584, and with  
the *Scirita* which are 600,  
4184, which number rises  
also thus, 448 in ranke 8 in  
File, make 3584, and then  
the 600 *Scirita*, which  
make 4184, light-armed  
Souldiers, which usually were  
exceeded the number of men  
of Arms are not reckoned.  
The hortation to the  
*Argiues*, and their Confede-  
rates.

The *Lacedæmonians* en-  
courage one another.  
\* They used before battell to  
sing Songs containing en-  
couragement, to dye for their  
Country.

The fight.

A distracted, as the greatest Armies, when they march in the  
face of the Enemy vse to be.

Whilest they were yet marching vp, *Agis* the King  
thought of this course. All Armies doe thus; In the  
Conflict they extend their right Wing, so as it commeth in  
vpon the Flanke of the left Wing of the enemy; and this  
happeneth for that, that euery one through feare seeketh  
all he can to couer his vnarmed side, with the Shield of  
him that standeth next him on his right hand, conceiuing,  
that to be so locked together, is their best defence. The be-  
B

ginning hereof, is in the leader of the first File on the right  
hand, who euer struing to shift his vnarmed side from the  
enemy, the rest vpon like feare follow after. And at this  
time, the *Mantineans* in the right Wing, had farre encom-  
passed the *Scirita*; and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side,  
and the *Tegeates*, were come in, yet farther, vpon the Flanke  
of the *Athenians*, by as much as they had the greater Ar-  
my. Wherefore *Agis* fearing left his left Wing should be en-  
compassed, & supposing the *Mantineans* to be come in farre,  
signified vnto the *Scirita* and *Brasidians*, to draw out part of  
C

their Bands, and therewith to equalize their left Wing, to  
the right Wing of the *Mantineans*; and into the void space,  
he commanded to come vp, *Hipponoidas*, and *Aristocles*, two  
Colonels with their Bands, out of the right Wing, and to  
fall in there, and make vp the breach: Conceiuing that  
more then enough would be still remaining in their right  
Wing, and that the left Wing opposed to the *Mantineans*,  
would be the stronger. But it happened, for he commanded  
it in the very onset, and on the sodaine both that *Ari-  
stocles*, and *Hipponoidas* refused to go to the place comman-  
D

ded (for which they were afterwards banished *Sparta*, as  
thought to haue disobeyed out of cowardise) and that the  
enemy had in the meane time also charged. And when  
those which he commanded to goe to the place of the *Sci-  
rita*, went not, they could no more reunite themselves, nor  
cloze againe the empty space. But the *Lacedæmonians*,  
though they had the worst at this time in euery point, for  
skill, yet in valour they manifestly shewed themselves  
superior. For after the fight was once begun, notwith-  
standing that the right Wing of the *Mantineans* did put to  
E flight the *Scirita* & *Brasidians*, and that the *Mantineans*, toge-  
ther with their Confederates, and those 1000 chosen men  
of

The *Lacedæmonians* haue  
the disadvantage for or-  
der, but advantage of  
valour.



The Lacedæmonians haue  
the victory.

of Argos, falling vpon them in Flanke, by the breach not yet clozed vp, killed many of the Lacedæmonians, and put to flight, and chased them to their Carriages, slaying also certaine of the elder sort, left there for a guard, so as in this part the Lacedæmonians were ouercome. But with the rest of the Army, and especially the middle battell, where Agis was himselfe, and those which are called, the 300 horsemen, about him, they charged vpon the eldest of the Argiues, and vpon those which are named, the five Cohorts, and vpon the Cleoneans, and Ornates, and certaine Athenians arranged amongst them, and put them all to flight. In such sort, as many of them neuer strooke stroke, but as soone as the Lacedæmonians charged, gaue ground presently, and some for feare to be ouertaken, were trodden vnder foot. As soone as the Army of the Argiues and their Confederates had in this part giuen ground, they began also to breake, on either side. The right Wing of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeates had now with their surpluse of number hemmed the Athenians in, so as they had the danger on all hands, being within the circle, pend vp; and without it, already vanquished. And they had been the most distressed part of all the Army had not their horsemen come in to helpe them. Withall it fell out that Agis when he perceiued the left Wing of his owne Army to labour, namely, that which was opposed to the Mantineans, and to those thousand Argiues, commanded the whole Army to goe and relieue the part ouercome. By which meanes the Athenians, and such of the Argiues as together with them, were ouerlaid whilst the Army passed by and declined them, saved themselves at leisure. And the Mantineans with their Confederates, and those chosen Argiues, had no more mind now of pressing vpon their enemies, but seeing their side was ouercome, and the Lacedæmonians approaching them, presently turned their backs. Of the Mantineans the greatest part were slaine, but of those chosen Argiues, the most were saved, by reason the flight, and going off, was neither hasty nor long. For the Lacedæmonians fight long and constantly till they haue made the enemy to turne his backe, but that done, they follow him not farre.

The Lacedæmonians pursue  
not the enemy farre.

Thus or neere thus, went the battell, the greatest that had been of a long time betweene Grecians, and Grecians, and of two the most famous Cities. The Lacedæmonians laying

A laying together the Armes of their slaine enemies, presently erected a Trophie, and raised their dead bodies. Their owne dead they tooke vp, and carried them to Tegea, where they were also buried, and deliuered to the Enemy theirs, vnder truce. Of the Argiues, and Ornates, and Cleoneans were slaine 700. of the Mantineans, 200. and of the Athenians, with the Egina, likewise 200. and both the Captaines. The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians were neuer pressed, and therefore their losse was not worth mentioning. And of the Lacedæmonians themselves, it is hard to know the certaintie, but it is said there were slaine three hundred.

Number of the dead,

When it was certaine they would fight, Pleistoanax the other King of the Lacedæmonians, and with him both old and yong, came out of the Citie to haue ayded the Armie, and came forth as farre as Tegea; but being aduertised of the Victory, they returned. And the Lacedæmonians sent out to turne backe also those Confederates of theirs which were comming to them from Corinth, and from without the Isthmus. And then they also went home themselves, and hauing dismissed their Confederates (for now were the Carneian Holidiaes) celebrated that Feast. Thus in this one Battell they wiped off their disgrace with the Grecians: for they had beene taxed both with cowardise, for the blow they received in the Iland, and with imprudence and slacknesse in other occasions. But after this, their misfortune was imputed to Fortune; and for their mindes, they were esteemed to haue beene euier the same they had beene.

The Lacedæmonians recover  
their reputation.

The day before this Battell, it chanced also that the Epidaurians with their whole power invaded the Territory of Argos, as being emptied much of men; and whilst the Argiues were abroad, killed many of those that were left behinde to defend it.

The Epidaurians enter the  
territory of Argos.

Also three thousand men of Argos, and a thousand Athenians, besides those which had beene sent before, being come after the Battell to ayde the Mantineans, marched presently all to Epidaurum; & lay before it all the while the Lacedæmonians were celebrating the Carneian Holidiaes: and assigning to euery one his part, began to take in the Citie with a Wall. But the rest gaue ouer only the Athenians quickly finished a Fortification, (which was their caske) wherein stood

The Athenians build a  
Fort before Epidaurum.



The end of the twelfth Summer. Peace concluded between the Argives and Lacedæmonians.

flood the Temple of Iuno. In it, amongst them all they left a Garrison, and went home every one to his owne Citie: And so this Summer ended.

In the beginning of the Winter following, the Lacedæmonians, presently after the end of the Carneian Holidayes, drew out their Armie into the Field, and being come to Tegea, sent certaine propositions of agreement before to Argos. There were before this time many Citizens in Argos, well-affected to the Lacedæmonians, and that desired the deposing of the Argive People, and now after the Battell, they were better able by much to perswade the people to composition, then they formerly were. And their designe was, first, to get a Peace made with the Lacedæmonians, and after that a League, and then at last to set vpon the Commons.

There went thither, Licbas the sonne of Archefilaus, entertainer of the Argives in Lacedæmon, and brought to Argos two propositions; one of Warre, if the Warre were to proceed; another of Peace, if they would haue Peace. And after much contradiction, (for Alcibiades was also there) the Lacedæmonian Faction, that boldly now discovered themselves, prevailed with the Argives to accept the proposition of Peace, which was this.

## THE ARTICLES.

It seemeth good to the Councell of the Lacedæmonians, to accord with the Argives on these Articles:

The Argives shall redeliuer vnto the Orchomenians their \* children, and vnto the Mænalians their \* men, and vnto the Lacedæmonians those \* men that are at Mantinea.

They shall withdraw their Souldiers from Epidaurus, and raze the Fortification there. And if the Athenians depart not from Epidaurus likewise, they shall bee held as Enemies both to the Argives and to the Lacedæmonians, and also to the Confederates of them both.

If the Lacedæmonians haue any men of theirs in custody, they shall deliuer them every one to his owne Citie.

And for so much as concerneth the \* God, the Argives shall accept composition with the Epidaurians, vpon an \* Oath which they shall sweare, touching that controuersie, and the Argives shall giue the forme of that Oath.

All the Cities of Peloponnesus, both small and great, shall bee free, according to their patriall Lawes.

If

\* Hostages which they took of the Orchomenians.  
\* Hostages of the Mænalians.

\* Hostages of the Epidaurians giuen to the Lacedæmonians, and by them kept in Orchomenus, and as the taking of Orchomenus by the Argive League, carried away to Mantinea.

\* Apollo, to whom the Epidaurians should haue done a hecatomb for sacrifice, in name of their pastures, but not doing it, the Argives went about to force the to it.  
\* An Oath to send the best for sacrifice hereafter.

A If any without Peloponnesus shall enter into it, to doe it harme, the Argives shall come forth to defend the same, in such sort as in a Common Councell shall by the Peloponnesians be thought reasonable.

The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, without Peloponnesus, shall haue the same conditions which the Confederates of the Argives, and of the Lacedæmonians haue, every one holding his owne.

This composition is to hold from the time, that they shall both parts haue shewed the same to their Confederates, and obtained their consent.

And if it shall seeme good to either part to adde or alter any thing, their Confederates shall be sent vnto, and made acquainted therewith.

These Propositions the Argives accepted at first, and the Army of the Lacedæmonians returned from Tegea, to their owne City. But shortly after, when they had commerce together, the \* same men went further, and so wrought, that the Argives renouncing their League with the Mantineans, Eleans, and Athenians, made league and alliance with the Lacedæmonians in this forme.

It seemeth good to the Lacedæmonians and Argives, to make League and alliance for fifty yeeres, on these Articles:

That either side shall allow vnto the other, equall and like trials of Iudgement, after the forme vsed in their Cities:

That the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus (this League and Alliance comprehending also them) shall be \* free, both from the lawes, and payments of any other City then their owne, holding what they haue, and affording equall, and like tryals of Iudgement, according to the forme vsed in their severall Cities.

D That every of the Cities, Confederate with the Lacedæmonians without Peloponnesus, shall be in the same condition with the Lacedæmonians, and the Confederates of the Argives, in the same with the Argives, every one holding his owne.

That if at any time there shall need an expedition to be undertaken in common, the Lacedæmonians, and the Argives shall consult thereof, and decree, as shall stand most with equity towards the Confederates; and that if any Controuersie arise betwene any of the Cities either within, or without Peloponnesus, about limits or other matter, they also shall decide it.

That if any Confederate Citie bee at contentions with another

\* The Lacedæmonian faction.

The League between the Argives and Lacedæmonians.

\* Antiquus & discordans



another, it shall have recourse to that City, which they both shall thinke most indifferent; but the particular men of any one City, shall be iudged according to the Law of the same.

Thus was the Peace and League concluded, and whatsoever one had taken from other in the Warre, or whatsoever one had against another otherwise, was all acquitted.

Now when they were together settling their businesse, they ordered, that the *Argives* should neither admit Herald or Ambassage from the *Athenians*, till they were gone out of *Peloponnesus*, and had quit the Fortification, nor should make Peace or Warre with any, without consent of the rest.

And amongst other things which they did in this heat, they sent Ambassadors from both their Cities, to the Townes lying vpon *Thrace*, and vnto *Perdiccas*, whom they also perswaded to sweare himselfe of the same League. Yet he reuolted not from the *Athenians* presently, but intended it, because he saw the *Argives* had done so; and was himselfe also anciently descended out of *Argos*. They likewise renewed their old oath with the *Chalcidians*; and tooke another besides it.

The *Argives* sent Ambassadors also to *Athens*, requiring them to abandon the Fortification they had made against *Epidauros*. And the *Athenians* considering that the Souldiers they had in it, were but few, in respect of the many other that were with them in the same, sent *Demosthenes* thither to fetch them away. He, when he was come, and had exhibited for a pretence, a certaine exercise of naked men without the Fort, when the rest of the Garrison were gone forth to see it, made fast the Gates, and afterwards hauing renewed the League with the *Epidaurians*, the *Athenians* by themselves put the Fort into their hands.

After the reuolt of the *Argives* from the League, the *Mantineans* also, though they withstood it at first, yet being too weake without the *Argives*, made their Peace with the *Lacedemonians*; and laid downe their command ouer the other Cities. And the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives*, with a thousand men of either City, hauing ioyned their Armes, the *Lacedemonians* first, with their single power, reduced the gouernment of *Sicyon* to a smaller number, and then they both together dissolued the Democracy at *Argos*.

And the Oligarchy was established conformable to the State

The *Argives* and *Lacedemonians* make an order that the *Athenians* shall quit the Fort.

They sollicite the townes vpon *Thrace* to reuolt from the *Athenians*.

*Demosthenes* being sent to fetch out Souldiers from the Fort, deliuereth the same by a wile to the *Epidaurians*.

The *Mantineans* forsake the League of *Athens*.

Which they had the leading of in *Arcadia*.

*Sicyon*, and *Argos* reduced to Oligarchie.

A State of *Lacedemon*. These things, passed in the end of Winter, and ended the Spring. And so ended the fourteenth yeere of this Warre.

The next Summer the *Diffidians* seated in Mount *Arhos*, reuolted from the *Athenians* to the *Chalcidians*.

And the *Lacedemonians* ordered the State of *Achaia*; after their owne forme, which before was otherwise. But the *Argives*, after they had by little and little assembled themselves, and recovered heart, taking their time when the *Lacedemonians* were celebrating their exercises of the naked youth, assaulted the *Few*, and in a battell fought within the City, the Commons had the victory, & some they slew, other they drave into exile. The *Lacedemonians*, though those of their faction in *Argos*, sent for them, wrote not a long time after, yet at last they aduoynted the exercises, and came forth with intention to giue them aid, but hearing by the way, at *Tegea*, that the *Few* were outcompe, they could not be chattered, by such as had escaped thence, to goe on; but returning, went on with the celebration of their exercises. But afterwards, when there came Ambassadors vnto

G them, both from the *Argives* in the City, & from them that were driuen out, there being present also their Confederates, and much alledged on either side, they concluded at last, that those in the City had done the wrong, and decreed to goe against *Argos* with their Army, but many delayes passed, and much time was spent betweene. In the meane time the common people of *Argos*, fearing the *Lacedemonians*, & regaining the League with *Athens*, as conceiuing the same would turne to their very great aduantage, raise long walls from their City, downe to the Sea-shore, to the end that

D if they were shut up by Land, they might yet, with the helpe of the *Athenians*, bring things necessary into the City by Sea. And with this their building, some other Cities of *Peloponnesus* were also acquainted. And the *Argives*, unitedly themselves, and wiues, and seruants, wrought at the wal, and had workemen, and hewers of stone from *Athens*. So this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the *Lacedemonians*, understanding that they were fortifying, came to *Argos* with their Army, they and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, & some practice they had beside, within the City it selfe of *Argos*. The Army was commanded by *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus*, King

THE FIFTEENTH YEERE.

The *Diffidians* reuolt from *Athens*, *Achaia* Oligarchized. *Argos* repleth into a Democracy.

The *Argives* come againe to the League of *Athens*, and with long walls take in away from their City to the Sea.

The end of the fifteenth Summer.

The *Lacedemonians* Army comes to *Argos*, and razeth the walls which they were building.



They take *Hyfæ* a Towne in *Argia*.

The *Argives* spoyle the Territory of *Phlia*.

The *Athenians* quarrell *Perdiccas*, and barre him the vic of the Sea.

THE SIXTEENTH YEERE.  
*Alcibiades* fetcheth away 300 Citizens of *Argos* for *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Athenians* warre against the Iland of *Melos*.

King of the *Lacedæmonians*. But those things which were practizing in *Argos*, and supposed to haue beene already mature, did not then succeed. Neuerthelesse they tooke the walles that were then in building, and razed them to the ground; and then after they had taken *Hyfæ*, a towne in the *Argive* Territory, and slaine all the freemen in it, they went home, and were dissolved every one to his owne City.

After this, the *Argives* went with an Army into *Phlia*, which when they had wasted, they went backe. They did it, because the men of *Phlia* had receiued their Outlawes; for there the greatest part of them dwelt.

The same Winter the *Athenians* shut vp *Perdiccas* in *Macedonia*, from the vic of the Sea; Obiecting that hee had sworne the League of the *Argives*, and *Lacedæmonians*, and that when they had prepared an Army, vnder the command of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, to goe against the *Chalcidians* vpon *Thrace*, and against *Amphipoli*, he had broken the League made betwixt them, and him; and by his departure, was the principall cause of the dissolution of that Army, and was therefore an enemy. And so this Winter ended, and the fifteenth yeere of this Warre.

The next Summer went *Alcibiades* to *Argos*, with twenty Gallies, and tooke thence the suspected *Argives*, and such as seemed to fauour of the *Lacedæmonian* faction, to the number of 300, and put them into the necrest of the Ilands subiect to the *Athenian* State.

The *Athenians* made Warre also against the Ile of *Melos*, with 30 Gallies of their owne, 6 of *Chios*, and 2 of *Lesbos*. Wherein were of their owne, 1200 men of Armes, 300 Archers, and 20 Archers on horsebacke, and of their Confederates, and Ilanders, about 1500 men of Armes. The *Melians* are a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refused to be subiect, as the rest of the Ilands were, vnto the *Athenians*; but rested at the first newtrall, and afterwards when the *Athenians* put them to it, by wasting of their Land, they entred into open Warre.

Now the *Athenian* Commanders *Cleomenes* the sonne of *Lycomedes*, and *Licias* the sonne of *Lisimachus*, being encamped vpon their Land with these forces, before they would hurt the same, sent Ambassadors to deale with them first by way of conference. These Ambassadors the *Melians* refused to bring before the multitude, but commanded them

to

A to deliuer their message before the Magistrates, and the Few, and they accordingly said as followeth.

## DIALOGVE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS and MELIANS.

Ath.

Since we may not speake to the multitude, for feare lest when they heare our perswasive and vnanswerable Arguments, all at once in a continued Oration; they should chance to bee seduced, (for we know that this is the scope of your bringing vs to audience before the Few) make surer yet that point, you that sit heere, answer you also to every particular, not in a set speech, but presently interrupting vs, whensoever any thing shall bee said by vs, which shall seeme vnto you to be otherwise. And first answer vs, whether you like this motion, or not?

Wherevnto the Councell of the *Melians* answered.

Mel. The equity of a leasurely debate is not to be found fault withall; but this preparation of warre, not future, but already heere present, seemeth not to agree with the same. For we see that you are come to bee Iudges of the conference, and that the issue of it, if we bee superiour in argument, and therefore yeeld not, is likely to bring vs Warre; and if we yeeld, seruitude.

Ath. Nay if you be come together to reckon vpon suspicions of what may bee, or to any other purpose, then to take aduice vpon what is present, and before your eyes, how to saue your Citie from destruction, let vs giue ouer. But if this be the point, let vs speake to it.

Mel. It is reason, and pardonable for men in our cases, to turne both their words and thoughts vpon diuers things: Howsoever, this consultation being held onely vpon the point of our safety, we are content, if you thinke good, to goe on with the course you haue proponded.

Ath. As we, therefore, will not, for our parts, with faire pretences, (as That hauing defeated the *Medes*, our raigne is therefore lawfull, or That we come against you for iniury done) make a long discourse without being beleened; so would we haue you also not expect to preuaile, by saying, either, That you therefore tooke not our parts, because you were a Colonie of the *Lacedæmonians*; or, that you haue done vs no iniury; but one of those things which we both of vs doe really thinke, let vs goe through, with that which is feasible; both you, and wee, knowing, that in humane disputation, iustice is then only agreed on, when the necessity is equall. Whereas they that haue odds of power, exact as much as they can, and the weake yeeld to such conditions as they can get.

Mel.



Mel. Well then, (seeing you put the point of profit in the place A of that of Iustice) we hold it profitable for our selues, not to overthrow a generall profit to all men, which is this, That men in danger, if they pleade reason, and equity, may, though somewhat without the strict compasse of Iustice, yet it ought euer to doe them good; And the same most of all concerneth you, forasmuch as you shall else giue an example vnto others, of the greatest reuenge that can bee taken, if you chance to miscarry.

Ath. As for vs, though our dominion should cease, yet wee feare not the sequell. For not they that command, as doe the Lacedæmonians, are cruell to those that are vanquished by them, (yet wee haue B nothing to doe now with the Lacedæmonians,) but such as hauing bene in subiection, haue assaulted those that commanded them, and gotten the victory. But let the danger of that be to our selues. In the meane time, wee tell you this, that wee are here now, both to enlarge our owne dominion, and also to conserue about the sauing of your Citie. For wee would haue dominion ouer you, without oppressing you, and preserve you, to the profit of vs both.

Mel. But how can it be profitable for vs to serue, though it be so for you to command?

Ath. Because you by obeying, shall saue your selues from extremity; and wee not destroying you, shall reape profit by you.

Mel. But will you not accept that wee remaine quiet, and be your friends, (whereas before wee were your enemies,) and take part with neither?

Ath. No. For your enimity doth not so much hurt vs, as your friendship will be an argument of our weaknesse, and your hatred, of our power, amongst those whom we beare rule over.

Mel. Why? Doe your Subjects measure equity so, as to put those that neuer had to doe with you, and themselves, who for the most part haue bene your owne Colonies, and some of them after reuolt D conquered, into one and the same consideration?

Ath. Why not? For they thinke they haue reason on their side, both the one sort and the other; and that such as are subdued, are subdued by force, and such as are forborne, are so through our feare. So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion ouer so many more Subjects, we shall also assure it the more ouer those we had before, especially being masters of the Sea, and you Ilanders, and weaken (except you can get the victory) then others whom wee haue subdued already.

Mel. Doe you thinke then, that there is no assurance in that which E we propounded? For here againe (since driving vs from the plea of equity,

A equity, you perswade vs to submit to your profit) when we haue shewed you what is good for vs, we must endeavour to draw you to the same, as far forth as it shall be good for you also. As many therefore as now are neutrall, what doe you but make them your enemies, when beholding these your proceedings, they looke that hereafter you will also turne your Armes vpon them? And what is this, but to make greater the Enemies you haue already, and to make others your Enemies euen against their wills, that would not else haue bene so?

Ath. We doe not thinke that they shall be euer the more our Enemies, who inhabiting any where in the Continent, will bee long ere they so much as keepe guard vpon their liberty against vs. But Ilanders vn-subdued, as you bee, or Ilanders offended with the necessity of subiection which they are already in, these may indged, by vnadvised courses, put both themselves and vs into apparent danger.

Mel. If you then to retaine your command, and your vassals, to get loose from you, will vndergoe the utmost of danger, would it not in vs that be already free, be great basenesse and cowardise, if we should not incounter any thing whatsoeuer, rather then suffer our selues to be brought into bondage?

Ath. No; if you aduise rightly. For you haue not in hand a match C of valour vpon equall termes, wherein to forget your honour, but rather a consultation vpon your safety, that you resist not such as be so farre your ouermatches.

Mel. But wee know, that in matter of Warre, the event is sometimes otherwise then according to the difference of the number in sides. And that if we yeeld presently, all our hope is lost; whereas, if wee hold out, we haue yet a hope to keepe our selues vp.

Ath. Hope, the comfort of danger, when such vse it, do haue to spare, though it hurt them, yet it destroys them not. But to such as set their rest vpon it, (for it is a thing by nature prodigall) it at once by failing maketh it selfe knowne; and knownd, leaueth no place

D for future caution. Which let not be your owne case: you that are but weak, and haue no more but this one stake. Nor bee you like vnto many men, who though they may presently saue themselves by humane means, will yet when (vpon pressure of the Enemy) their most apparent hopes faile them, betake themselves to blinde ones, as Divination, Oracles, and other such things, which with hopes destroy mens minds.

Mel. Wee thinke it (you well know) a bare water for vs to combat your power and fortuncy, lesse we might doe it on equall E termes. Neuerthelesse we beleeue, that for fortune we shall bee nothing inferior, as hauing the Gods on our side, because we are, and innocent,



innocent, against men unjust. And for power, what is wanting in Athens, will be supplied by our League with the Lacedæmonians, who are of necessity obliged, if for no other cause, yet for consanguinities sake, and for their owne honour to defend vs. So that we are confident, not altogether so much without reason, as you thinke.

Ath. As for the fauour of the Gods, we expect to haue it as well as you, for we neither doe, nor require any thing contrary to what mankind hath decreed, either concerning the worship of the Gods, or concerning themselves. For of the Gods we thinke, according to the common opinion, and of men, that for certaine, by necessity of Nature, they will euery where raigne ouer such as they be to strong for. Neither did we make this Law, nor are we the first that vse it made, but as we found it, and shall leave it to posterity for euer, so also we vse it. Knowing that you likewise, and others that should haue the same power which we haue, would doe the same. So that for as much as toucheth the fauour of the Gods, we haue in reason no feare of being inferiour. And as for the opinion you haue of the Lacedæmonians, in that you beleue they will helpe you for their owne honour, wee blesse your innocent mindes, but affect not your folly. For the Lacedæmonians, though in respect of themselves, and the constitutions of their owne Countrey, they are wont, for the most part, to be generous, yet in respect of others, though much might be alledged, yet the shortest way one might say it all thus, That most apparantly of all men; they hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for iust, that which profiteth. And such an opinion maketh nothing for your now absurd meanes of safety.

Mel. Nay for this same opinion of theirs we now the rather beleue that they will not betray their owne Colony, the Melians; and thereby become perfidious to such of the Grecians as be their friends, and beneficiall to such as be their enemies.

Ath. You thinke not then that what is profitable, must bee also safe, and that which is iust and honourable, must be performed without danger, which commonly the Lacedæmonians are least willing of all men, to undergoe for others.

Mel. But we suppose that they will undertake danger for vs, rather then for any other; and that they thinke that we will be more assured vnto them, then vnto any other; because for action wee be neere to Peloponnesus, and for affection, are more faithfull then others for our neerenesse of kinne.

Ath. The security of such as are at warres, consisteth not in the good will of those that are called to their aide, but in the power of those meanes they excell in. And this the Lacedæmonians them-

A themselves vse to consider more then any; and therefore out of diffidence in their owne forces, they take many of their Confederates with them, though to an expedition but against their neighbours. Wherefore it is not likely, we being Masters of the sea, that they will euer passe ouer into an Island.

Mel. Yea, but they may haue others to send; and the Cretique sea is wide, wherein to take another, is harder for him that is Master of it, then it is for him that will steale by, to saue himselfe. And if this course faile, they may turne their Armes against your owne Territory, or those of your Confederates not invaded by Brasidas. And then you shall haue to trouble your selues, no more about a Territory that you haue nothing to do withall, but about your own and your Confederates.

Ath. Let them take which course of these they will, that you also may find by experience, and not be ignorant, that the Athenians, neuer yet gaue ouer siege, for feare of any diuersion vpon others. But we obserue, that whereas you said you would consult of your safety, you haue not yet in all this discourse said any thing, which a man relying on, could hope to be preserued by. The strongest arguments you vse, are but future hopes, and your present power, is too short to defend you against the forces already arrayed against you. You shall therefore take very absurd counsaile; vnlesse excluding vs, you make amongst your selues some more discreet conclusion; For when you are by your selues, you will no more set your thoughts vpon shame, which when dishonour and danger stand before mens eyes for the most part condocteth them. For many, when they haue foreseene into what dangers they were entring, haue neuertheless beene so ouercome by that forcible word, dishonour, that that which is but called dishonour, hath caused them to fall willingly into immedicable calamities, & so to draw vpon themselves, really by their owne madnesse, a greater dishonour then could haue befallne them by fortune. Which you, if you deliberate wisely, will take heed of, and not thinke shame to submit to a most potent Citie, and that vpon so reasonable conditions, as of League, and of enjoying your owne, vnder tribute. And seeing choice is giuen you of Warre, or safety, doe not out of peeuishnesse take the worse. For such doe take the best course, who though they giue no way to their equals, yet doe fairly accomodate to their superiours, and towards their inferiours, use moderation. Consider of it therefore, whilst we stand off, and haue often in your minde, that you deliberate of your Countrey, which is to be happy or miserable in, & by this one consultation. So the Athenians went aside from the conference; and the Melians after they had decreed the very same things which before they had spoken, made answer vnto them in this manner.

THE

Y y

Mel.



Mel. Men of Athens, our resolution is no other then what A you haue heard before; nor will we in a small portion of time, overthrow that liberty in which our City hath remained for the space of 700 yeeres since it was first founded. But trusting to the fortune by which the Gods haue preserved it hitherto, and vnto the helpe of men, that is, of the Lacedæmonians, we will doe our best to maintaine the same. But this we offer; To be your friends; Enemies to neither side; and you to depart out of our Land after agreement, such as we shall both thinke fit. Thus the Melians answered; to which the Athenians, the conference being already broken off, replied thus. B

Ath. You are the onely men, as it seemeth to vs by this consultation that thinke future things more certaine, then things (eene, and behold things doubtful, through desire to haue them true, as if they were already come to passe. As you attribute and trust the most, vnto the Lacedæmonians, and to Fortune, and Hopes; So will you be the most deceived. This said, the Athenian Ambassadors departed to their Campe, and the Commanders, seeing that the Melians stood out, fell presently to the War, and diuiding the worke among the seuerall Cities, encompassed the City of the Melians with a wall. The Athenians afterwards, left some forces of their owne, and of their Confederates, for a guard, both by Sea and Land, and with the greatest part of their Army, went home. The rest that were left, besieged the place. C

About the same time, the Argives, making a Road into Phliasia, lost about 80 of their men, by ambush laid for them by the men of Phlius, and the outlawes of their owne City.

And the Athenians that lay in Pylius, fetched in thither a great booty from the Lacedæmonians; notwithstanding which the Lacedæmonians did not warre vpon them, as re- D nouncing the Peace, but gaue leaue by Edict onely, to any of their people that would to take booties reciprocally in the Territory of the Athenians.

The Corinthians also made Warre vpon the Athenians, but it was for certaine controuerfies of their owne, and the rest of Peloponnesus stirred not.

The Melians also tooke that part of the wall of the Athenians by an assault in the night, which looked towards the Market place, and hauing slaine the men that guarded it, brought into the Towne both Corne, and other prouisi- E on whatsoeuer they could buy for money, and so returned and

The Athenians and Melians agree not.

The City of Melos besieged.

The Argives loose 80 men by an Ambushment of the Phliasiens.

The Athenians in Pylius infect Lacodia.

The Corinthians Warre on the Athenians.

The Melians releue their Towne.

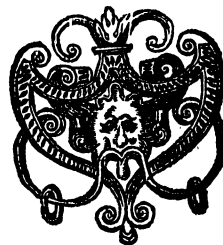
A and lay still. And the Athenians from thenceforth kept a better watch. And so this Summer ended.

The Winter following, the Lacedæmonians being about to enter with their Army into the Territory of the Argives, when they perceiued that the sacrifices which they made on the border, for their passage, were not acceptable, returned. And the Argives, hauing some of their owne Citie in suspition, in regard of this designe of the Lacedæmonians, apprehended some of them, and some escaped.

About the same time, the Melians tooke another part B of the wall of the Athenians, they that kept the siege, being then not many. But this done, there came afterwards fresh forces from Athens, vnder the Conduct of Philocrates, the sonne of Demear. And the Towne being now strongly besieged, there being also within some that practised to haue it giuen vp, they yeelded themselues to the discretion of the Athenians, who slew all the men of Military age, made slaues of the women and children, and inhabited the place with a Colony sent thither afterwards, of fise hundred men of their owne. C

\* \* \*

Yy 2

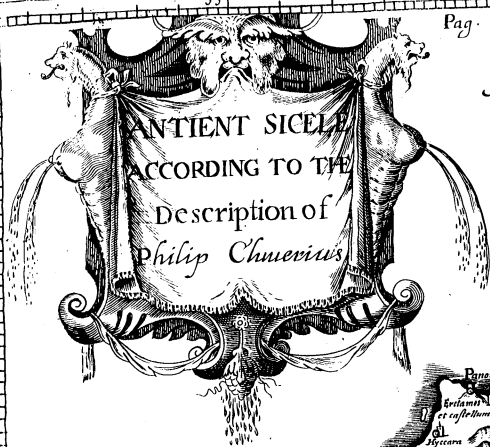


D

E

The end of the fiftenth Summer.





Aegades  
insulæ  
Phorbania  
Bucina  
Aymana  
Aegula  
Capri  
Lilybæum  
promont


  
 RARE LIBRUM.



*Phœnicedes*  
**Æoliæ insulæ**

SICULUM

*MARE*

achyrium  
moment.



A



THE  
SIXTH BOOKE  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

icity described. The causes and pretences of the Sicilian Warre, with the consultation and preparation for the same. Alcibiades, one of the Generals of the Army accused of defacing the Images of Mercury, is suffered for that present to depart with the Armie. The Athenian Army commeth to Rhegium, thence to Catana. From thence Alcibiades is sent for home, to make answer to his accusations, and by the way escaping, goeth to Lacedæmon. Nicias encampeth neere Syracuse, and hauing ouercome the Armie of the Syracusians in Battell, returneth to Catana. The Syracusians procure aydes amongst the rest of the Sicilians. Alcibiades instigateth and instructeth the Lacedæmonians against his Countrey. Nicias returneth from Catana to Syracuse, and encamping in Epipolæ, bessegeth the Citie, and beginneth to enclose them with a double Wall, which was almost brought to perfection in the beginning of the eighteenth yeere of this Warre.



The same Winter the Athenians with greater Forces then they had before sent out with Laches and Eurymedon, resolved to goe againe into Sicily, and if they could wholly to subdue it. Being for the most part ignorant both of the greatnesse of the Island, and of the multitude of people, as well Greekes as Barbarians that inhabited the same, and that they vnderooke

The Athenians resolute to invade Sicily.

The greatnesse of Sicily, and the inhabitants.



dertooke a Warre not much lesse then the Warre against A the Peloponnesians.

For the compasse of Sicily is little lesse then eight dayes sayle for a Ship, and though so great, is yet diuided with no more then twenty Furlongs, Sea measure, from the Continent.

It was inhabited in Old time, thus; and these were the Nations that held it. The most ancient Inhabitants in a part thereof, are said to haue been the Cyclopes, and Lastrigones, of whose Stocke, and whence they came, or to what place they remoued, I haue nothing to say. Let that suffice which the Poets haue spoken, and which every particular man hath learned of them.

After them, the first that appeare to haue dwelt therein, are the Sicaniens, as they say themselves; nay, before the other, as being the \* naturall breed of the Island. But the truth is, they were Iberians, and driuen away by the Ligians from the bankes of Sicanus, a Riuer on which they were seated in Iberia. And the Island from them came to be called Sicania, which was before Trinacria. And these two inhabit yet in the Westerne parts of Sicily.

After the taking of Ilium, certaine Troians, escaping the hands of the Grecians, landed with small Boats in Sicily, and hauing planted themselves on the borders of the Sicaniens, both the Nations in one were called Elymi, and their Cities were Eryx, and Egesta.

Hard by these came and dwelled also certaine Phocceans, who comming from Troy, were by tempest carried first into Africke, and thence into Sicily. But the Siculi passed out of Italy, (for there they inhabited) flying from the Opici, hauing, as is most likely, and as it is reported, obserued the D Straight, and with a fore-wind, gotten ouer, in Boats which they made suddenly on the occasion, or perhaps by some other means.

There is at this day a people in Italy, called Siculi. And Italy it selfe got that name after the same manner, from a King of Arcadia, called Italus. Of these a great Army crossing ouer into Sicily, ouerthrew the Sicaniens in battell, and draue them into the South, and West parts of the same; and in stead of Sicania, caused the Island to be called Sicilia, and held and inhabited the best of the Land, for E neere 300 yeeres after their going ouer, and before any of the

A the Grecians came thither. And till now, they possesse the midland, and North parts of the Island.

Also the Phœnicians inhabited the Coast of Sicily on all sides, hauing taken possession of certaine Promontories, and little Islands adiacent, for Trades sake with the Sicilians. But after that many Grecians were come in by Sea, the Phœnicians abandoned most of their former habitations, and vnitng themselves, dwelt in Motya and Soloeis, and Panormus, vpon the borders of the Elymi; as relying vpon their League with the Elymi, and because also, from thence, lay the shortest Cut ouer vnto Carthage. These were the Barbarians, and thus they inhabited Sicily.

Now for Grecians, first a Colony of Chalcidians, vnder Thucles their Conductor, going from Eubœa, built Naxos, and the Altar of Apollo \* Archegetis, now standing, without the City, vpon which the \* Ambassadors employed to the Oracles, as often as they lanch from Sicily, are accustomed to offer their first sacrifice. The next yeere Archias, a man of the Herculean Family, carried a Colony from Corinth, and became Founder of Syracuse; where first he draue the Siculi out of that \* Island, in which the inner part of the City now standeth; not now enuironed wholly with the Sea, as it was then: And in proceſſe of time, when the City also that is without, was taken in with a wall, it became a populous Citie.

In the fifth yeere after the building of Syracuse, Thucles, and the Chalcidians, going from Naxos, built Leontium, expelling thence the Siculi, and after that Catana, but they that went to Catana, chose Huarcbus for their Founder. About the same time arrived in Sicily, also Lamis, with a Colony from Megara, and first built a certaine Towne called Troilus, vpon the Riuer Pantacius, where for a while after he gouerned the estate of his Colony in common with the Chalcidians of Leontium. But afterwards, when he was by them thrust out, and had builded Thapsus, he dyed, and the rest going from Thapsus, vnder the Conduct of Hyblan, a King of the Siculi, built Megara, called Megara-Hyblea. And after they had there inhabited 24 yeeres, they were by Gelon a Tyrant of Syracuse, put out both of the City and Territory. But before they were driuen thence, namely 100

E yeeres after they had built it, they sent out Pammilus, and built the Citie of Selinus. This Pammilus came to them from

Phœnicians.

Chalcidians.

\* Id est, Chief guide.

\* Oracles.

Corinthians.

\* Naxos, Ortygia, an Island, part of the Citie of Syracuse.

Megareans.



Rhodians and Cretans.

Mellana first built by Pirates of Cumæ.

Eubœans.

Samiens and other Ionians.

Rhegium.

Acra, Chasmene.

Camarina.

from Megara, their owne Metropolitan City, and so together with them founded *Selinus*. Gela was built in the 45 yeere after *Syracuse*, by *Antiphemus*, that brought a Colony out of *Rhodes*, and by *Entymus*, that did the like out of *Crete*, ioyntly. This City was named after the name of the Riuer, *Gela*, and the place where now the City standeth, and which at first they walled in, was called *Lindij*. And the Lawes which they established, were the *Dorique*. About 103 yeeres after their owne foundation, they of *Gela* built the Citie of *Acragante*, calling the City after the name of the Riuer, and for their Conductors, choze *Aristonon*, and *Pythilus*, and gaue vnto them the Lawes of *Gela*. *Zancle* was first built by Pirates, that came from *Cumæ*, a *Chalcedean* City in *Orcia*; but afterwards there came a multitude and helped to people it, out of *Chalcis*, and the rest of *Eubœa*; and their Conductors were *Prieres*, and *Cratamenes*; one of *Cumæ*, the other of *Chalcis*. And the name of the City was at first *Zancle*, so named by the *Sicilians*; because it hath the forme of a Sicke, and the *Sicilians* call a Sicke, *Zancleon*. But these Inhabitants were afterwards chased thence by the *Samiens*, and other people of *Ionia*, that in their flight from the *Medes*, fell vpon *Sicily*.

After this, *Anaxilas*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*, draue out the *Samiens*, and peopling the City with a mixt people of them, and his owne, in stead of *Zancle*, called the place by the name of his owne Countrey from whence he was anciently descended, *Messana*. After *Zancle*, was built *Himera*, by *Eucleides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; the most of which Colony were *Chalcedeans*; but there were also amongst them certaine Outlawes of *Syracuse*, the vanquished part of a Sedition, called the *Myletides*. Their language grew to a Meane betweene the *Chalcedean*, and *Dorique*; but the lawes of the *Chalcedean* preuailed. *Acra*, and *Chasmene*, were built by the *Syracusians*. *Acra* 20 yeeres after *Syracuse*; and *Chasmene*, almost 20 after *Acra*. *Camarina* was at first built by the *Syracusians*, very neere the 135 yeere of their owne Citie, *Dafcon*, and *Menecolus*, being the Conductors. But the *Camarinians* hauing been by the *Syracusians* driuen from their seat by Warre, for reuolt, *Hippocrates*, Tyrant of *Gela*, in proesse of time, taking of the *Syracusians*, that Territory for ranfome of certaine *Syracusian* prisoners, became their Founder, and placed them in *Camarina* againe.

After

A After this againe, hauing beene driuen thence by *Gelon*, they were placed the third time in the same Citie. These were the Nations, *Greekes* and *Barbarians*, that inhabited *Sicily*.

And though it were thus great, yet the *Athenians* longed very much to send an Armie against it; out of a desire to bring it all vnder their subiection (which was the true motion) but as hauing withall this faire pretext of aiding their kindred & new Confederates. But principally they were instigated to it by the Ambassadors of *Egesta* who were at

B *Athens*, and earnestly pressed them thereto. For bordering on the territory of the *Selinuntians*; they had begun a War about certain things concerning marriage; & about a peece of ground that lay doubtfully between them. And the *Selinuntians* hauing leagued themselves with the *Syracusians*, infested them with War both by Sea and by Land. Inasmuch as the *Egestians* putting the *Athenians* in minde of their former League with the *Loconians*, made by *Laches*, prayed them to send a Fleece thither in their ayde; alleging amongst many other things, this as principall, That if the *Syracusians* who had driuen the *Loconians* from their seat, should passe without reuenge taken on them, and so proceed by consuming the rest of the allies of the *Athenians* there, to get the whole power of *Sicily* into their hands; it would be dangerous, lest hereafter some time or other, being *Dreans*, they should with great Forces ayde the *Doreans* for affinity; and bring a Colony of the *Peloponnesians* ioyne with the *Peloponnesians*, that sent them out, to pull downe the *Athenian* Empire. That it were wisdome therefore, with those Confederates they yet remain, to make head

D against the *Syracusians*, and the rather because for the defraying of the Warre, the *Egestians* would furnish money sufficient, of themselves. Which things when the *Athenians* had often heard in their Assemblies, from the mouthes of the *Egestian* Ambassadors, and of their Adulators and Patrons, they decreed to send Ambassadors to *Egesta*, to see first, whether there were in their Treasury, Temples, so much wealth as they said there was; and to bring word in what termes the War stood betwene that City & the *Selinuntians*; so Ambassadors were sent into *Sicily* accordingly.

E The same Winter the *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, hauing drawn out their forces

The cause and pretence of the *Athenians* to invade it.

THE CAUSE OF THE WARRE BETWEENE THE *Athenians* AND THE *Syracusians*.

The *Lacedemonians* waite part of *Argolis*, and put the Outlawes of *Argos* into *Orme*.



into the Territory of the *Argives*, walted a small part of A their fields, and carried away certaine Cart-loads of their Come. Thence they went to *Ornea*, and hauing placed there the *Argive* Outlawes, left with them a few others of the rest of the Armie, and then making a composition for a certaine time, that they of *Ornea*, and those *Argives* should not wrong each other, they carried their Armie home. But the *Athenians* arriuing not long after with 30. Gallies, and 600. men of Armes, the people of *Argos* came also forth with their whole power, and ioyning with them, late downe betimes in the morning before *Ornea*. But B when at night the Army went somewhat farre off to lodge, they within fled out, and the *Argives* the next day perceiuing it, pulled *Ornea* to the ground, and went home; and so also did the *Athenians* not long after with their Gallies.

The Athenians warre vpon Macedonians.

Also the *Athenians* transported certaine Horsemen by Sea, part of their owne, and part Macedonian fugitiues, that liued with them, into *Methone*, and rauaged the Territorie of *Perdiccas*. And the *Lacedemonians* sent vnto the *Chalcidians* vpon *Thrace*, who held Peace with the *Athenians* from ten dayes to ten dayes, appointing them to ayde *Perdiccas*. C But they refused. And so ended the Winter, and the sixteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE SEVENTEENTH YEERE.  
The Athenians decree the Voyage of Sicily, and Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus for Generals.

The next Summer, early in the Spring, the *Athenian* Ambassadors returned from *Sicily*, and the Ambassadors of *Egesta* with them, and brought, in siluer vncoined, sixtie Talents, for a moneths pay of sixtie Gallies, which they would intreat the *Athenians* to send thither. And the *Athenians* hauing called an Assembly, and heard both from the *Egestians* and their own Ambassadors, amongst other perswasive, but vntrue Allegations, touching their Money, how they had great store ready, both in their Treasurie and Temples, decreed the sending of sixtie Gallies into *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Lamachus* the sonne of *Xenophanes*, for Commanders, with authority absolute, the which were to ayde the people of *Egesta* against the *Selinuntians*, and, withall, if they had time spare, to plant the *Latins* anew in their Citie; and to order all other the affaires of *Sicily*, as they should thinke most for the profit E of the *Athenians*.

Five

A Five dayes after this the people assembled againe, to consult of the meanes how most speedily to put this Armada in readinesse, and to decree such things as the Generals should further require for the Expedition. But *Nicias* hauing heard that himselfe was chosen for one of the Generals, and conceiuing that the State had not well resolved, but affected the Conquest of all *Sicily*, a great matter vpon small and superficiall pretences, stood forth, desiring to haue altered this the *Athenians* purpose, and spake as followeth.

## B THE ORATION OF N I C I A S.

Though this Assembly was called to deliberate of our preparation, of the manner how to set forth our Fleet for *Sicily*, yet to me it seemeth, that we ought rather, once againe, to consult, whether it be not better, not to send it at all, then vpon a short deliberation in so weighty an affaire; and vpon the credit of strangers, to draw vpon our selues an impertinent Warre. For my owne part, C I haue honour by it; and for the danger of my person, I esteeme it the least of all men, not but that I thinke him a good member of the Common-wealth, that hath regard also to his owne person and estate: for such a man especially will desire the publike to prosper, for his owne sake. But as I haue neuer spoken heretofore, so now now will I speake any thing that is against my conscience, for gaining to my selfe a prebeminence of honour; but that onely which I apprehend for the best. And although I am sure, that if I goe about to perswade you to preferre what you already hold, and not to hazard things certaine, for vncertaine and future, my words will be too D weak: to preuaile against your humours; yet this I must needs let you know, that neither your haste is seasonable, nor your desire easie to be atchieued. For I say, that going thither, you leaue many *E* *Athenians* here behind you, and more you endeavour to draw thither. You perhaps thinke that the League will be firme, that you haue made with the *Lacedemonians*, which though as long as you stir not, may continue a League in name; for so some haue made it of our owne side; yet if any considerable force of ours chance to miscarry, our enemies will soone renew the Warre, as hauing made the peace, constrained by calamities, and vpon termes of more dishonor E and necessity then our selues. Besides, in the League it selfe, we haue many things controuerted; and some there be, that refuse restorably



\* The Corinthians.  
\* The Boeotians.

to accept it, and they none of the weakest, whereof \* some are now in A open Warre against vs, and \* others, because the Lacedæmonians stir not, maintaine onely a Truce with vs from ten to ten dayes; and so are contented yet to hold their hands. But peradventure when they shall heare that our power is distracted (which is the thing wee now hasten to doe) they will bee glad to ioyne in the Warre with the Sicilians against vs, the confederacy of whom they would heretofore haue valued above many other. It beloneth vs therefore to consider of these things, and not to run into new dangers, when the state of our owne Citie hangeth vssettled, nor seeke a new dominion, before we assure that which we already haue. For the Chalcideans B of Thrace, after so many yeeres reuolt, are yet vnreduced: and from others in diuers parts of the Continent, we haue but doubtfull obedience. But the Egeltæans, being forsooth our Confederates, and wronged, they in all haste must be ayded; though to right vs on those by whom we haue a long time our selues beene wronged, that wee deferre. And yet if we should reduce the Chalcideans into subiection, wee could easily also keepe them so. But the Sicilians, though wee vanquish them, yet being many, and farre off, wee should haue much adoe to hold them in obedience. Now it were madnesse to invade such, whom conquering, you cannot keepe, and failing, should lose the meanes C for euer after to attempt the same againe. As for the Sicilians, it seemeth vnto me, at least, as things now stand, that they shall bee of lesse danger to vs, if they fall vnder the Dominion of the Syracusians, then they are now; And yet this is it that the Egeltæans would most affright vs with: for now the States of Sicily in seuerall, may perhaps be induced, in fauour of the Lacedæmonians, to take part against vs: whereas then, being reduced into one, it is not likely they would hazard with vs state against state. For by the same meanes that they, ioyning with the Peloponnesians may pull downe our Dominion, by the same it would bee likely that the Peloponnesians D would subuert theirs. The Grecians there will feare vs most, if we goe not at all; next, if we but shew our Forces, and come quickly away. But if any misfortune befall vs, they will presently despise vs, and ioyne with the Grecians here to invade vs. For wee all know, that those things are most admired which are furthest off, and which least come to giue proofe of the opinion conceiued of them. And this (Athenians) is your owne case now with the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, whom because beyond your hope you haue overcome, in those things for which at first you feared them, you now in contempt of them, turne your Armes vpon Sicily. But we ought not E to be puffed vp vpon the misfortunes of our enemies, but to bee confident then

A then onely when we haue mastered their designs. Nor ought wee to thinke that the Lacedæmonians set their mindes on any thing else, but how they may yet for the late disgrace, repaie their reputation, if they can, by our ouerthrow; and the rather because they haue so much, and so long laboured to win an opinion in the world of their valour. The question with vs therefore (if we be well aduised) will not be of the Egeltæans in Sicily, but how we may speedily defend our Citie against the insidiation of them that fauour the Oligarchy. Wee must remember also that we haue had now some short recreation from a late great Plague, and great Warre, and thereby are improved both B in men and money; which it is most meet we should spend here vpon our selues, and not vpon these Outlawes which seeke for aide. Seeing it maketh for them, to tell vs a specious lye; who contributing onely words, whilest their friends beare all the danger, if they speed well, shall be disobliged of thanks; if ill, vndoe their friends for company. Now if there be any \* man here; that, for ends of his owne, as being glad to be Generall, especially being yet too young to haue charge in chiefe, shall aduise the expedition, to the end he may haue admiration for his expence vpon horses, and helpe from his place to defray that expence, suffer him not to purchase his priuate honour and splendor with the C danger of the publike fortune. Beseeue rather that such men though they robbe the publike, doe neuerthelesse consume also their priuate wealth. Besides the matter it selfe is full of great difficulties, such as it is not fit for a young man to consult of, much lesse hastily to take in hand. And I seeing those now that sit by, and abett the same man, am fearefull of them; and doe on the other side exhort the elder sort (if any of them sit neere those other) not to be ashamed to deliuer their minds freely; as fearing, that if they giue their voyce against the Warre, they should be esteemed towards; nor to doate, (as they doe) vpon things absent, knowing that by passion the fiercest actions, and by reason the most doe prosper; but rather for the benefit of their Countrey, which is now cast into greater danger, then euer before, to hold vp their hands on the other side, and decree. That the Sicilians, within the limits they now enjoy, not misliked by you, and with liberty, to saile by the shoare, in the Ionian Gulfe, and in the maine of the Sicilian Sea, shall possesse their owne, and compound their differences within themselves. And for the Egeltæans, to answer them in particular, thus; That as without the Athenians they had begun the War against the Selinuntians, so they should without them E likewise end it. And that we shall no more hereafter, as wee haue vsed to doe, make such men our Confederates, as when

\* Hegemachus Alcibiades.



when they doe iniury, we must maintaine it, and when we require their assistance, cannot haue it. And you the President, (if you thinke it your office to take care of the Common-wealth, and desire to be a good member of the same) put these things once more to the question, and let the Athenians speake to it againe. Thinke if you be afraid to infringe the orders of the Assembly that before so many witnesses, it will not be made a crime, but that you shall be rather thought a Physician of your Country, that hath swallowed down euill counsell. And be truly dischargeth the duty of a President, who laboureth to doe his Country the most good, or at least will not willingly doe it hurt. Thus spake Nicias.

But the most of the Athenians that spake after him, were of opinion, that the voyage ought to proceed, the Decree already made, not to be reuerfed. Yet some there were that said to the contrary. But the expediton was most of all pressed by Alcibiades the sonne of Clinias, both out of desire he had to crosse Nicias, with whom he was likewise at oddes in other points of State, and also for that he had glanced at him inuidiously in his Oration, but principally for that he affected to haue charge, hoping that himselfe should be the man, to subdue both Sicily and Carthage, to the State of Athens, and withall, if it succeeded, to increase his owne private wealth and glory. For being in great estimation with the Citizens, his desires were more vaste, then for the proportion of his estate, both in maintaining of horses, and other his expences, was meet. Which procured afterwards none of the least causes of the subuersion of the Athenian Common-wealth. For most men fearing him, both for his excesse in things that concerned his person, and forme of life, and for the greatnesse of his spirit, in every particular action he undertooke, as one that aspired to the Tyranny, they became his enemy. And although for the publike, he excellently managed the Warre, yet every man privately displeased with his course of life, gaue the charge of the Warres to others, and thereby, not long after, ouerthrew the State. Alcibiades at this time stood forth, and spake to this effect:

The motives of Alcibiades to further his voyage.

THE E

A

## THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

**M**EN of Athens, It both belongeth vnto me, more then to any other, to haue this charge, and withall, I thinke my selfe (for I must needs begin with this, as hauing beene touched by Nicias,) to be worthy of the same. For those things, for which I am so much spoken of, doe indeed purchase glory to my progenitors, and my selfe, but to the Common-wealth, they conferre both glory and profit. For the Grecians haue thought our Cite; a mighty one, euen about the truth, by reason of my braue appearance at the Olympian Games; whereas before they thought easily to haue warred it downe. For I brought thither seven Chariots, and not onely wonne the first, second, and fourth prize, but carried also in all other things, a magnificence worthy the honour of the victory. And in such things as these, as there is honour to be supposed according to the Law, so is there also a power collected, vpon sight of the thing done. As for my expences in the Cite, vpon setting forth of shawes, or whatsoeuer else is remarkable in me, though naturally it procure enuy in other Citizens, yet to Strangers, this also is an Argument of our greatnesse. Now, it is no vnprofitable course of life, when a man shall at his private cost, not onely benefit himselfe, but also the Common-wealth. Nor doth he that beareth himselfe high vpon his owne worth, and refuseth to make himselfe fellow with the rest, wrong the rest, for if he were in distresse, he should not finde any man that would share with him in his calamity. Therefore, as we are not so much as saluted when we be in misery; so let them likewise be content to be contemned of vs when we flourish, or if they require equality, let them also giue it. I know that such men, or any man else, that excelleth in the glory of any thing whatsoever, shall as long as he liueth be enuied, principally of his equals; and then also of others, amongst whom he conuerseth, but with posterity, they shall haue kindred claimed of them, though there be none, and his Countrey will boast of him, not as of a stranger, or one that had been a man of leud life, but as their owne Citizen, and one that had achieved worthy and laudable acts. This being the thing I aime at, and for which I am renowned, consider now whether I administer the publike the worse for it or not. For hauing reconciled vnto you the most potent States of Peloponnesus without much either danger, or cost, I compelled the Lacedaemonians to stake all that they had, vpon the Fortune of one day of Mantinea.

\* 2099, at, the exhibition of makes, Games or other festive multifaceted.

And



And this hath my youth and Madnesse, supposed to have beene very madnesse, with familiar and fit words, wrought upon the power of the Peloponnesians, and shewing reason for my passion, made my madnesse now no longer to be feared. But as long as I flourish with it, and Nicias is esteemed fortunate, make you use of both our seruices. And abrogate not your Decree touching the voyage into Sicily, as though the power were great you are to encounter withall. For, the number wherewith their Cities are populous, is but of promiscuous Nations, easily shifting and easily admitting new comers; and consequently not sufficiently armed any of them for the defence of their bodies, nor furnished, as the custome of the place appointeth, to fight for their Country. But what any of them thinks hee may get by faire speech, or snatch from the Publike by sedition, that onely he lookes after, with purpose if he faile, to runne the Countrey. And it is not likely, that such a rabble, should either with one consent give eare to what is told them, or unite themselves for the administration of their affaires in common; but if they heare of faire offers, they will one after one be easily induced to come in; especially, if there be seditions amongst them; as we heare there are. And the truth is, there are neither so many men of armes as they boast of; nor doth it appeare, that there are so many Grecians there in all, as the severall Cities haue euerie one reckoned for their owne number. Nay, euen Greece hath much belied it selfe, and was scarce sufficiently armed in all this Warre past. So that the businesse there, for all that I can by Fame understand, is euen as I haue told you, and will yet bee easier. For wee shall haue many of the Barbarians, upon hatred of the Syracusians, to take our parts against them there, and if wee consider the case aright, there will bee nothing to hinder vs at home. For our Ancestors hauing the same Enemies which they say we leaue behinde vs now in our voyage to Sicily, and the Persian besides, did neuertheless erect the Empire wee now haue, by our onely odges of strength at Sea.

And the hope of the Peloponnesians against vs, was neuer lesse then now it is, though their power were also as great as euer; for they would bee able to invade our Land, though wee went not into Sicily; and by Sea, they can doe vs no harme though wee goe, for we shall leaue a Navie sufficient to oppose theirs, behinde vs. What therefore can wee alleadge with any probability for our backwardnesse? or what can wee pretend vnto our Confederates, for denying them assistance? whom wee ought to defend; were it but because wee haue sworne it to them; without objecting that they haue not reciprocally ayded vs. For wee tooke them not into League, that they

A they should come hither with their aydes, but that by troubling our enemies there, they might hinder them from coming hither against vs. And the way whereby we, and whosoever else hath dominion, hath gotten it, hath euer beene the cheerefull succouring of their associates that required it, whether they were Greekes or Barbarians. For if we should all sit still, or stand to make choyce, which were fit to be assisted, and which not, we should haue little vnder our government of the estates of other men, but rather hazarded our owne. For when one is growne mightier then the rest, men vse not onely to defend themselves against him, when he shall invade, but to anticipate him, that he invade not at all. Nor is it in our power to be our owne carvers, how much we will haue subiect to vs; but considering the case we are in, it is as necessary for vs to seeke to subdue those that are not vnder our Dominion, as to keepe so, those that are: I left if others be not subiect to vs, we fall in danger of being subiect vnto them. Nor are we to weigh quietnesse in the same ballance that others doe, vnlesse also the institution of this State, were like vnto that of other States. Let vs rather make reckoning by enterprising abroad; to encrease our power at home, and proceed in our voyage; that we may cast downe the haughty conceit of the Peloponnesians, and shew them the contempt and slight account we make of our present ease, by vndertaking this our expedition in to Sicily. Wherby, either conquering those States, wee shall become masters of all Greece, or weaken the Syracusians, to the benefit of our selues, and our Confederates. And for our security to stay, if any City shall come to our side, or to come away (if other wise our Gallies will afford it. For in that, we shall be at our owne liberty, though all the Sicilians together were against it. Let not the speech of Nicias, tending onely to lazinesse, and to the stirring of debate betweene the yong men and the old, auert you from it; but with the same decency wherewith your Ancestors consulting yong and old together, haue brought our Dominion to the present height, endeavour you likewise to enlarge the same. And thinke not that youth, or age, one without the other, is of any effect, but that the simplest, the middle sort, and the exactest iudgements tempred together, is it that doth the greatest good; and that a State, as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, weare out of it selfe, and all mens knowledge decay; whereas by the exercise of Warre, experience will continually increase, and the Citie will get a habit of resisting the enemy, not with words, but action. In summe this is my opinion, that a State accustomed to bee active, if it once grow idle, will quickly be subiect by the change; and that they of all men are most surely

A a a

planted,



planted, that with most vinity obserue the present Lawes and customes, A though not alwaies of the best. Thus spake Alcibiades.

The Athenians, when they had heard him, together with the Eggestians and Leontine Outlawes, who beeing then present, entreated, and (objecting to them their Oath) begged their helpe in forme of Suppliants, were farre more earnestly bent vpon the Iourney then they were before. But Nicias, when he saw he could not alter their resolution with his Oration, but thought hee might perhaps put them from it by the greatnesse of the prouision, if he should require it with the most, stood forth againe, and said in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

**M**EN of Athens, Forasmuch as I see you violently bent to this Expedition, such effect may it take, as is desired. Nevertheless I shall now deliuer my opinion vpon the matter, as it yet standeth. As farre as we vnderstand by report, we set out against great Cities, not subiect one to another, nor needing innouation, whereby they should be glad, out of hard seruitude, to admit of easier Masters; nor such as are likely to preferre our government before their owne liberty; but many, (as for one Iland) and those Greeke Cities. For besides Naxos and Catana, (which two I hope will ioyne with vs, for their affinity with the Leontines,) there are other seuen furnished in all respects after the manner of our owne Army, and especially those two, against which wee bend our Forces most, Selinus, and Syracuse. For there are in them, many men of Armes, many Archers, many Darters, besides many Gallies, and a multitude of men D to man them. They haue also store of money, both amongst priuate men, and in their Temples. This haue the Selinuntians. The Syracusians haue a Tribute beside, comming in from some of the Barbarians. But that wherein they exceed vs most, is this, that they abound in Horses, and haue Corne of their owne, not fetcht in from other places. Against such a power, we sh. ll therefore neede, not a Fleet only, and with it a small Army, but there must great Forces goe along of Land-souldiers, if we meane to do any thing worthy our designe, and not to be kept by their many horsemen from landing; especially if the Cities there, terrified by vs, should now hold all together, & none but the Eggestians proue our friends, & furnishe vs with a Cannallery to resist them. E

And

**A** And it would be a shame either to come backe with a repulse, or to send for a new supply afterwards, as if wee had not wisely considered our enterprize at first. Therefore we must goe sufficiently provided from hence, as knowing that we goe farre from home, and are to make War in a place of disadvantage, and not as when we went as Confederates, to ayde some of our Subiects here at home, where wee had easie bringing in of necessaries to the Campe; from the Territories of Friends. But we goe farre off, and into a Countrey of none but strangers, and from whence in Winter, there can hardly come a messenger vnto vs in so little as foure moneths. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we ought B to take with vs many men of Armes, of our owne, of our Confederates, and of our Subiects, and also out of Peloponnesus as many as wee can get, either for loue or money: and also many Archers and Slingers, whereby to resist their Cannallery; and much spare Shipping, for the more easie bringing in of prouision. Also our corne, I meane, Wheate and Barly parched, we must carry with vs from hence in \* Ships; and Bakers from the Milles, hired, and made to worke by turnes, that the Armie, if it chance to be weather-bound, may not be in want of victuall. For being so great, it will not bee for euery Citie to receiue it. And so for all things else, we must as much as wee can, provide them our C selues, and not rely on others.

Above all, we must take hence as much money as we can; for as for that which is said to bee ready at Eggesta, thinke it ready in words, but not in deed: For although wee goe thither with an Army not onely equall vnto theirs, but also, (excepting their men of Armes for Battell) in euery thing exceeding it, yet so shall we scarce be able, both to ouercome them, and withall to preserve our owne. We must also make account, that wee goe to inhabite some City in that forraigne and hostile Countrey, and either the first day we come thither, to bee presently D Masters of the Field, or failing; bee assured to finde all in hostility against vs. Which fearing, and knowing that the businesse requires much good aduice, and more good fortune (which is a hard matter, being we are but men) I would so set forth, as to commit my selfe to Fortune as little as I may, and take with me an Armie, that in likelihood should be secure. And this I conceive to be both the surest course for the Citie in generall, and the safest for vs that goe the Voyage. If any man be of a contrary opinion, I resigne him my place.

Thus spake Nicias, imagining that either the Athenians would, vpon the multitude of the things required, abandon E the Enterprize: or if he were forced to goe, he might goe thus with the more security.

A 4 4 2

But

\* See the Ships of the round building, going onely with sayles, without oares after the fashion of our Ships. In distinction from Gallies.



The Athenians vpon this speech, made to desire them from the enterprize, are the more encouraged to it.

But the Athenians gaue not ouer the desire they had of A the voyage, for the difficulty of the preparation, but were the more inflamed thereby to haue it proceed; and the contrary fell out of that which he before expected. For they approued his counsell, and thought now there would be no danger at all, and euery one alike fell in loue with the enterprize. The old men, vpon hope to subdue the place they went to, or that at least, so great a power could not miscarry; and the yong men, vpon desire to see a forraigne Countrey, and to gaze, making little doubt but to returne with safety.

As for the common sort, and the Souldiers, they made account to gaine by it, not onely their wages for the time, but also so to amplifie the State in power, as that their stipend should endure for euer. So that through the vehement desire thereunto of the most, they also that liked it not, for feare (if they held vp their hands against it) to be thought euill affected to the State, were content to let it passe.

And in the end a certaine Athenian stood vp, and calling vpon Nicus, said, he ought not to shift off, nor delay the businesse any longer, but to declare there before them all, what forces he would haue the Athenians to decree him. To which, vnwillingly, he answered, and said, hee would consider of it first with his fellow-Commanders; Neuerthelesse, for so much as he could iudge vpon the sudden, he said, there would need no lesse then 100 Gallies; whereof for transporting of men of Armes, so many of the Athenians owne, as they themselves should thinke meet, and the rest to be sent for to their Confederates. And that of men of Armes, in all, of their owne, and of their Confederates, there would be requisite no lesse then 5000 but rather more, if they could be gotten, and other prouision proportionable. As for Archers, both from hence, and from Crete, and Slingers, and whatsoeuer else should seeme necessary, they would prouide it themselves, and take it with them.

When the Athenians had heard him, they presently decreed that the Generals should haue absolute authority, both touching the greatnesse of the preparation, and the whole voyage, to doe therein, as should seeme best vnto them for the Common-wealth. And after this, they went

in

A in hand with the preparation accordingly, and both sent vnto the Confederates, and enrolled Souldiers at home. The City had by this time recouered her selfe from the sicknelle, and from their continuall Warres, both in number of men fit for the Warres, growne vp after the ceasing of the Plague, and in store of money gathered together by meanes of the Peace; whereby they made their prouisions with much ease. And thus were they employed in preparation for the voyage.

In the meane time the Mercuries of Stone, throughout B the whole City of Athens, (now there were many of these of square-stone, set vp, by the Law of the place, and many in the porches of priuate houses, & in the Temples) had in one night, most of them their faces pared, and no man knew who had done it. And yet great rewards out of the Treasury had been propounded to the discoverers; and a Decree made that if any man knew of any other profanation, he might boldly declare the same, were he Citizen, Stranger, or Bondman. And they tooke the fact exceedingly to heart, as ominous to the expedition, and done withall, vpon C conspiracy, for alteration of the State, and dissolution of the Democracie.

Hereupon, certaine Strangers dwelling in the City, and certaine Seruing-men, reuealed something, not about the Mercuries, but of the paring of the Statues of some other of the Gods, committed formerly, through wantonnesse, and too much Wine, by yong men, and withall, how they had in priuate houses, acted the Mysteries of their Religion, in mockery; amongst whom they also accused Alcibiades. This, they that most enuyed Alcibiades, because he stood in D their way, that they could not constantly beare chiefe sway with the people, making account to haue the Primacy, if they could thrust him out, tooke hold of, and exceedingly aggravated, exclaiming, that both the mockery of the Mysteries, and the paring of the Mercuries, tended to the deposing of the People; and that nothing therein was done without him, alleaging for argument, his other excesse, in the ordinary course of his life, not conuenient in a popular estate. He, at that present, made his Apologie, and was there ready, if he had done any such thing, to answer it, before he went the voyage, (for by this time, all their preparation was in readinesse) and to suffer Iustice, if

The faces of all the Images of *Athena*, throughout *Athen*, pared plaine.

*Alcibiades* accused for ha-ving in mockery, acted the celebration of the Mysteries of their Religion.

he



he were guilty, and if absolved, to resume his charge. Pro- A  
 tecting against all accusations to be brought against him  
 in his absence, and pressing to be put to death then present-  
 ly, if he had offended; and saying, that it would not be dis-  
 creetly done, to send away a man accused of so great  
 crimes, with the charge of such an Armie, before his  
 tryall. But his enemies fearing lest if he came then to his  
 Tryall, he should haue had the fauour of his Armie, and  
 lest the people which loved him, because the *Arginus* and  
 some of the *Mantineans* seued them in this Warre, onely  
 for his sake, should haue bene mollified, put the matter B  
 off, and hastned his going out, by setting on other Orators  
 to aduise, that for the present he should goe, and that the  
 setting forward of the Fleet should not be retarded, and  
 that at his returne he should haue a day assigned him for  
 his Tryall. Their purpose being, vpon further accusation,  
 which they might easily contriue in his absence, to haue  
 him sent for backe, to make his answer. And thus it was  
 concluded that *Alcibiades* should goe.

After this, the Summer being now halfe spent, they  
 put to Sea for *Sicily*. The greatest part of the Confede- C  
 rates, and the Ships that carried their Corne, and all the  
 lesser vessels, and the rest of the prouision that went along,  
 they before appointed to meet vpon a day set, at *Coryra*,  
 thence all together to crosse ouer the *Ionian Gulfe*, to the  
 Promontory of *Iapigia*. But the *Athenians* themselves, and  
 as many of their Confederates as were at *Athens*, vpon the  
 day appointed, betimes in the morning, came downe into  
*Peiræus*, and went aboard to take Sea. With them came  
 downe in a manner the whole multitude of the City,  
 aswell Inhabitants as strangers: The Inhabitants, to fol- D  
 low after such as belonged vnto them, some their friends,  
 some their kinsmen, and some their children; filled both  
 with hope, and lamentations; hope of conquering what  
 they went for, and lamentation, as being in doubt whe-  
 ther euer they should see each other any more, considering  
 what a way they were to goe from their owne Territory.  
 And now when they were to leaue one another to danger,  
 they apprehended the greatnesse of the same, more then  
 they had done before, when they decreed the Expedition.  
 Neuerthelesse their present strength, by the abundance of E  
 euery thing before their eyes prepared for the Iourney,

gaue

He desires to come to his  
 Tryall before his going  
 forth, but is not suffered.

The Athenian Fleet put-  
 teth to Sea.

The description of the  
 setting forth of the Fleet.

A gaue them heart againe in beholding it. But the strangers  
 & other multitude came only to see the show, as of a wor-  
 thy and incredible Designe. For this preparation, being the  
 first *Grecian* Power, that euer went out of *Greece* from one  
 onely Citie, was the most sumptuous, and the most glori-  
 ous of all that euer had been set forth before it, to that day.  
 Neuerthelesse for number of Gallies, and men of Armes,  
 that which went out with *Pericles* to *Epidaurus*, and that  
 which *Agnon* carried with him to *Potidea*, was not inferi-  
 our to it. For there went foure thousand men of Armes,  
 B three hundred Horse, and one hundred Gallies, out of *A-*  
*thens* it selfe; and out of *Lesbos* and *Chios* fiftie Gallies, be-  
 sides many confederates that accompanied him in the voy-  
 age. But they went not farre, and were but meanely fur-  
 nished. Whereas this Fleet, as being to stay long abroad,  
 was furnished for both kinds of seruice, in which of them  
 soeuer it should haue occasion to be employed, both with  
 shipping, and Land-Souldiers.

For the shipping, it was elaborate with a great deale of  
 cost, both of the Captaines of Gallies, and of the Citie.  
 C For the State allowed a Drachma a day to euery Mariner;  
 the \* empty Gallies which they sent forth, being of nim-  
 ble ones 60. and of such as carried their men of Armes,  
 40. more. And the Captaines of Gallies both put into  
 them the most able seruants, and besides the wages of  
 the State, vnto the vppermost banke of Oares, called  
 the \* *Thranite*, and to the seruants, gaue somewhat of their  
 owne; and bestowed great cost otherwise euery one vpon  
 his owne Gallie, both in the \* Badges, and other rigging,  
 each one striting to the vtmost, to haue his Gally, both in  
 D some ornament, and also in swiftnesse, to exceed the rest.

And for the Land-forces, they were leauied with ex-  
 ceeding great choice, and euery man endeououred to excell his  
 fellow in the brauery of his Armes, and vensities that be-  
 longed to his person. Inasmuch as amongst themselves, it  
 begate quarrell about precedencie; but amongst other *Gre-*  
*cians*, a conceit, that it was an ostentation rather of their  
 power and riches, then a preparation against an Enemie.  
 For if a man enter into account of the expence, as well of  
 the publike, as of private men that went the voyage,  
 E namely, of the publike, what was spent already in the bu-  
 sinesse, and what was to be giuen to the Commanders to  
 carry

\* empty, in respect of those  
 that carried prouision.

\* *Spanth*. There being three  
 bancks of Oares, one above  
 another, the vppermost were  
 called *Thranite*, the mid-  
 dlenest *Zeugite*, and the  
 lowerst *Thalamite*, where-  
 of the *Thranite* managed  
 the longest Oare, and therefore  
 in respect of their greater la-  
 bour, might deserve a greater pay.

\* *apud*. The Images which  
 being set on the fore-part of  
 the Gallie, did giue it the  
 name for the most part.



carry with them; and of priuate men, what euery one had A bestowed vpon his person, and euery Captaine on his Gallie, besides what euery one was likely, ouer and aboue his allowance from the State, to bestow on prouision for so long a Warfare, and what the Merchant carried with him for Traffique, he will finde the whole summe carried out of the Citie, to amount to a great many Talents. And the Fleet was no lesse noyed amongst thole against whom it was to goe, for the strange boldnesse of the attempt, and gloriousnesse of the show, then it was for the excessive report of their number, for the length of the voyage, B and for that it was vndertaken with so vast future hopes, in respect of their present power.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in, that they meant to carry with them, silence was commanded by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had bene carried about to the whole Army, and All, aswell the Generals as the Souldiers, had\* drunke a health to the Voyage, they made their prayers, such as by the Law were appointed for before their taking Sea; not in euery Galley apart, but all together, the Herald pronouncing them. And the company from the shoare, both of the Citie, and whosoever else wished them well, prayed with them. And when they had sung the *Psalm*, and ended the Health, they put forth to Sea. And hauing at first gone out in a long File, Gally after Gally, they after went a vie by *Egina*. Thus hasted these to be at *Corcyra*; to which place also the other Armie of the Confederates were assembling.

At *Syracuse* they had aduertisement of the Voyage from diuers places; neuerthelesse it was long ere any thing would be beleued. Nay, an Assembly beeing there called, Orations were made, such as follow, on both parts, aswell by them that beleued the report touching the Athenian Armie to be true, as by others that affirmed the contrary. And *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, as one that thought hee knew the certainty, stood forth, and spake to this effect.

THE E

\* *corrupt* sic. It was a forme amongst the Grecians, and other Nations then, both before great Enterprises to wish good fortune; and at the making of League and Peace, to raise what they did, by drinking one to another.

The *Syracusians*, vpon the fame of their coming, doe some beleue it, and some not.

# A THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

Concerning the *ruins* of this Inuasion, though perhaps I shall be thought as well as other men, to deliuer a thing incredible; and though I know that such as bee either the Authors or relaters of matter incredible, shall not onely not perswade; but bee also accounted fooles; neuerthelesse I will not for feare thereof, hold my tongue, as long as the Common wealth is in danger; being confident that I know the truth hereof some what more certainly then others doe. The

B Athenians are bent to come, euen against vs, (which you verily wonder at) and that with great Forces, both for the Sea and Land, with pretence indeed to ayde their Confederates, the *Egestians*, and to replant the *Leontines*; but in truth they aspire to the dominion of all *Sicily*, and especially of this Citie of ours, which obtained; they make account to get the rest with ease. Seeing then they will presently be upon vs, aduise with your present means, how you may with most honour make head against them, that you may not be taken vnprovided through contempt, nor be carelesse through incredulity; and that such as beleue it, may not be dismayed with their audaciousnes and power. For

C they are not more able to doe hurt vnto vs, then we be vnto them, neither indeed is the greatnes of their Fleet without some aduantage vnto vs. Nay, it will be much the better for vs, in respect of the rest of the *Sicilians*; for being terrified by them, they will the rather league with vs. And if we either vanquish or repulse them without obtaining what they come for (for I feare not at all the effecting of their purpose) verily it will bee a great honour to vs, and in my opinion not vnlikely to come to passe. For in truth there haue bene few great Fleets, whether of Grecians or Barbarians, sent far from home, that haue not prospered ill. Neither are these that come against vs, more in number then our selues, and the neighbouring Cities for surely we shall all hold together vpon feare. And if for want of necessities in a strange

D Territorie they chauce to miscarry, the honour of it will be left to vs against whom they bend their counsels; though the greatest cause of their overthrow should consist in their owne errors. Which was also the case of these very Athenians, who raised themselves by the misfortune of the Medes, (though it happened for the most part contrary to reason) because in name they went only against the Athenians. And that the same shall now happen vnto vs, is not without probability.

E Let vs therefore with courage put in readinesse our owne forces, and let vs send to the *Siculi*, to confirme those we haue, and to make peace and league with others; and let vs send Ambassadors to the rest of *Sicily*,

Bbb



cily, to shew them that it is a common danger; and into Italy, to get A them into our League, or at least that they receive not the Athenians. And in my iudgement, it were our best course to send also to Carthage; for even they are not without expectation of the same danger. Nay, they are in a continuall feare, that the Athenians will bring the Warre vpon them also, even to their Citie. So that vpon apprehension that if they neglect vs, the trouble will come home to their owne doore, they will perhaps, either secretly, or openly, or some way assist vs. And of all that now are, they are the best able to doe it, if they please. For they haue the most gold and siluer, by which both the Wars, and all things else are the best expedited. Let vs also send to Lacedæmon and to Corinth, praying them not onely to send their succours hither with speed, but also to set on foot the Warre there. But that which I thinke the best course of all, though through an habit of sitting still, you will hardly be brought to it, I will neuertheless now tell you what it is. If the Sicilians all together, or if not all, yet if wee, and most of the rest, would draw together our whole Nauie, and with 2. moneths provision goe and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, and the Promontory of Iapygia, and let them see, that they must fight for their passage ouer the Ionian Gulfe, before they fight for Sicily, it would both terrise them the most, and also put them into a consideration, That we, as the watchmen of our Countrey, come vpon them out of an amicable Territory, (for we shall be received at Tarentum) whereas they themselves haue a great deale of Sea to passe with all their preparations, and cannot keepe themselves in their order for the length of the voyage. And that for vs, it will be an easie matter to assaile them, comming vp as they doe, slowly and thiuue. Again, if lightning their Gallies, they shall come vp to vs more nimble, and more close together, we shall charge vpon them already wearied, or we may, if we please, retire againe into Tarentum. Whereas they, if they come ouer but with a part of their provisions, as to fight at Sea, shall bee driuen into want of victuals in those desert parts, and either staying be there besieged, or attempting to go by, leave behind them the rest of their provision, and be deiected, as not assured of the Cities, whether they will receive them or not. I am therefore of opinion, that dismayd with this reckoning, they will either not put ouer at all from Corcyra, or whilest they spend time in deliberating, and in sending out to explore, how many, and in what place wee are, the season will bee lost, and Winter come; or deterred with our vnlooked for opposition, they will giue ouer the Voyage. And the rather, for that (as I heare) the man of most experience amongst their Commanders, hath the charge against his will, and would take a light occasion to returne, if be

A he saw any considerable stop made by vs, in the way. And I am ver-  
sure, we should be voyced amongst them to the utmost. And as the  
reports are, so are mens minds; and they feare more such as the  
beare will begin with them, then such as giue out, that they will no  
more but defend themselues. Because then they thinke the danger e-  
quall. Which would be now the case of the Athenians. For they come  
against vs with an opinion that we will not fight, deservedly contem-  
ning vs, because we ioyned not with the Lacedæmonians to pull  
them downe. But if they should see vs once bolder then they look  
for, they would be terrified more with the vnexpectednes, then with  
the truth of our power it selfe. Be perswaded therefore, principally to  
dare to doe this, or if not this, yet speedily to make your selues other-  
wise ready for the War, and euery man to remember, that though to  
shew contempt of the enemy be best in the heate of fight, yet those  
preparations are the surest, that are made with feare and opinion of  
danger. As for the Athenians, they come, and I am sure are al-  
ready in the way, and want onely, that they are not now here. This  
spake Hermocrates.

But the people of Syracuse were at much strife amongst  
themselues, some contending, that the Athenians would by  
no meanes come, and that the reports were not true; and o-  
thers, that if they came, they would doe no more harme,  
then they were likely againe to receiue. Some contemned  
and laughed at the matter: but some few there were that  
belieued Hermocrates, and feared the event. But Athenagoras,  
who was chiefe Magistrate of the People, and at that time  
most powerfull with the Commons, spake as followeth:

### THE ORATION OF ATHENAGORAS.

D H E is either a Coward, or not well affected to the State, who so-  
euer he be, that wilbeth the Athenians not to be so mad, as  
comming hither, to fall into our power. As for them that  
report such things as these, and put you into feare, though I wonder  
not at their boldnesse, yet I wonder at their folly, if they thinke their  
ends not seene. For they that are afraid of any thing themselves,  
will put the Citie into affright, that they may shadow their owne  
with the Common feare. And this may the reports doe at this time,  
not raised by chance, but framed on purpose, by such as alwaies  
E trouble the State. But if you meane to deliberate wisely,  
make not your reckoning by the reports of these men,



but by that which wise men, and men of great experience, (such as A I hold the Athenians to be) are likely to doe. For it is not probable, that leaving the Peloponnesians, and the Warre there not yet surely ended, they should willingly come hither to a new Warre, no lesse then the former; Seeing, in my opinion, they may bee glad that wee invade not them, so many, and so great Cities, as wee are. And if indeed they come, (as these men say they will) I thinke Sicily more sufficient to dispatch the Warre, then Peloponnesus, as being in all respects better furnished: and that this our owne Citie, is much stronger then the Armie which they say is now coming, though it were twice as great as it is. For I know, they B neither bring Horses with them, nor can get any heere, save onely a few from the Egestæans, nor haue men of Armes, so many as wee, in that they are to bring them by Sea. For it is a hard matter to come so farre as this by Sea, though they carried nomen of Armes in their Gallies at all, if they carry with them all other their necessities; which cannot be small against so great a Citie. So that I am so far from the opinion of these others, that I thinke the Athenians, though they had here another Citie as great as Syracuse, and confining on it, and should from thence make their Warre, yet should not be able to escape from being destroyed. every man of them; much C lesse now, when all Sicily is their enemy. For in their Campe, fenced with their Gallies, they shall be couped vpon, and from their Tents, and forced munition, neuer be able to stirre farre abroad, without being cut off by our Horsemen. In short, I thinke they shall neuer be able to get landings so much about theirs do I value our own Forces. But these things, as I said before, the Athenians considering, I am very sure, will looke vnto their owne; and our men talke here of things that neither are, nor euer will bee; who I know haue desired, not onely now, but euer, by such reports as these, or by D worse, or by their actions, to put the multitude in feare, that they themselves might rule the State. And I am afraid, lest attempting it often, they may one day effect it. And for vs, we are too poore spirited, either to foresee it ere it be done, or fore-seeing to prevent it. By this meanes our Citie is seldom quiet, but subiect to sedition, and contention not so much against the enemy, as within it selfe; and sometimes also to Tyranny and Vsurpation. Which I will endeavour (if you will second me) so to prevent hereafter, as nothing more of this kinde shall befall you. Which must be done, first by gaining you the Multitude, and then by punishing the Authors of these Plots, not onely when I finde them in the action, (for it will bee hard to E take them so) but also for those things which they would, and cannot doe.

A doe. For one must not onely take reuenge vpon an Enemy for what he hath already done, but strike him first for his euill purpose; For if a man strike not first, he shall first be stricken. And as for the few, I shall in somewhat reprove them, in somewhat haue an eye to them, and in somewhat aduise them. For this I thinke will be the best course to auert them from their bad intentions. Tell me, forsooth, (I haue asked this question often) you that are the younger sort, what would you haue? would you now beare office? the Law allowes it not. And the Law was made, because ye are not now sufficient for government, not to disgrace you when you shall be sufficient. But B forsooth, you would not be ranked with the multitude. But what Iustice is it, that the same men should not haue the same priuiledges? Some will say, that the Democracy is neither a well gouerned, nor a iust State, and that the most wealthy, are aptest to make the best government. But I answer first, Democracy is a name of the whole; Oligarchy, but of a part. Next, though the Rich are indeed fittest to keepe the Treasure, yet the wile are the best Counsellors, and the Multitude, vpon hearing, the best Iudge. Now in a Democracy all these, both ioyntly and severally participate equall priuiledges. But in the Oligarchy, they allow indeed to the Multitude, a C participation of all dangers; but in matters of profit, they not onely inroach vpon the Multitude, but take from them, and keepe the whole. Which is the thing that you the Rich, and the Younger sort affect, but in a great City cannot possibly embrace. But yet, O ye, the most vnwise of all men, vnlesse you know that what you affect is euill, and if you know not that you are the most ignorant of all the Grecians I know, or, ye most wicked of all men, if knowing it, you dare doe this: yet I say, informe your selues better, or change your purpose, and help to amplify the common good of the Citie, making account that the good amongst you, shall not onely haue an equall, but a greater share therein D then the rest of the multitude. Whereas if you will needs haue all, you shall runne the hazzard of losing all. Away therefore with these rumours, as discovered, and not allowed. For this City, though the Athenians come, will be able to defend it selfe with honour. And we haue Generals to looke to that matter. And if they come not, (which I rather beleue) it will not, vpon the terrour of your reports; make choyce of you for Commanders, and cast it selfe into voluntary seruitude. But taking direction of it selfe, it both iudgeth your words, virtually as facts, and will not vpon words let goe her present liberty, but endeavour to preserve it, by not committing the same actually to E your discretion. Thus said Athenagoras.

Then



The speech of one of the  
Syracusan Generals.

Then one of their Generals rising vp, forbad any other A  
to stand forth, and spake himsele to the matter in hand,  
to this effect:

It is no wisdom, neither for the speakers to utter such calumnies  
one against another, nor for the hearers to receive them. We should ra-  
ther consider, in respect of these reports, how we may in the best man-  
ner, both euery one in particular, and the City in generall, be prepared  
to resist them when they come. And if there be no need, yet to fur-  
nish the Citie with Horses, and Armes, and other Habilliments of War  
can doe vs no hurt. As for the care hereof, and the musters, wee will  
looke to it, and will send men abroad, both to the Cities, and for spials, B  
and doe whatsoever else is requisite. Somewhat we haue done already,  
and what more we shall hereafter find meet, we will from time to  
time report vnto you. Which when the Generall had said,  
the Syracusians dissolued the Assembly.

The Athenians put out  
from Coreyra.

The Athenians were now all in Coreyra, both they and  
their Confederates. And first the Generals tooke a view  
of the whole Army, and put them into the order wherein  
they were to Anchor, and make their Nauall Campe, and  
hauiug diuided them into three squadrons, to each squa-  
dron they assigned a Captaine by lot, to the end that being C  
at Sea, they might not come into want of water, or har-  
bors, or any other necessities, where they chanced to stay, &  
that they might otherwise be the more easie to be gouerned,  
when euery Squadron had his proper Commander. After this they sent before them three Gallies, into Italy,  
and Sicily, to bring them word what Cities in those parts  
would receiue them, whom they appointed to come backe  
and meet them, that they might know whether they  
might be receiued or not, before they put in. This done,  
the Athenians with all their prouisions put out from Cor- D  
cyra, towards Sicily, hauiug with them in all 134 Gallies,  
and two Rhodian Long-boats of fifty Oares a peece. Of  
these, a hundred were of Athens it selfe, whereof sixty were  
expedite the other forty, for transportation of Souldiers.  
The rest of the Nauy belonged to the Chians, and other  
the Confederates. Of men of Armes they had in all  
5:00. Of these, there were of the Athenians themselues  
1:500 enrolled, and 700 more [ of the poorer sort, called ]  
Thetes, hired, for defence of the Gallies. The rest were of  
their Confederates, some of them being their subiects. Of E  
Argiues there were 500. Of Manineans and Mercenaries,

The quantity of the  
Army.

A 240. Their Archers in all, 480. Of which 80 were Cre-  
tans. Rhodian Slingers they had 700. Of Light-armed  
Megarian fugitiues 120, and in one vessell made for trans-  
portation of horses, 10 horsemen. These were the forces  
that went ouer to the Warre at first. With these went  
also 80 Ships, carrying necessities, wherein went also the  
Bakers, and Masons, and Carpenters, and all Tooles  
of use in fortification. And with these 30 Ships went  
100 Boates, by constraint, and many other Ships and Boats  
that voluntarily followed the Army for Trade, which  
B then passed altogether from Coreyra ouer the Ionian Gulfe.  
And the whole Fleet being come to the Promontory of  
Iapygia, and to Tarentum, and such other places as euery one  
could recouer, they went on by the coast of Italy, neither  
receaued of the States there, into any Citie, nor allowed  
any Market, hauing onely the liberty of Anchorage and  
water, ( and that also at Tarentum, and Locri denied them )  
till they were at Rhegium, where they all came together  
again, and settled their Campe in the Temple of Diana,  
( for neither there were they suffered to come in ) without  
C the Citie, where the Rhegians allowed them a Market.  
And when they had drawne their Gallies to Land, they  
lay still. Being here, they dealt with the Rhegians, who  
where Chalcideans, to aid the Leontines, Chalcideans likewise.  
To which was answered, that they would take part with  
neither, but what the rest of the Italians should conclude,  
that also they would doe. So the Athenians lay still, medi-  
tating on their Sicilian businesse, how they might carry it  
the best; and withall expected the returne from Egesta, of  
the three Gallies which they had sent before them, desiring  
D to know if so much money were there or not, as was repor-  
ted by their messengers at Athens.

The Syracusians in the meane time from diuers parts, and  
also from their spies, had certaine intelligence, that the  
Fleet was now at Rhegium, and therefore made their pre-  
parations with all diligence, and were no longer incredu-  
lous; but sent vnto the Siculi, to some Cities, men to keepe  
them from reuolting; to others, Ambassadors; and into  
such places as lay vpon the Sea, Garrisons; And exami-  
ned the forces of their owne City, by a view taken of the  
E Armes and Horse, whether they were complete or not, and  
ordered all things as for a Warre at hand, and onely not al-  
ready present. The

The Syracusians certainly  
knowing of their com-  
ing, prepare for their  
defence.



The hope of the Athenians of money from Egestians frustrated.

The three Gallies sent before to *Egesta*, returned to the Athenians at *Rhegium*, and brought word, that for the rest of the money promised there was none, onely there appeared thirty Talents. At this, the Generals were presently discouraged, both because this first hope was crossed, and because also the *Rhegians*, whom they had already begun to perswade to their League, and whom it was most likely they should haue wonne, as being of kinne to the *Leontines*, and alwayes heretofore fauourable to the Athenian State, now refused. And though to *Nicias* this newes from the *Egestians* was no more then he expected, yet to the other two, it was extreme strange. But the *Egestians*, when the first Ambassadors from *Athen* went to see their Treasure, had thus deceived them. They brought them into the Temple of *Venus*, in \* *Eryx*, and shewed them the holy Treasure, Goblets, Flagons, Censers, and other Furniture, in no small quantity, which being but siluer, appeared to the eye a great deal about their true value in money. Then they feasted such as came with them, in their priuate houses, and at those feasting exhibited all the gold and siluer vessell they could get together, either in the Citie of *Egesta* it selfe, or could borrow in other, as well *Phenician*, as *Grecian* Cities, for their owne. So all of them in a manner, making vse of the same Plate; and much appearing in euery of those houses, it put those which came with the Ambassadors, into a very great admiration, in so much as at their returne to *Athen*, they stroue who should first claime, what wealth they had seene. These men, hauing both been abused themselues, and hauing abused others, when it was told that there was no such wealth in *Egesta*, were much taxed by the Souldiers. But the Generals went to counsell vpon the businesse in hand.

*Nicias* was of this opinion, That it was best to goe presently with the whole Fleet to *Selinus*, against which they were chiefly set forth; and if the *Egestians* would furnish them with money for the whole Army, then to deliberate further vpo the occasiō, if not, then to require maintenance for the 60 Gallies set forth at their own request, & staying with them, by force or composition, to bring the *Selinuntians* and them to a Peace. And thence passing along by other of those Cities, to make a shew of the power of the Athenian State, and of their readinesse to helpe their friends

The fraud of the Egestians.

\* *Eryx* was a City where *Bergas*, and subiect to it.

The severall opinions of the Generals, touching how to proceed. The opinion of *Nicias*.

A friends and Confederates, and so to goe home, vnlesse they could light on some quicke and vnthought of meanes, to doe some good for the *Leontines*, or gaine some of the other Cities to their owne League, and not to put the Common-wealth in danger at her owne charges.

*Alcibiades* said it would not doe well to haue come out from *Athen* with so great a power, and then dishonourably without effect to goe home againe. But rather to send Heralds to euery City but *Selinus* and *Syracuse*, and assay to make the *Siculi* to reuolt from the *Syracusians*; and others to enter League with the *Athenians*, that they might ayde them with men and victuall. And first to deale with the *Messenians*, as being seated in the passage, and most opportune place of all *Sicily* for comming in; and hauing a Port and Harbour sufficient for their Fleet; and when they had gained those Cities, and knew what helpe they were to haue in the Warre, then to take in hand *Syracuse* and *Selinus*; vnlesse these would agree with the *Egestians*, and the other suffer the *Leontines* to be replanted.

But *Lamachus* was of opinion, that it was best to goe directly to *Syracuse*, and to fight with them as soone as they could, at their City, whilst they were yet vnfurnished and their feare at the greatest. For that an Army is alwaies most terrible at first; But if it stay long ere it come in fight, men recollect their spirits, and contemne it the more when they see it. Whereas if it come vpon them suddenly, while they expect it with feare, it would the more easily get the Victory, and euerything would affright them; as the sight of it (for then they would appeare most for number) and the expectation of their sufferings, but especially the danger of a present Battell. And that it was likely, that many men might be cut off in the Villages without, as not beleeuing they would come; and though they should be already gotten in, yet the Army being master of the Field, and sitting downe before the City, could want no money, and the other *Sicilians* would then neglect leaguings with the *Syracusians*, and ioyne with the *Athenians*, no longer standing off, and spying who should haue the better. And for a place to retire vnto, and Anchor in, he thought *Megara* most fit, being distant, and not far from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. *Lamachus* said this; but came afterwards to the opinion of *Alcibiades*.

The opinion of *Alcibiades*.

The opinion of *Lamachus*.

Ccc

After



*Alcibiades* seeketh League with the *Athenians*, but is denied.

The *Athenians* goe with part of their Fleet to *Naxos*.

And to *Catana*.

They send tenne Gallies to view *Syracuse*, and the Hauens.

*Catana* surprized.

The *Athenians* goe to *Garmarus*, but are not received.

After this, *Alcibiades* with his owne Gallie hauing passed ouer to *Messana*, and propounded to them a League, and not preuailed, they answering, that they would not let the Army in, but allow them onely a Market without the Walles, returned backe to *Rhegium*. And presently the Generals hauing out of the whole Fleet manned threescore Gallies, and taken prouision aboard, went along the shore to *Naxos*, hauing left the rest of the Army with one of the Generals at *Rhegium*. The *Naxians* hauing receiued them into the City, they went on by the Coast, to *Catana*.

But the *Cataneans* receiuing them not, (for there were some within that fauoured the *Syracusians*) they entred the Riuer of *Torias*, and hauing stayed there all that night, went the next day towards *Syracuse*, leasurely with the rest of their Gallies; but tenne they sent before into the great Hauen, not to stay, but to discouer if they had lanced any Fleet there, and to proclaime from their Gallies, that the *Athenians* were come to replant the *Leontines* on their owne, according to League and affinity, and that therefore such of the *Leontines* as were in *Syracuse*, should without feare goe forth to the *Athenians*, as to their friends and benefactors.

And when they had thus proclaimed, and well considered the Citie, and the Hauens, and the region where they were to seate themselves for the Warre, they returned to *Catana*.

An Assembly being called at *Catana*, though they refused to receiue the Army, they admitted the Generals, and willed them to speake their minds. And whilest *Alcibiades*, was in his Oration, and the Citizens at the Assemblie, the Souldiers hauing secretly pulled downe a little Gate, which was but weakly built, entred the City, and were walking vp and downe in the Market. And the *Cataneans*, such as fauoured the *Syracusians*, seeing the Army within, for feare stole presently out of the Towne, being not many. The rest concluded the League with the *Athenians*, and willed them to fetch in the rest of the Army from *Rhegium*. After this, the *Athenians* went backe to *Rhegium*, and rising from thence, came to *Catana* with their whole Army together.

Now they had newes from *Camarina*, that if they would come

A come thither, the *Camarinaans* would ioine with them, and that the *Syracusians* were maiming their Nauy. Whereupon with the whole Army they went along the Coast, first to *Syracuse*, where not finding any Nauy manned, they went on to *Camarina*. And being come close vp to the shore, they sent a Herald vnto them; but the *Camarinaans* would not receiue the Army, alledging that they had taken an Oath, not to receiue the *Athenians* with more then one Gallie, vnlesse they should haue sent for more, of their owne accord. Hauing lost their labour, they departed, and landed in a part of the Territorie of *Syracuse*, and had gotten some booty. But the *Syracusian* Horsemen comming out, and killing some stragglers of the light-armed, they returned againe to *Catana*.

Heere they finde the Gallie called *Salamina*, come thither from *Athens*, both for *Alcibiades*, who was commanded to come home, to purge himselfe of such things as were laid to his charge by the State, and also for other Souldiers, that were with him, whereof some were accused for prophanation of the Mysteries, and some also for the *Mercuries*. For the *Athenians*, after the Fleet was put to Sea, proceeded neuertheless in the search of those that were culpable; both concerning the *Mysteries*, and the *Mercuries*. And making no enquire into the persons of the informers, but through ieaousie admitting of all sorts, vpon the report of euill men, apprehended very good Citizens, and cast them into prison. Choosung rather to examine the fact, and finde the truth by torments, then that any man, how good soeuer in estimation, being once accused, should escape vnquestioned.

D For the People hauing by fame vnderstood, that the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sonnès, was heauie in the latter end, and withall, that neither themselves, nor *Harmodius*, but the *Lacedemonians* ouerthrew it, were euer fearefull, and apprehended euery thing suspiciously.

E For the fact of *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, was vnder taken vpon an accident of floue, which vnfolded at large, I shall make appeare, that neither any other, nor the *Athenians* themselves, report any certaintie, either of their owne Tyrants, or of the fact. For the old *Pisistratus* dying in the Tyranny, not *Hipparchus*, (as the most thinke) but *Hippias*, who was

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his

*Alcibiades* called home, to answer about the *Mercuries*.

Digestion touching the deposing of the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sons.



his eldest sonne, succeeded in the government. Now *Harmodius*, a man in the flower of his youth, of great beautie, was in the power of one *Aristogiton*, a Citizen of a middle condition, that was his Louer. This *Harmodius* hauing beene solicited by *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, and not yeelding, discovered the same vnto *Aristogiton*. Hee apprehending it (as Louers vse) with a great deale of anguish, and fearing the power of *Hipparchus*, left hee should take him away by force, fell presently as much as his condition would permit, to a contriuing how to pull downe the Tyranny. In the meane time, *Hipparchus*, hauing againe attempted *Harmodius*, and not preuailed, intended, though not to offer him violence, yet in secret, as if forsooth he did it not for that cause, to doe him some disgrace. For neither was the government otherwise heauy till then, but carried without their euill will. And to say the truth, these Tyrants held vertue and wisdom in great account for a long time; and taking of the *Athenians* but a twentieth part of their reuenues, adorned the Citie, mannaged their Warres, and administred their religion worthily. In other points they were gouerned by the Lawes formerly established, saue that these tooke a care euer, to preferre to the Magistracy, men of their owne adherence. And amongst many that had the annuall office of *Archon*, *Pisistratus* also had it, the sonne of *Hippias*, of the same name with his Grandfather, who also when he was *Archon*, dedicated the Altar of the twelue Gods in the Market-place, and that other in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*. And though the People of *Athens*, amplifying afterwards that Altar which was in the Market-place, thereby defaced the Inscription; yet that vpon the Altar that is in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, is to bee seene still, though in Letters somewhat obscure, in these words.

PISISTRATVS the sonne of HIPPIAS  
erected this to stand  
in the Temple of Apollo Pythius,  
witness of his command.

And that *Hippias* being the elder Brother, had the government, I can affirme, as knowing it by a more exact relation.

A relation then other men. And it may be knowne also by this, It appears that of all the legitimate brethren, this onely had children, as is both signified by the Altar, and also by that Pillar, which for a testimony of the iniustice of the Tyrants, was erected in the *Athenian* Cittadell. In which there is no mention of any sonne of *Thessalus*, or of *Hipparchus*, but of five sonnes of *Hippias*, which he had by *Myrrhine*, the daughter of *Callias* the sonne of *Hyperochidas*. For it is probable that the eldest was first married, and in the forepart of the Pillar, his name after his fathers, was the first; not without reason, as being both next him in age, and hauing also inioyed the Tyranny. Nor indeed could *Hippias* haue easily taken on him the government on a sudden, if his brother had dyed; seized of the Tyranny, and he been the same day to settle it on himselfe. Where, as he retained the same with abundant security, both for the customary feare in the people, and diligence in the Guard; and was not to seeke, like a younger brother, to whom the gouernment had not continually been familiar. But *Hipparchus* came to be named for his misfortune, and thereby grew an opinion afterwards, that he was also Tyrant.

This *Harmodius* therefore that had denied his sute, hee disgraced, as he before intended. For when some had warned a sister of his, a Virgin, to be present, to carry a little Basket in a Procession, they reiected her againe when she came, and said, that they had neuer warned her at all, as holding her vnworthy the honour. This was taken heauily by *Harmodius*, but *Aristogiton*, for his sake, was farre more exasperated then he. Whereupon, with the rest of the Conspirators he made all things ready for the execution of the designe. Onely, they were to stay the time of the Holiday, called the great *Panathenaea*, vpon which day onely, such Citizens as lead the Procession, might without suspicion be armed in good number. And they were to begin the fact themselves, but the rest were to helpe them against the \* Halbardiers.

Now the Conspirators for their better security, were not many; for they hoped that such also as were not priue to it, if they saw it once vndertaken, being vpon this occasion, armed, would assise, in the recouery of their owne liberty. When this Holiday was come, *Hippias* was gone out

\* The Guard of *Hippias* the Tyrant.



out of the Citie, into the place called *Ceramicum*, with his guard of Halbardiers, & was ordering the procession, how it was to goe. And *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, with each of them a Dagger, proceeded to the fact. But when they saw one of the Conspirators, familiarly talking with *Hippias*, (for *Hippias* was very affable to all men) they were afraid, and beleued that they were discovered, and must presently haue bene apprehended. They resolu'd therefore (if it were possible) to be reuenged first vpon him that had done them the wrong, and for whose sake they had vndergone all this danger; and, furnisht as they were, ran furiously into the Citie, and finding *Hipparchus*, at a place called *Leocorium*, without all regard of themselves, fell vpon him, and with all the anger in the world, one vpon ieaousie, the other vpon disgrace, strooke, and slew him. *Aristogiton*, for the present, by meanes of the great confluence of people, escaped thorow the Guard, but taken afterwards, was vngently handled, but *Harmodius* was slaine vpon the place.

The newes being brought to *Hippias*, in the \* *Ceramicum*, he went not towards the place where the fact was committed, but presently vnto those that were armed for the solemnity of the shewes, and were farre off, that he might be with them before they heard of it, and composing his countenance, as well as he could, to dissemble the calamity, pointed to a certaine place, and commanded them to re-paire thither, without their Armes. Which they did accordingly, expecting that he would haue told them somewhat. But hauing commanded his Guard to take those Armes away, he then fell presently to picking out of such as he meant to question, and whosoever else was found amongst them with a Dagger. For with Shields and Spears, to be in the head of the Procession, was of custome.

Thus was the enterprize first vnderaken vpon quarrell of Loue, and then vpon a sudden feare, followed this vndisaduenture of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. And after this time the Tyranny grew forer to the *Athenians* then it had been before. And *Hippias* standing more in feare, not onely put many of the Citizens to death, but also cast his eye on the States abroad, to see if he might get any security from them, in this alteration at home. Hee therefore afterwards

\* A street without the walls of Athens, where they used to bury theiraine in the warres. Lib. 1. so named from *Kerameus*, a Potter, or a Paul, from out *Ceramicus*.

A afterwards (\* though an *Athenian*, and to a *Lampfacen*) gaue his daughter *Archedice* vnto *Aantidas* the sonne of *Hippocles*, Tyrant of *Lampacus*, knowing that the *Lampfacens* were in great fauour with King *Darius*. And her Sepulchre is yet to be seene, with this Inscription.

*Archedice, the Daughter of King Hippias,*  
who in his time,

Of all the Potentates of Greece was prime,  
this dust doth hide.

B Daughter, Wife, Sister, Mother vnto Kings she was,  
yet free from pride.

And *Hippias*, after he had reigned three yeeres more in *Athen*, and was in the fourth depofed by the *Lacedaemonians*, and the exiled \* *Alcmaonids*, went vnder Truce to *Sigeum*, and to *Aantidas*, at *Lampacus*, and thence to King *Darius*, from whence twenty yeeres after in his old age, he came to *Marathon* with the *Median Army*.

The People of *Athen* bearing this in minde, and remembering all that they had heard concerning them, were extremely bitter, and full of ieaousie towards those that had been accused of the *Mysterics*, and thought all to haue been done vpon some *Oligarchicall* or *Tyrannicall* Conspiracy. And whilst they were passionate vpon this surmise, many worthy men had already been cast in prison, and yet they were not likely so to giue ouer, but grew daily more salvage, and sought to apprehend more still. Whilst they were at this passe, a prisoner that seemed most to be guilty, was perswaded by one of his fellow prisoners; to accuse some body, whether it were true or not true, (for it is but conjecturall on both sides, nor was there euer, then, or after, any man that could say certainly, who it was that did the deed) who brought him to it by telling him, that though he had not done it, yet he might be sure to saue his owne life, and should deliuer the City from the present suspicion. And that he should be more certaine of his owne safety, by a free confession, then by conning to his try all, if he denied it. Hereupon, he accused both himself: and others for the *Mercuries*.

E The people of *Athen*, gladly receiuing the certainty (as they thought) of the fact: and hauing been much vexed

\* A woman of Athens, a Citie flourishing for letters and ciuility, so a man of *Lampacus*, a Citie infamous for barbarity and effeminacy.

\* A Family descended from a noble Citizen of Athens, named *Alcmaon*, who being in exile, solicited the *Lacedaemonians* to expose the Tyrants of Athens.

\* He had five dayes giuen him to be gone out of the State of Athens.

The ieaousie and passionate fury of the people, in enquiry after the authors of the offences, touching the *Mysterics* and *Atremitas*.

One of the prisoners is perswaded by a fellow-prisoner, to accuse some man, whether true or not true, and doth so.

Diuers men accused of the paring of the *Atremitas*.



\* but only to some few of the Great men.

vexed before, to thinke that the Conspirators should \* ne- A  
uer perhaps, be discouered to their Multitude, presently set  
at liberty the accuser, and the rest with him, whom he had  
not appeached, but for those that were accused, they ap-  
pointed Iudges, and all they apprehended, they executed.  
And hauing condemned to dye, such as fled, they ordained  
a summe of money to be giuen to those that should slay  
them. And though it were all this while vncertaine,  
whether they suffered iustly, or vniustly, yet the rest of the  
Citie had a manifest case for the present. But touching  
Alcibiades, the Athenians tooke it extreme ill, through the B  
inligation of his enemies, the same that had opposed him  
before he went. And seeing it was certaine (as they  
thought) for the Mercuries, whereof he had bene accused, seemed  
a great deale the more to haue bin committed by him vpon  
the same reason, and conspiracy against the peo-  
ple.

For it fell out withall, whilst the City was in a tumult  
about this, that an Army of the Lacedaemonians, was come as  
farre as the Isthmus, vpon some deligne against the Boetians. C

These therefore they thought were come thither, not  
against the Boetians, but by appointment of him, and that  
if they had not first apprehended, the persons appeached,  
the Citie had been betrayed. And one night they watch-  
ed all night long in their Armes, in the Temple of These-  
us, within the Citie. And the friends of Alcibiades in Ar-  
gos, were at the same time suspected of a purpose, to set vp-  
on the People there, whereupon the Athenians also deliue-  
red vnto the Argiue People, those \* Hostages which they  
held of theirs in the Islands, to be slaine. And there were D  
presumptions against Alcibiades, on all sides. Insomuch,  
as purposing by Law to put him to death, they sent, as I  
haue said, the Gally called *Salaminia*, into Sicily, both for  
him, and the rest with him, that had been accused: But  
gaue command to those that went, not to apprehend him,  
but to bid him follow them, to make his purgation; be-  
cause they had a care, not to giue occasion of surse, either  
amongst their owne, or the enemies Souldiers, but especi-  
ally, because they desired, that the Mantineans, and the Ar-  
giues, who they thought followed the Warre by his per- E  
swasion, might not depart from the Army. So hee, and the  
the

Presumptions against  
Alcibiades.

\* 300 in number, lib. 5.

Alcibiades sent for home.

A the rest accused with him in his owne Gallie, in companie  
of the *Salaminia*, left Sicily, and set saile for Athens. But be-  
ing at *Thuria*, they followed no further, but left the Gally,  
and were no more to be found: fearing indeede to appeare  
to the accusation. They of the *Salaminia* made search for  
Alcibiades and those that were with him for a while, but  
not finding him, followed on their course for Athens. Alcibi-  
ades, now an Out-law, passed shortly after in a small Boat  
from *Thuria* into *Peloponnesus*, and the Athenians proceeding  
to iudgement vpon his not appearing, condemned both  
B him and them to death.

After this, the Athenian Generals that remained in  
Sicily, hauing diuided the Armie into two, and taken  
each his part by lot, went with the whole towards  
*Selinus*, and *Egesta*, with intention both to see if the  
*Egestians* would pay them the money, and withall to  
get knowledge of the designs of the *Selinuntians*, and  
learne the state of their controuerisie with the *Egestians*.  
And sayling by the Coast of Sicily, hauing it on their  
left hand, on that side which lyeth to the *Tyrrhene* Gulfe,  
C they came to *Himera*, the onely Grecian Citie in that  
part of Sicily: which not receiuing them, they went  
on, and by the way tooke *Hyccara*, a little Towne of  
the *Sicanians*, Enemy to the *Egestians*, and a Sea-  
Towne; and hauing made the inhabitants Slaues, deliue-  
red the Towne to the *Egestians*, whose Horse-forces were  
there with them.

Thence the Athenians with their Landmen returned  
through the Territory of the *Siculi*, to *Catana*, and the  
Gallies went about with the Captiues. *Nicias* going with  
the Fleet presently from *Hyccara* to *Egesta*, when hee had  
D dispatched with them his other businesse, and receiued  
thirty Talents of Money, returned to the Armie.  
The Captiues they ransomed, of which they made 120.  
Talents more. Then they sailed about to their Confede-  
rates of the *Siculi*, appointing them to send their Forces;  
and with the halfe of their owne they came before *Hybla*,  
in the Territory of *Gela*, an Enemy City, but tooke it not,  
and so ended this Summer.

The next Winter the *Acathians* fell presently to make  
E preparation for their Iourney against *Syracuse*. And the  
*Syracusians* on the other side prepared to invade the *Athe-*  
*nians*.

Alcibiades flyeth.

The Athenian Generals  
in Sicily goe to *Selinus*  
and *Egesta*.

They take *Hyccara*.

the end of the four-  
teenth Summer.  
The *Syracusians* contemne  
the Athenians.

D d d



*mians.* For seeing the *Athenians* had not presently vpon the A first feare, and expectation of their coming, false vpon them, they got euery day more and more heart. And because they went far from them into those other parts of *Sicily*, and assailing *Hybla*, could not take it, they contemned them more then euer: and prayed their Commanders, (as is the manner of the multitude when they bee in courage) seeing the *Athenians* came not vnto them, to conduct them to *Catana*. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, which were euer abroad for Scowts, spurring vp to the Campe of the *Athenians*, amongst other scornes, asked them, whether they came not rather to dwell in the Land of another, then to restore the *Leontines* to their owne?

The *Athenian* Generals hauing obserued this, and being desirous to draw forth the *Syracusians* whole power as farre as might bee from the Citie, to bee able in the meane time, without empeachment, going thither in the night, by Sea, to seaze on some conuenient place to encampe in; for they knew they should not bee able to doe it so well in the face of an Enemy prepared, nor if they were knowne to march by Land, for that the *Syracusan* Horsemen being many, would greatly annoy the light-armed, and other multitude; they themselves hauing no Horsemen there: whereas thus they might possesse themselves of a place where the Horse could not doe them any hurt at all to speake of, (now the *Syracusan* Outlawes that were with them, had told them of a place neere the Temple *Olympicum*, which also they seazed) I say, the *Athenian* Generals, to bring this their purpose to effect, contriued the matter thus: They send a man, of whose fidelicy they were well assured, and in the opinion of the *Syracusan* Commanders, no lesse a friend of theirs.

This man was a *Catanean*, and said he came from *Catana*, from such and such, whose names they knew, and knew to bee the remnant of their wel-willers in that City. He told them that the *Athenians* lay euery night within the Towne, and far from their Armes, and that if with the whole power of their Citie, at a day appointed, betimes in a morning, they would come to their Campe, those friends of the *Syracusians* would shut the *Athenians* in, and set fire on their Gallies, by which meanes, the *Syracusians* assailing the Palizado, might easily winne the Campe. And that the

*Writes his stratagem to get easie landing and encamping by Syracuse.*

A the *Cataneans* that were to helpe them herein were many, and those he came from, already prepared for it.

The *Syracusan* Commanders hauing beene also otherwise encouraged, and hauing intended a preparation to goe against *Catana*, though this Messenger had not come, did so much the more vnadvisedly beleue the man, and straight wayes being agreed of the day, on which they were to bee there, sent him away. These Commanders (for by this time the *Selenuntians*, and some other their Confederates were come in) appointed the *Syracusians*, vniuersally to set forwards by a day. And when all their necessities were in readinesse, and the day at hand in which they were to be there, they set forwards toward *Catana*, and encamped the night following vpon the bankes of the Riuer *Simethus*, in the Territory of the *Leontines*. The *Athenians* vpon aduertisement that they were set forth, rising with their whole Armie; both themselves, and such of the *Sicili*, and others as went with them, and going aboard their Gallies and Boates in the beginning of the night, set sayle for *Syracusa*. In the morning betimes, the *Athenians* disembarked over against *Olympicum*, to make their Campe. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, who were at *Catana* before the rest, finding the Campe risen, came backe to the Foot, and told them. Whereupon they went all together backe to the ayde of the Citie. In the meane time, the way the *Syracusians* had to goe being long, the *Athenians* had pitched their Campe at leisure in a place of aduantage, wherein it was in their owne power to beginne Battell when they list, and where, both in and before the Battell, the *Syracusan* Horsemen could least annoy them. For on one side, there were D Walles, and Houses, and Trees, and a Lake that kept them off; on the other side sleepe Rockes, and hauing felled Trees hard by, and brought them to the Sea-side, they made a Palizado both before their Gallies, and toward the Foot. And on that part that was most accesible to the Enemy, they made a Fort with stone (the best they could finde, but very wrought) and with Wood, and withall pulled downe the Bridge of the Riuer *Anapim*.

Whilest this was doing, there came none to empeach them from the Citie. The first that came against them, B were the *Syracusan* Horsemen, and by and by after, all the Foot together. And though at first they came vp

*The Athenians land, pitch their Campe, and trench themselves ere the Syracusians returne.*

*The Syracusan Army commeth backe.*



neere unto the Campe of the Athenians, yet after, seeing the Athenians came not out against them, they retired againe, and crossing to the other side of the Helorine high-way, stayed there that night.

The next day the Athenians and their Confederates prepared to fight, and were ordered thus: The Argives and the Mantineans had the right Wing, the Athenians were in the middle, and the rest of their Confederates in the other Wing. That halfe of the Army which stood foremost, was ordered by eight in File, the other halfe towards their Tents, ordered likewise by eights, was cast into the forme of a long square, and commanded to observe diligently, where the rest of the Army was in distresse, and to make specially thither. And in the midst of these so arranged, were received such as carried the \* Weapons and Toolers of the Army.

The Syracusians arranged their men of Armes, who were Syracusians of all conditions, and as many of their Confederates as were present, by sixteene in File. They that came to ayde them, were chiefly the Selinuntians, and then the Horse-men of the Geloans, about two hundred; and of the Camarinaans, about twenty Horsemen, and fifty Archers. The Cavallery they placed in the right point of the Battell, being in all no lesse then a thousand two hundred, and with them the Darters. But the Athenians intending to begin the Battell, Nicias went vp and downe the Army, from one Nation to another, to whom, and to all in generall, he spake to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his Army.

What neede I, first, to make a long exhortation, when this Battell is the thing for which we all came hither? For in my opinion, the present preparation is more able to give you encouragement, then any Oration, how well sever made, if with a weak Armie. For where we are together, Argives, Mantineans, Athenians, and the best of the Islanders, how can we choose, amongst so many and good Confederates, but conceive great hope of the victory? especially against rage and rage, and not chosen men, as we are our selves, and against Sicilians, who though they containe us, cannot stand against us; their skill not being answerable

The Athenians and Syracusians prepare to fight.

A rable to their courage. It must bee remembred also, that wee be farre from our owne; and not neere to any amicable Territory, but such as we shall acquire by the sword. My exhortation to you (I am certaine) is contrary to that of the enemy. For they say to theirs, You are to fight for your Countrey, I say to you, You are to fight out of your Countrey, where you must either get the victory, or not easily get away. For many Horsemen will be upon vs. Remember therefore every man his owne worth, and charge valiantly, and thinke the present necessity, and streight we are in, to be more formidable then the enemy.

B Nicias, having thus exhorted the Army, led it presently to the charge. The Syracusians expected not to have fought at that instant, and the Citie being neere, some of them were gone away; and some, for haste, came in running; and though late, yet every one, as he came, put himselfe in, where was the greatest number. For they wanted neither willingness, nor courage, either in this, or any other battell, being no lesse valiant, so farre forth as they had experience then the Athenians. But the want of this, made them, even against their wills, to abate also somewhat of their courage.

Nevertheless, though they thought nor the Athenians would have begun the battell, and were thereby constrained to fight on a sudden, yet they resumed their Armes, and came presently forward to the encounter.

And first, the Casters of Stones, and Slingers, and Archers of either side, skirmished in the midst betweene the Armies, mutually chasing each other, as amongst the Light-armed, was not unlikely.

D After this, the Southsayers brought forth their sacrifices according to the Law of the place, and the Trumpets intimated the men of Armes to the battell. And they came on to fight, the Syracusians for their Countrey, and their lives for the present, and for their liberty in the future. On the other side, the Athenians, to win the Countrey of another, and make it their owne, and not to weaken their owne by being vanquished. The Argives, and other free Confederates, to help the Athenians to conquer the Countrey they came against, and to returne to their owne with Victory. And their Subject-Confederates came all foron with great courage, principally, for their better safety,

The battell betweene the Athenians and Syracusians.



ty, as desperate, if they overcame not, and withall vpon the A by, that by helping the *Athenians* to subdue the Countie of another, their owne subiection might be the easier.

After they were come to handstroakes, they fought long on both sides. But in the meane time there hapned some claps of Thunder, and flashes of Lightning, together with a great showre of Raine; insomuch as it added to the feare of the *Syracusians* that were now fighting their first battell, and not familiar with the Warres; whereas to the other side that had more experience, the season of the yeere seemed to expound that accident; and their greatest feare proceeded from the so-long resistance of their enemies, in that they were not all this while overcome. When the *Argives* first, had made the Left Wing of the *Syracusians*, to giue ground; and after them, the *Athenians* also had done the like to those that were arranged against them, then the rest of the *Syracusan* Army was presently broken and put to flight. But the *Athenians* pursued them not farre, (because the *Syracusan* Horsemen being many, and vnvanshished, whensoever any men of Armes advanced farre from the body of the Army, charged vpon C them, and still draue them in againe) but hauing followed as farre as safely they might in great troopes, they retired againe, and erected a Trophie. The *Syracusians* hauing rallied themselves in the *Heliorine* way, and recovered their order, as well as they could for that time, sent a guard into *Olympium*, lest the *Athenians* should take that treasure there, and returned with the rest of the Army into the Citie. The *Athenians* went not to assault the Temple, but gathering together their dead, laid them vpon the funerall fire, and stayed that night vpon the place. The next day they D gaue Truce to the *Syracusians*, to take vp their dead (of whom, and of their Confederates, were slaine about 160.) and gathered vp the bones of their owne. Of the *Athenians* and their Confederates there dyed about fifty. And thus, hauing rifled the bodies of their dead enemies, they returned to *Catana*. For it was now Winter, and to make War there they thought it yet vnpossible, before they had sent for Horsemen to *Athens*, and leuyed other amongst their Confederates there in *Sicily*, to the end they might not bee altogether ouer mastered in Horie, and before they had also E both leuyed money there, and receiued more from *Athens*, and

The *Athenians* haue the victory.

A and made League with certaine Cities, which they hoped after this Battell, would the more easily hearken thereunto; and before they had likewise provided themselves of victuals, and other things necessary, as intending the next Spring to vndertake *Syracuse* againe. With this mind they went to winter at *Naxos* and *Catana*.

The *Syracusians*, after they had buried their dead, called an Assembly, and *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermion*, a man not otherwise second to any in wisdom, and in warre, both able for his experience, and eminent for his valour, standing forth, gaue them encouragement, and would not suffer them to be dismayed with that which had hapned. Their courage, he said, was not overcome, though their want of order had done them hurt. And yet in that, they were not so farre inferior, as it was likely they would haue bene. Especially being (as one may say) home-bred artificers, against the most experienced in the Warre of all the *Grecians*. That they had also bene hurt by the number of their Generals and Commanders, (for there were fiftene that commanded in chiefe) and by the many supernumerary Soldiers vnder no command at all. Whereas, if they would make C but a few and skilfull Leaders, and prepare Armour this Winter, for such as want it, to increase as much as might be, the number of their men of Armes, and compell them in other things to the exercise of Discipline, in all reason they were to haue the better of the Enemie. For valour they had already, and to keepe their order, would be learnt by practice; and both of these would still grow greater; Skill, by practising with danger; and their Courage would grow bolder of it selfe, vpon the confidence of Skill. And for their Generals, they ought to chuse them few and absolute, and so take an D Oath, vnto them, so, let them lead the Armie whithersoever they thought best. For by this means, both the things that require secrecy would be concealed, and all things would be put in readinesse with order, and lesse arguasion.

The *Syracusians*, when they had heard him, decreed all that he aduised, and elected three Generals, *Him*, *Heraclides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and *Sicannus* the sonne of *Baxegestus*. They sent also Ambassadors to *Corinth* and *Lacedaemon*, as well to obtaine a League with them, as also to perswade the *Lacedaemonians* to make a hotter Warre against the *Athenians*, and to declare themselves in the quarrell of the *Syracusians*, thereby cyther to withdraw them from

*Hermocrates* encourageth the *Syracusians*, and is chosen Generall with two more.

The *Syracusians* send for ayde into *Peloponnesus*.



from Sicily, or to make them the lesse able to send supply A  
to their Army which was there already.

The Athenian Army at Catana, layed presently to Mes-  
sana, to receiue it by Treason of some within, but the plot  
came not to effect. For Alcibiades when hee was sent for  
from his charge, being resolu'd to fly, and knowing what  
was to be done, discovered the same to the friends of the  
Syracusians in Messana, who with those of their Faction  
slew such as were accused, and being armed vpon occa-  
sion of the Sedition, obtained to haue the Athenians kept  
out. And the Athenians, after 13 dayes stay, troubled with  
tempestuous weather, prouision also failing, and nothing  
succeeding, returned againe to Naxos; and hauing fortified  
their Campe with a Palizado, they wintred there, and dis-  
patched a Gallie to Athens for money, and Horsemen to be  
with them early in the Spring.

The Syracusians this Winter raised a Wall before their  
Citie, all the length of the side towards Epipole, including  
\* Temenitis; to the end, if they chanced to be beaten, they  
might not bee so easily enclosed, as when they were in a  
narrower compasse. And they put a Guard into Megara, C  
and another into Olympieum; and made Palizadoes on the  
Sea-side, at all the places of landing. And knowing that  
the Athenians wintred at Naxos, they marched with all the  
power of the Citie vnto Catana, and after they had wasted  
the Territory, and burnt the Cabines and Campe where  
the Athenians had lodged before, returned home.

And hauing heard that the Athenians had sent Amba-  
sadours to Camarina, according to a League made before in  
the time of Laches, to try if they could win them to their  
side, they also sent Ambassadors to oppose it. For they  
suspected that the Camarinians had sent those succors in the  
former Battell with no great good will, and that now they  
would take part with them no longer, seeing the Athenians  
had the better of the day, but would rather ioyne with the  
Athenians vpon the former League. Hermocrates therefore  
and others, being come to Camarina from the Syracusians, and  
Euphemus and others from the Athenians, when the Assem-  
bly was met, Hermocrates, desiring to increase their enuy  
to the Athenians, spake vnto them to this effect.

THE

The Athenians attempt  
Messana, but faile.

The Syracusians enlarge  
the compasse of their  
Walles, and burne the  
Tents of the Athenians  
by Catana.  
\* The ground belonging to the  
Temple of Apollo.

Ambassadors both from  
the Athenians and Syracu-  
sians vnto Camarina, for the  
friendship of that City.

THE

A

## THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

MEN of Camarina, we come not hither, vpon feare that the  
Forces of the Athenians here present may affright you; but  
lest their Speeches which they are about to make, may seduce  
you, before you haue also heard what may be said by vs. They are come  
into Sicily with that pretence indeed which you heare giuen out, but  
with that intention which wee all suspect. And to me they seeme not

B

to intend the replantation of the Leontines, but rather our supplan-  
tation; for surely it holdeth not in reason, that they who subuert the  
Cities yonder, should come to plant any Citie heere; nor that they  
should haue such a care of the Leontines, because Chalcideans;  
for kindreds sake, when they keepe in seruitude the Chalcideans  
themselves of Euboea, of whom these heere are but the Colonies. But  
they both hold the Cities there, and attempt those that are here in one  
and the same kind. For when the Ionians, and the rest of the Con-  
federates, their owne Colonies, had willingly made them their Lea-  
ders in the Warre, to auenge them of the Medes, the Athenians  
laying afterwards to their charge, to some, the not sending of their  
Forces, to some, their Warre amongst themselves, and so to the rest  
the most colourable criminations they could get, subdued them all to  
their obedience. And it was not for the liberty of the Grecians,  
that these men, nor for the liberty of themselves, that the Grecians  
made head against the Medes; but the Athenians did it, to make  
themserue, not the Medes, but them, and the Grecians to change  
their Master, as they did, not for one lesse wise, but for one worse  
wise. But intruth we come not to accuse the Athenian State (though  
it be obnoxious enough) before you that know sufficiently the iniuries

D

they haue done; but farre rather to accuse our selues, who though we  
haue the examples before our eyes, of the Grecians there, brought  
into seruitude for want of defending themselves; and though wee see  
them now, with the same sophistry of replanting the Leontines, and  
their kindred, and ayding of their Confederates the Egeltians, pre-  
pare to doe the like vnto vs, doe not yet wite our selues, and with  
better courage, make them to know, that we be not Ionians, nor Hel-  
lespontines, nor Ilanders, that changing, serue alwaies the Mede,  
or some other Master; but that wee are Dorians, and free men;  
come to dwell here in Sicily out of Peloponnesus, a free Country.  
E Shall we stand still till we be taken Citie after Citie? when we know  
that that only way we are conquerable, and when we find them whol-

E e e

b



ly bent to this, that by drawing some from our alliance with their A words, and causing some to vveare each other out with Warre, vpon hope of their Confederacie, and winning others by other fit language, they may haue the power to doe vs hurt. But we thinke, though one of the same Iland perish, yet if he dwell far off, the danger will not come to vs, and before it arrive, we count vnhappy onely him that suffereth before vs. If any therefore be of this opinion, that it is not he, but the Syracusian, that is the Athenians Enemy, and thinketh it a hard matter, that he should endanger himselfe for the Territorie that is mine, I would haue him to consider, that he is to fight not chiefly for mine, but equally for his owne in mine, and with the more safety, B for that I am not destroyed before, and be thereby destitute of my helpe, but stand with him in the Battell. Let him also consider, that the Athenians come not hither to punish the Syracusians for being enemies to you, but by pretence of nice, to make himselfe the stronger by your friendship. If any man heere enuieth, or also feareth vs, (for the strongest are still lyable vnto both) and would therefore wish that the Syracusians might be weakened, to make them more modest, but not vanquished for their owne safeties sake, that man hath conceiued a hope beyond the power of man. For it is not reasonable, that the same C man should be the disposer both of his desires, and of his fortune. And if his ayme should faile him, he might, deploring his owne misery, peradventure wish to enioy my prosperity againe. But this will not be possible to him that shall abandon me, and not vndertake the same dangers, though not in title, yet in effect the same that I doe. For though it be our power in title, yet in effect it is your own safety you shall defend. And you men of Camarina, that are our borderers, and likely to haue the second place of danger, you should most of all haue foreseene this, and not haue aided vs so dully. You should rather haue come to vs, and that which if the Athenians had come first against Camarina, you should in your need haue implored at our hands, the same you should D now also haue bene seene equally to hearten vs withall, to keepe vs from yeelding. But as yet neither you, nor any of the rest haue bene so forward. Perhaps vpon feare, you meane to deale euently betweene vs both, and alledge your League with the Athenians. You made no League against your friends, but against your enemies, in case any should invade you: and by it you are also tyed to ayde the Athenians when others wrong the, but not when they wrong their neighbour. For euen the Rhegiens, who are Chalcideans, refuse to helpe the in replanting the Leontines, though these also be Chalcideans. And then it were a hard case, if they suspecting a bad action vnder a E faire iustification, are wise without a reason, and you, vpon pretence of reason,

A reason, should ayde your naturall enemies, and helpe them that most hate you, to destroy your more naturall kindred.

But this is no iustice; to fight with them is iustice, and not to stand in feare of their preparation. Which, if wee hold together, is not terrible, but it, if contrarily (which they endea- our) we bee dysynited. For neither when they came against vs being none but our elues, and had the vpper hand in Battell, could they yet effect their purpose, but quickly went their wayes. There is no reason therefore wee should bee afraid, when wee are all together, but that wee should haue the better will to v- B nite our selues in a League. And the rather, because wee are to haue ayde from Peloponnesus, who euery way excell these men in Militarie sufficiencie. Nor should you thinke that your purpose to ayde neither, as being in League with both, is either iust in respect of vs, or safe for your selues. For it is not so iust in substance, as it is in the pretence. For if through want of your ayde, the assailed perish, and the assailant become Victor, what doe you by your neutrality, but leaue the safety of the one vnde- fenced, and suffer the other to doe euill? Whereas it were more noble in you, by ioyning with the wronged, and with your kindred, C both to defend the Common good of Sicily, and keepe the Athe- nians, as your friends, from an act of iniustice. To be short, wee Syracusians say, That to demonstrate plainly, to you, or to any other, the thing you already know, is no hard matter; but wee pray you, and withall, if you reiect our words, wee protest, that whereas the Ionians, who haue euer bene our enemies, doe take counsell against vs, you that are Dorians as well as wee, betray vs. And if they subdue vs, though it bee by your counsels that they doe it, yet they onely shall haue the honour of it. And for the prize of their victory, they will haue none other but e- D uen the Authors of their victory. But if the victory fall vnto vs, euen you also, the cause of this our danger, shall vndergoe the penalty. Consider therefore now, and take your choice, whether you will haue seruitude without the present danger, or saving your selues with vs, both auoyd the dishonour of hauing a Master, and escape our enmity, which is likely otherwise to be lasting.

Thus spake Hermocrates.

After him, Euphemus, Ambassadour from the Athenians, spake thus.

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# THE ORATION OF EUPHEMVS.

**T**hough our coming were to renew our former League, yet seeing we are touched by the Syracusan, it will be necessary we speake something heere of the right of our Dominion. And the greatest testimonie of this right he hath himselfe given, in that he said the Ionians were euer enemies to the Dorians. And it is true. For being Ionians, we haue euer endenoured to finde out some meanes or other, how best to free our selues from subiection to the Peloponnesians; that are Dorians, more in number then wee, and dwelling neere vs. After the Medan Warre, hauing gotten vs a Naue, wee were deliuered thereby from the command and leading of the Lacedæmonians; there beeing no cause why they should rather bee Leaders of vs, then wee of them, saue onely that they were then the stronger. And when wee were made Commanders of those Grecians which before lined vnder the King, vvee tooke vpon vs the gouernment of them, because wee thought, that hauing power in our hands to defend our selues, vve should thereby be the lesse subiect to the Peloponnesians. And to say truth, vvee subiected the Ionians and Ilanders, (whom the Syracusians say we brought into bondage, being our kindred) not without iust cause: for they came with the Medes against ours their Mother Citie, and for feare of losing their wealth, durst not revolt, as wee did, that abandoned our very Citie. But as they were content to serue, so they would haue imposed the same condition vpon vs. For these causes, vvee tooke vpon vs our dominion ouer them, both as worthy of the same, in that wee brought the greatest Fleet, and promptest courage to the seruice of the Grecians: whereas they, with the like promptnesse in fauour of the Medes, did vs hurt: and also as being desirous to procure our selues a strength against the Peloponnesians. And follow any other wee will not, seeing wee alone haue pulled downe the Barbarian, (and therefore haue right to command) or at least haue put our selues into danger more for the liberty of the Peloponnesians, then of all the rest of Greece; and our owne besides. Now to seeke meanes for ones owne preservation is a thing blameable. And as it is for our owne safeties cause that vvee are now heere, so also wee finde that the same will be profitable for you. Which vvee will make plaine, from those very things which they accuse, and you, as most formidable, suspect vs of; being assured, that such as suspect vwith vehement feare, though they may be wonne for the present with

the

A the sweetnesse of an Oration, yet when the matter comes to performance, will then doe as shall be most for their turne. Wee haue told you that wee hold our Dominion yonder vpon feare; and that vpon the same cause wee come hitber now, by the helpe of our friends, to assure the Cities heere, and not to bring you into subiection, but rather to keepe you from it.

And let no man obiect, that we be solicitous for those that are nothing to vs. For as long as you be preserved, and able to make head against the Syracusians, wee shall be the lesse annoyed by their sending of Forces to the Peloponnesians. And in this point you are very much vnto vs. For the same reason, it is meete also, that vvee replant the Leontines, not to subiect them, as their kindred in Eubœa, but to make them as puissant as wee can; that being neere, they may from their owne Territory, weaken the Syracusians in our behalfe. For as for our Warres at home, wee are a match for our enemies, without their helpe. And the Chalcidean, (whom hauing made a slave yonder, the Syracusan said, wee absurdly pretend to vindicate into liberty heere) is most beneficiall to vs there, without Armes, paying money onely; but the Leonines, and other our friends heere, are the most profitable to vs, when they are most in liberty.

Now to a Tyrant or Citie that raigbeth, nothing can bee thought absurd if profitable, nor any man a friend, that may not bee trusted to. Friend or Enemy he must bee, according to the seuerall occasions. But here it is for our benefit not to weaken our friends, but by our friends strength to weaken our enemies. This you must needs beleue, in as much as yonder also, wee so command ouer our Confederates, as enery of them may bee most usefull to vs. The Chians and Methymnæans redeeme their liberty, with providing vs some Gallies: the most of the rest, with a Tribute of money, somewhat more pressing.

D Some againe of our Confederates are absolutely free, notwithstanding that they be Ilanders, and easie to be subdued. The reason whereof is this: they are scithate in places commodious about Peloponnesus. It is probable therefore, that heere also, we will so order our affaires, as shall be most for our owne turne, and most according to our feare (as we told you) of the Syracusians. For they affect a dominion ouer you; and hauing by advantage of your suspicion of vs, drawne you to their side, will themselves by force, or (if we goe home without effect) by your want of friends, haue the sole command of Sicily. Which, if you ioyne with them, must of necessity come to passe. For neither will it be easie for vs to bring so great Forces againe together, nor will the Syracusians want strength to subdue you, if we bee absent.

Him



Him that thinketh other wise, the thing it selfe conuinceth: for when A  
 you called vs in, to ayde you, at the first, the feare you pretended was  
 onely this, that if we neglected you, the Syracusians would subdue  
 you, and we thereby should participate of the danger. And it were  
 vniust, that the argument you would needs haue to preuaile then  
 with vs, should now haue no effect with your selues; or that you  
 should be iealous of the much strength we bring against the power of  
 the Syracusians, when much rather you should giue the lesse care vn-  
 to them. We cannot so much as stay here without you; and if becom-  
 ming perfidious, we should subdue these States, yet we are unable to  
 hold them, both in respect of the length of the voyage, and for want of B  
 meanes of guarding them, because they be great, and provided after  
 the manner of the Continent. Whereas they, not lodged neere you in  
 a Campe, but inhabiting neere you in a Citie of greater power then  
 this of ours, will be alwayes watching their aduantages against you.  
 And when an opportunity shall be offered against any of your Cities,  
 will be sure not to let it slip. This they haue already made to appeare,  
 both in their proceedings against the Leontines, and also otherwise.  
 And yet haue these the face to moue you against vs that hinder this,  
 and that haue hitherto kept Sicily from falling into their hands.  
 But we on the other side, inuite you to a farre more reall safety, and C  
 pray you not to betray that safety, which we both of vs hold from one  
 another at this present, but to consider, that they by their owne num-  
 bers haue way to you alwayes, though without Confederates, whereas  
 you shall seldome haue so great an ayde againe to resist them. Which  
 if, through your iealousie, you suffer to goe away without effect, or if  
 it miscarry, you will hereafter wish for the least part of the same, when  
 their comming can no more doe you good. But (Camarinaxians) bee  
 neither you nor others, moued with their calumnies. We haue told you  
 the very truth, why wee are suspected; and summarily wee will tell  
 it you againe, clayming to preuaile with you thereby. We say, we com- D  
 mand yonder, lest else we should obey, and we assert into liberty the Ci-  
 ties here, lest else we should be harmed by them. Many things wee  
 are forced to be doing, because many things wee haue to be warye of.  
 And both now, and before, wee came not vncalled, but called, as Con-  
 federates to such of you as suffer wrong. Make not your selues Iud-  
 ges of what wee doe, nor goe about as Censors (which were now  
 hard, to doe) to diuert vs; but as farre as this busie humour, and fa-  
 sion of ours, may be for your owne seruice, so farre take, and vse  
 it, and thinke not the same hurtfull alike to all, but that the greatest  
 part of the Grecians haue good by it. For in all places, though wee E  
 be not of any side, yet both he that looketh to be wronged, and hee that  
 contriueeth

A contriueeth to doe the wrong, by the obuioufnesse of the hope that the  
 one hath of our ayde, and of the feare that the other hath of their  
 owne danger, if we should come, are brought by necessity, the one to  
 moderation against his will, the other into safety, without his trouble.  
 Refuse not therefore, the security now present, common both to vs  
 that require it, and to your selues. But doe as others vse to doe;  
 come with vs, and in stead of defending your selues alwayes against  
 the Syracusians, take your turne once, and put them to their  
 guard, as they haue done you. Thus spake Euphemus.

B The Camarinaxians stood thus affected: They bare good  
 will to the Athenians; saue that they thought they meant  
 to subiuagate Sicily; And were euer at strife with the Sy-  
 racusians about their borders. Yet because they were afraid  
 that the Syracusians that were neere them, might as well  
 get the victory, as the other, they had both formerly sent  
 them some few horse, and also now resolu'd for the fu-  
 ture, to helpe the Syracusians, but vnderhand, and as spar-  
 ingly as was possible; and withall, that they might no  
 lesse seeme to fauour the Athenians, then the Syracusians,  
 C especially after they had wonne a battell, to giue for the  
 present an equall answer vnto both. So after deliberation  
 had, they answered thus: That for as much as they that war-  
 red, were both of them their Confederates, they thought it most a-  
 greeable to their oath, for the present, to giue ayde to neither. And  
 so the Ambassadors of both sides went their wayes.  
 And the Syracusians made preparation for the Warre by  
 themselves.

The Athenians being encamped at Naxos, treated with  
 the Siculi, to procure as many of them as they might, to  
 D their side. Of whom, such as inhabited the Plaine, and  
 were subiect to the Syracusians, for the most part, held off;  
 but they that dwelt in the most inland parts of the Iland,  
 being a free people, and euer before dwelling in Villages,  
 presently agreed with the Athenians; and brought Corne  
 into the Army, and some of them also money. To those  
 that held off, the Athenians went with their Army, and  
 some they forced to come in, and others they hindred from  
 receiuing the aydes, and garrisons of the Syracusians. And  
 hauing brought their Fleet from Naxos, where it had been  
 E all the Winter till now, they lay the rest of the Winter at  
 Catana, and re-erected their Campe formerly burnt by the  
 Syracusians. They

The resolution of the Ca-  
 marinaxians for Neutrality.

The Athenians seeketh to  
 winne the Siculi.

They bring their Fleet  
 to Catana.



They sent a Gally also to Carthage, to procure amity, A and what helpe they could from thence: And into Hetruria, because some Cities there had of their owne accord promised to take their parts. They sent likewise to the Sicili about them, and to Egesta, appointing them to send in all the Horse they could, and made ready Bricks, and Iron, and whatsoever else was necessary for a Siege, and every other thing they needed, as intending to fall in hand with the Warre, early the next Spring.

The Ambassadors of Syracuse, which were sent to Corinth and Lacedemon, as they sayled by, endeauoured also to B moue the Italians, to a regard of this action of the Athenians. Being come to Corinth, they spake vnto them, and demanded ayde, vpon the \* Title of consanguinity. The Corinthians hauing forthwith, for their owne part, decreed cheerefully to ayde them, sent also Ambassadors from themselves, along with these to Lacedemon, to helpe them to perswade the Lacedemonians, both to make a more open Warre against the Athenians, at home, and to send some forces also into Sicily.

At the same time that these Ambassadors were at C Lacedemon, from Corinth, Alcibiades was also there, with his fellow fugitiues, who presently vpon their escape, passed ouer from Thuria, first to Cyllene, the Hauen of the Eleans, in a Ship, and afterwards went thence to Lacedemon, sent for by the Lacedemonians themselves, vnder publique security. For he feared them for his doings about Mantinea. And it fell out, that in the Assembly of the Lacedemonians, the Corinthians, Syracusians, and Alcibiades, made all of them the same request. Now the Ephores and Magistrates, though intending to send Ambassadors to Syracuse, to hinder them D from compounding with the Athenians, being yet not forward to send them ayde, Alcibiades stood fourth, and sharpened the Lacedemonians, inciting them with words to this effect:

### THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

I T will be necessary that I say something first concerning mine E owne accusation, lest through ialousie of me, you bring a preiudicate eare to the common businesse. My Ancestors hauing on

They send for ayde to Carthage, and into Hetruria.

And prepare to besiege Syracuse.

The Syracusians pray ayde of the Corinthians and Lacedemonians.

\* Corinth was the mother City of Syracuse.

Alcibiades at Lacedemon, instigateth the Lacedemonians against his Country.

A certaine quarrell renounced the \* office of receiving you, I was the man that restored the same againe, and shewed you all possible respect, both otherwise, and in the \* matter of your losse at Pylus. While I persisted in my good will to you, being to make a Peace at Athens, by treating the same with my aduersaries, you inuaded them with authority, and me with disgrace. For which cause, if in applying my selfe afterwards to the Mantineans, and Argiues, or in any thing else I did you hurt, I did it iustly. And if any man heere were causelessly angry with mee then, when hee suffered, let him be content againe, when hee knows the true cause of the B same. Or if any man thinke the worke of mee for inclining to the People, let him acknowledge, that therein also hee is offended without a cause. For wee haue beene alwayes Enemies to Tyrants, and what is contrary to a Tyrant, is called the People; and from thence hath continued our adherence to the multitude. Besides, in a City governed by Democracie, it was necessary in most things: to follow the present course; neuertheless wee haue endeauoured to be more moderate, then suiteth with the now headstrong humour of the People. But others there haue beene, both formerly and now, that haue incited the Common People to worse things then I, and they are C those that haue also drinen out mee. But as for vs, when wee had the charge of the whole, wee thought it reason, by what forme it was growne most great and most free, and in which we received it, in the same to preferue it. For though such of vs as haue iudgement, doe know well enough what the Democracie is, and I no lesse then another; (inasmuch as I could inueigh against it; But of confessed madnesse nothing can be said that's new) yet wee thought it not safe to change it, when our Enemies were so neere vs. Thus stands the matter touching my own accusation. And concerning what we are to consult of, both you and I, If I know any thing, which your selues doe not, heare D it now. We made this voyage into Sicily, first, (if we could) to subdue the Sicilians; after them the Italians; after them, to assay the dominion of Carthage, & Carthage it selfe. If these or most of these enterprizes succeeded, then next wee would haue undertaken Peloponnesus, with the accession both of the Greeke Forces there, and with many mercenarie Barbarians, Iberians, and others of those parts, confessed to be the most warlike of the Barbarians, that are now. We should also haue built many Gallies, besides these which we haue already, (there being plenty of Timber in Italy) with the which besieging Peloponnesus round, and also taking the E Cities thereof with our Land-forces, vpon such occasions as should arise from the Land, some by assault, and some by siege, wee hoped

F f f

\* Alcibiades. The Lacedemonian doubting that hee came at any time to Athens, were entertained by his aduersaries. This was the office which they after upon a quarrell renounced, and Alcibiades sought to repaire.

\* (i.) hee favoured their prisoners taken there, and imprisoned at Athens.



easily to haue debelled it, and afterwards to haue gotten the domination of all Greece. As for Money and Corne to facilitate some points of this, the places wee should haue conquered there, besides what heere wee should haue found, would sufficiently haue furnished vs.

Thus, from one that most exactly knoweth it, you haue heard what is the Designe of the Fleete now gone, and vvhich the Generals there, as farre as they can, vvill also put in execution.

Vnderstand next, that vvhen you ayde them, they yonder cannot possibly hold out. For the Sicilians, though inexpert, if many of them vvite, may well subsist; but that the Syracusians alone, with their whole power already beaten, and withall kept from the vse of the Sea, should withstand the Forces of the Athenians already there, is a thing impossible. And if their Citie should be taken, all Sicily is bad, and soone after Italy also, and the danger from thence, which I foretold you, would not be long ere it fell vpon you. Let no man therefore thinke, that hee now consulteth of Sicily onely, but also of Peloponnesus, vvhen this bee done with speed. Let the Armie you send bee of such, as being aboard, may row, and landing, presently be armed. And (which I thinke more profitable then the Armie it selfe) send a Spartan for Commander, both to traine the Souldiers already there, and to compell vnto it such as refuse. For thus vvill your present friends bee the more encouraged, and such as bee doubtfull, come to you with the more assurance. It were also good to make Warre more openly vpon them heere, that the Syracusians seeing your care, may the rather hold out, and the Athenians bee lesse able to send supply to their Armie. You ought likewise to fortifie Declea in the Territory of Athens, a thing which the Athenians themselves most feare, and reckon for the onely euill they haue not yet tasted in this Warre. And the way to hurt an Enemy most, is to know certainly what he most feareth; and to bring the same vpon him. For in reason a man therefore feareth a thing most, as hauing the precise knowledge of what will most hurt him. As for the commodities which your selues shall reape, and deprive the Enemy of, by so fortifying, letting much passe, I will summe you vp the principall. Whatsoeuer the Territory is furnished withall, will come most of it vnto you, partly taken, and partly of its owne accord. The reuenue of the Silver Mines in Laurium, and whatsoeuer other profit they haue from their Land, or \* from their Courts of Iustice, will presently be lost. And, which is worst, their Confederates will be remisse in bringing in their reuenue, and will care little for the Athenians, if they beleene once that you follow the Warre to the vtmost.

That

\* At Fees, and Fines, which would come in the Townes abroad, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, or not be able to be conveyed to the City.

A That any of these things be put in act; speedily and earnestly, (Men of Lacedæmon) it resteth onely in your selues: for I am confident, and I thinke I erre not, that all these things are possible to bee done. Now I must craue this; that I bee neither the worse esteemed, for that hauing once bene thought a louer of my Countrey; I goe now amongst the greatest Enemies of the same, against it; nor yet mistrusted, as one that speaketh with the zeale of a Fugitiue. For though I flye from the malice of them that draue mee out, I shall not (if you take my counsell) fly your profit. Nor are you enemies so much, who haue hurt but your enemies, as they are, that haue made enemies of friends. I loue not my Countrey, as wronged by it, but as hauing liued in safety in it. Nor doe I thinke, that I doe herein goe against any Countrey of mine, but that I farre rather seeke to recouer the Countrey I haue not. And hee is truly a louer of his Countrey, not that refuseth to inuade the Countrey hee hath wrongfully lost, but that desires so much to bee in it, as by any meanes hee can, hee vvill attempt to recouer it. I desire you therefore, (Lacedæmonians) to make vse of my seruice, in whatsoeuer danger or labour, confidently, seeing you know, (according to the common saying) if I did hurt you much when I was your enemy, I can helpe you much when I am your friend. And so much the more, in that I know the state of Athens, and but coniectured at yours. And considering you are now in deliberation vpon a matter of so extreme importance, I pray you thinke not much to send an Armie both into Sicily and Attica, as well to preserve the great matters that are there, with the presence of a small part of your Force, as also to pull downe the power of the Athenians, both present and to come; and afterwards to dwell in safety your selues, and to haue the leading of all Greece; not forced, but voluntarily, and with their good affection.

Thus spake Alcibiades.

And the Lacedæmonians, though before this they had a purpose of their own accord, to send an Army against Athens, but had delayed and neglected it, yet when these particulars were deliuered by him, they were a great deale the more confirmed in the same, conceiuing that what they had heard, was from one that evidently knew it. Inso much as they had set their minds already vpon the fortifying at Declea, and vpon the sending of some succours into Sicily,

F ff 2

for

The Lacedæmonians' resolute to send Cylippus into Sicily.



for the present. And hauing assigned *Gylippus* the sonne A of *Cleanderidas*, vnto the *Syracusan* Ambassadors for chiefe Commander, they willed him to consider, both with them and the *Corinthians*, how best (for their present meanes) and with greatest speed, some helpe might bee conueyed vnto them in *Sicily*. He thereupon appointed the *Corinthians* to send him two Gallies presently to *Asine*, and to furnish the rest they meant to send, and to haue them ready to saile when occasion should serue. This agreed vpon, they departed from *Lacedæmon*.

In the meane time the Gallie arriued at *Athens*, which B the Generals sent home for money and Horsemen. And the *Athenians* vpon hearing, decreed to send both prouision and Horsemen to the Armie. So the Winter ended, and the seuenteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

In the very beginning of the next Spring, the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, departed from *Catana*, and sailed by the Coast to *Megara* of *Sicily*. The inhabitants whercof, in the time of the Tyrant *Gelon*, the *Syracusians*, (as I mentioned before) had driuen out, and now possesse the Territory themselves. Landing heere, they wasted the Fields, and hauing C assaulted a certaine small Fortresse of the *Syracusians*, not taking it, they went presently backe, part by Land and part by Sea, vnto the Riuer *Teras*. And landing againe in the plaine Fields, wasted the same, and burnt vp their Corne; and lighting on some *Syracusians*, not many, they slew some of them; and hauing set vp a Trophie, went all againe aboard their Gallies. Thence they returned to *Catana*, and tooke in victuall. Then with their whole Army they went to *Cencripa*, a small Citie of the *Siculi*, which D yeelding on composition, they departed, and in their way, burnt vp the Corne of the *Insæans* and the *Hyblaens*. Being come againe to *Catana*, they find there 250 Horsemen, arriued from *Athens*, without Horses, though not without the furniture, supposing to haue Horses there; and 30 Archers on horsebacke, and 300 Talents of siluer.

The same Spring the *Lacedæmonians* led forth their Army against *Argos*, and went as far as to *Cleone*; But an Earthquake hapning, they went home againe. But the *Argines* invaded the Territory of *Thyrea*, confining on their owne, and tooke a great Booty from the *Lacedæmonians*, which E they sold for no lesse then 25 Talents.

Not

The *Athenians* resolve to send prouision and Horsemen.

THE EIGHTEENTH YEERE. The *Athenians* burne the Fields of certaine Towns of the *Siculi*, and take *Cencripa*.

They receive money and Horsemen from *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* invade *Argos*.

The *Argines* take a great Booty in *Thyrea*.

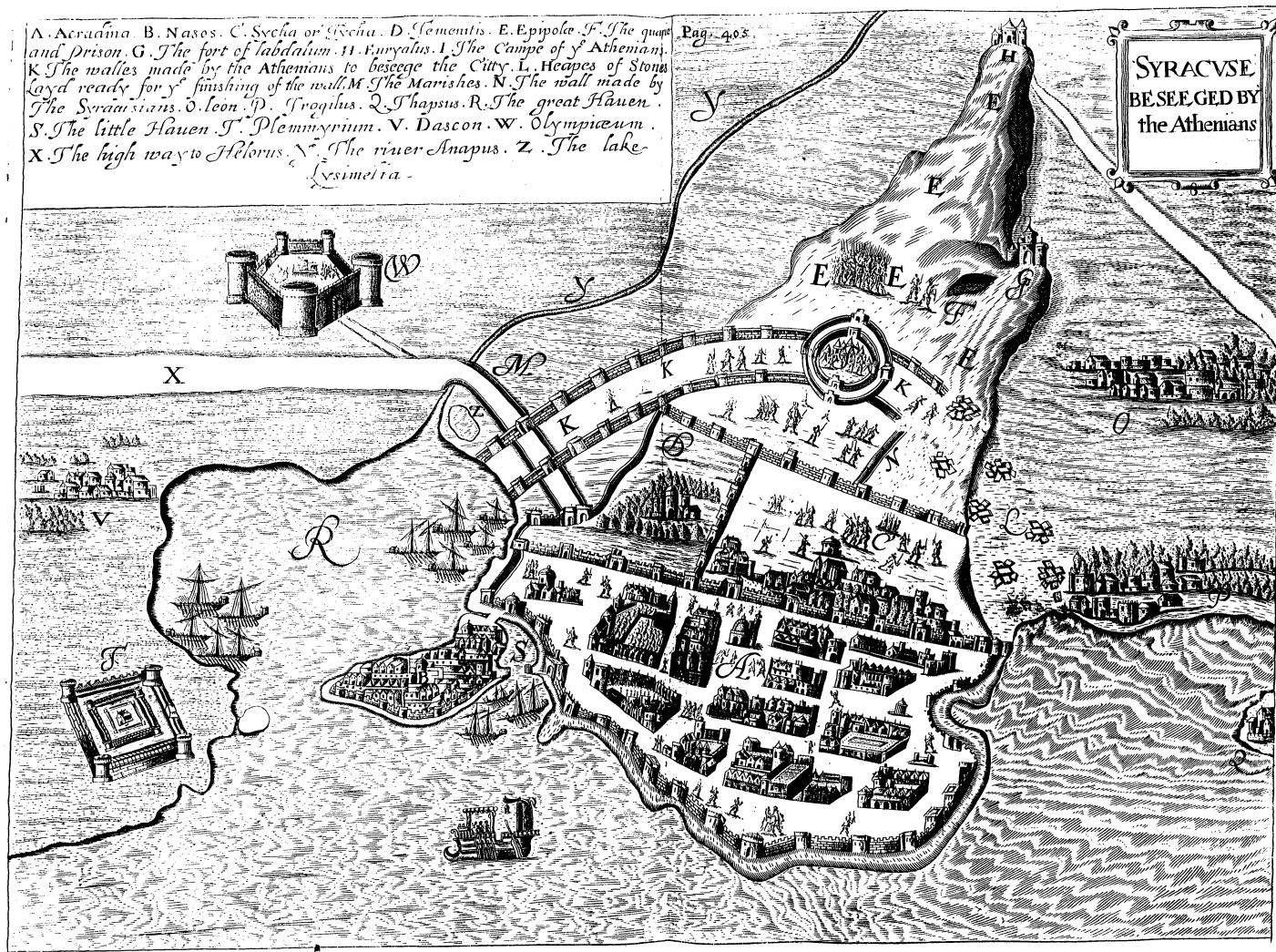
\* 4717 pound, 10 shillings Sterling.



A. Acradina B. Nases. C. Sycha or Xena. D. Cimentis. E. Epipole. F. The quays  
 and Prison. G. The fort of Iabdalum. H. Euryalus. I. The Campe of y<sup>e</sup> Athenians.  
 K. The walles made by the Athenians to beseege the City. L. Heapes of Stones  
 layd ready for y<sup>e</sup> finishing of the wall. M. The Marishes. N. The wall made by  
 The Syracusians. O. Leon. P. Trogilius. Q. Thapsus. R. The great Haven.  
 S. The little Haven. T. Plemmyrium. V. Dascon. W. Olympiceum.  
 X. The high way to Helorus. Y. The river Anapus. Z. The lake  
 Xsimelia.

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SYRACUSE  
 BE SEEGED BY  
 the Athenians





A Not long after, the Commons of *Thespie*, set vpon them that had the gouernment; but not preuailling, were part apprehended, and part escaped to *Athens*; the *Athenians* hauing also ayded them.

The *Syracusians* the same Summer, when they heard that the *Athenians* had Horsemen sent to them from *Athens*, and that they were ready now to come against them; conceiuing, that if the *Athenians* gat not *Epipole*, a rocky ground; and lying iust against the City, they would not bee able, though Masters of the Field, to take in the City with a

B Wall; intended therefore, lest the Enemy should come secretly vp, to keepe the passages by which there was access vnto it, with a Guard. For the rest of the place is to the outside high and steepe, falling to the City by degrees, and on the inside wholly subiect to the eye. And it is called by the *Syracusians*, *Epipole*, because it lyeth about the leuell of the rest. The *Syracusians* comming out of the Citie with their whole power, into a Meddow by the side of the Riuer *Anapus*; betimes in the morning, (for *Hermocrates* and his fellow-Commanders had already receiued their

C charge) were there taking a view of their Armes; but first they had set apart 700 men of Armes, vnder the leading of *Diomilus*, an Outlaw of *Andros*, both to guard *Epipole*, and to be ready together quickly, vpon any other occasion wherein there might be vse of their seruice. The *Athenians* the day following, hauing bene already mustred, came from *Carana* with their whole Forces, and landed their Souldiers at a place called *Leon* (6 or 7 furlongs from *Epipole*) vnperceiued, and layed their Nauie at Anchor vnder *Thapsus*. *Thapsus* is almost an Island, lying out into

D the Sea, and ioyned to the Land with a narrow *Isthmus*, not farre from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. And the naturall Forces of the *Athenians* hauing made a Palizado acrosse the said *Isthmus*, lay there quiet. But the Land-Souldiers marched at high speed toward *Epipole*, & gat vp by *Euryalus*, before the *Syracusians* could come to them from out of the Meddow, where they were mustering. Neuerthelesse they came on, euery one with what speed hee could, not onely *Diomilus* with his 700, but the rest also. They had no tisse to goe from the Meddow, thens 7 furlongs, before

E they could reach the Enemy. The *Syracusians* therefore comming vp in this manner, and thereby defeated in Battell

The Commons of *Thespie* set vpon the *Fem*, but with ill successe.

*Epipole* a high ground before the City of *Syracuse*.

... of T  
... the Island  
... the Sea, 10  
... the Island  
... the Sea, 10  
... the Island



Dionilus slain.

The Athenians fortifie  
Labdalum.\* Tyca, or Tychia, it was a  
Temple of Fortune, part of  
the City of Syracuse.The Athenians begin to  
build on the North side  
of the Fortification  
wherein they lay, the  
Wall wherewith to  
begirt the City.

tell at *Epipolæ*, withdrew themselves into the Citie. But *A Dionilus* was slain, and 300 of the rest. The *Athenians* after this erected a Trophy, and delivered to the *Syracusians* the bodies of their dead vnder Truce, and came downe the next day to the Citie. But when none came out to giue them battell, they retired againe, and built a Fort vpon *Labdalum*, in the very brinke of the precipices of *Epipolæ*, on the side that looketh towards *Megara*, for a place to keepe their Vtenfiles and Money in, when they went out either to fight or to worke.

Not long after, there came vnto them from *Egesta* three B hundred Horsemen: and from the *Siculi*, namely the *Naxians*, and some others, about one hundred: and the *Athenians* had of their owne two hundred and fifty; for which they had Horses, part from the *Egestæans* and *Cataneans*, and part they bought. So that they had together in the whole, sixe hundred and fiftie Horsemen. Having put a Guard into *Labdalum*, the *Athenians* went downe to \**Syca*, and raised there a Wall in circle, very quickly, so that they strooke a terrour into the *Syracusians* with the celerity of the worke. Who therefore comming forth, intended C to haue giuen them Battell, and no longer to haue neglected the matter. But when the Armies were one set against the other, the *Syracusan* Generals perceiving their owne to bee in disaray, and not easily to bee embattailed, led them againe into the Citie, saue onely a certaine part of their Horsemen, which staying, kept the *Athenians* from carrying of Stone, and straggling farre abroad from their Campe. But the *Athenians* with one Squadron of men of Armes, together with their whole number of Horse, charged the Horsemen of the *Syracusians*, and put them to flight. Of whom they slew a part, and erected a Trophy for this Battell of Horse. D

The next day the *Athenians* fell to worke vpon their Wall, to the North side of their circular Wall, some building, and some fetching Stone and Timber, which they still laid down toward the place called *Trogilus*, in the way by which the Wall should come, with the shortest compass from the great Hauen to the other Sea. The *Syracusians*, by the perswasion of their Generals, and principally of *Hermocrates*, intended not to hazard Battell with their whole power against the *Athenians* any more, but thought E fit

A fit rather in the way where the *Athenians* were to bring their wall, to raise a counterwall, which if they could but doe, before the wall of the *Athenians* came on, it would exclude their further building. And if the *Athenians* should set vpon them as they were doing it, they might send part of the Army to defend it, and pre-occupate the access to it with a Palizado. And if they would come with their whole Army to hinder them, then must they also be forced to let their owne worke stand still. Therefore they came out, and beginning at their owne Citie, B drew a crosse wall beneath the circular Fortification of the *Athenians*, and set wooden Turrets vpon it, made of the Oliue-trees, which they felled in the ground belonging to the Temple. The *Athenian* Navy was not yet come about into the great Hauen, from *Thapsus*, but the *Syracusians* were masters of the places neere the Sea; and the *Athenians* brought their provision to the Army from *Thapsus*, by land.

The *Syracusians*, when they thought both their Palizadoe, and wall sufficient, and considering that the *Athenians* came not to empeach them in the worke, as they that feared to diuide their Army, and to be thereby the more easie to be fought withall, & that also hastned to make an end of their owne wall, wherewith to encompass the Citie, left one Squadron for a guard of their worke, and retired C with the rest, into the Citie. And the *Athenians* cut off the Pipes of their Conduits, by which their water to drinke was conueyed vnder ground into the Citie.

And hauing obserued also, that about noone the *Syracusians* kept within their Tents, and that some of them were also gone into the Citie; and that such as were remaining D at the Palizado, kept but negligent watch, they commanded three hundred chosen men of Armes, and certaine other picked out and Armed from amongst the vnarmed, to runne suddenly to that Counterwall of the *Syracusians*. The rest of the Army diuided in two, went one part with one of the Generals, to stop the succour which might be sent from the Citie; and the other with the other Generall, to the Palizado, next to the Gate of the Counterwall. The three hundred assaulted with rooke E the Palizado; the guard whereof forsaking it, fled within the wall into the Temple ground; and with them entered also

The *Syracusians* make a  
crosse wall in their way.



also their pursuers, but after they were in, were beaten out againe by the *Syracusians*, and some slaine, both of the *Argives* and *Athenians*, but not many. Then the whole Army went backe together, and pulled downe the wall, and plucked vp the Palizado, the Pales whereof they carried with them to their Campe, and erected a Trophie. The next day, the *Athenians* beginning at their Circular wall, built on wards to that Cragge over the Marishes, which on that part of *Epipole*, looketh to the great Hauen, and by which, the way to the Hauen, for their wall to come through the Plaine and Marish, was the shortest. As this B was doing, the *Syracusians* came out againe, and made another Palizado, beginning at the Citie, through the middle of the Marish, and a Ditch at the side of it, to exclude the *Athenians* from bringing their wall to the Sea. But the *Athenians*, when they had finished their worke, as farre as to the Cragge, assaulted the Palizado and Trench of the *Syracusians* againe. And hauing commanded their Gallies to be brought about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen of *Syracusa*, about breake of day, went straight downe into the Plaine; and passing through the Marish, where the ground was Clay, and firmest, and partly vpon Boards, and Planckes, won both the Trench and Palizado, all but a small part, betimes in the morning, and the rest not long after. And here also they fought; and the victory fell to the *Athenians*. The *Syracusians*, those of the Right-wing, fled to the City, and they of the Left, to the River. The three hundred chozen *Athenians*, desiring to cut off their passage, marched at high speed towards the \* Bridge; but the *Syracusians* fearing to be preuented (for most of the Horsemen were in this number) set vpon these three hundred, and putting them to flight, draue them vpon the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and following, affrighted also the formost guard of the Wing. *Lamachus* seeing this, came to aide them with a few *Archers* from the left Wing of their owne, and with all the *Argives*; and passing over a certaine Ditch, hauing but few with him, was deserted and slaine, with some fixe or seuen more. These the *Syracusians* hastily snatched vp, and carried into a place of safety, beyond the River. And when they saw the rest of the *Athenian* Army comming towards them, E they departed. In the meane time they that fled at first to the

The *Athenians* build from their owne Fortification, to the Cragges, towards the great Hauen,

The *Athenians* take their Palizado againe.

\* The Bridge of the River Anapus.

*Lamachus* slaine.

A the Citie, seeing how things went, tooke heart againe, and reimbattailed themselves against the same *Athenians* that stood ranged against them before, and withall sent a certaine portion of their Armie against the circular Fortification of the *Athenians* vpon *Epipole*; supposing to finde it without defendants, and so to take it. And they tooke and demolished the out-worke tenne \* Plethers in length; but the Circle it selfe was defended by *Nicias*, who chari- cied to be left within it for infirmity. For he commanded his seruants to set fire on all the Engines, and whatsoever B wooden matter lay before the Wall, knowing there was no other possible meanes to saue themselves, for want of men. And it fell out accordingly. For by reason of this fire, they came no neerer, but retired. For the *Athenians* hauing by this time beaten backe the Enemy below, were comming vp to relieue the Circle; and their Gallies withall (as is before mentioned) were going about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen. Which they about perceiving, speedily made away, they, and the whole Armie of the *Syracusians*, into the Citie; with opinion that they could no longer hinder them, with the strength they now had, from bringing their Wall through vnto the Sea. After this the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusians* their dead, vnder Truce; and they on the other side deliuered to the *Athenians*, the body of *Lamachus*, and of the rest slaine with him. And their whole Armie, both Land and Sea-forces being now together, they began to incloze the *Syracusians* with a double Wall, from *Epipole* and the Rockes, vnto the Sea-side. The necessities of the Army were supplied from all parts of *Italy*: and many of the D *Siculi*, who before stood aloofe to obserue the way of Fortune, tooke part now with the *Athenians*, to whom came also three Penteconteri [long-boates of 50. Oares apiece] from *Hetruria*; and diuers other wayes their hopes were nourished. For the *Syracusians* also, when there came no helpe from *Peloponnesus*, made no longer account to subtilty by Warre, but conferred, both amongst themselves, and with *Nicias*, of composition: for *Lamachus* being dead, the sole command of the Armie was in him. And though nothing were concluded, yet many things (as was likely E with men perplexed, and now more straitely besieged then before) were propounded vnto *Nicias*, and more amongst them.

*Nicias* assaulted in his Campe, defendeth it. \* Ten Plethers, 680 cubits. Plethers containing, according to Suidas, 68 cubits.

G g g



The Syracusans change  
their Generals.

Gylippus despaireth of  
Sicily, and seeks to  
save Italy.

Nicias despaireth the com-  
ing of Gylippus.

themselves. And the present ill successe, had also bred A  
some iecalousie amongst them, one of another. And they  
discharged the Generals, vnder whose conduct this hap-  
ned, as if their harme had come, either from their valucki-  
nesse, or from their perfidioufnesse, and chose *Heracledes*,  
*Eucles*, and *Tellias* in their places.

Whilest this passed, *Gylippus* of *Lacedemon*, and the *Co-  
rinthian* Gallies were already at *Leucas*, purposing with all  
speed to goe ouer into *Sicily*. But when terrible reports  
came vnto them from all hands, agreeing in an vntruth,  
That *Syracuse* was already quite enclosed, *Gylippus* had B  
hope of *Sicily* no longer, but desiring to assure *Italy*, he, and  
*Pythen*, a *Corinthian*, with two *Laconicke* and two *Corinthian*  
Gallies, with all speede crossed the *Ionique* Sea to *Taren-  
tum*. And the *Corinthians* were to man tenne Gallies of  
their owne, two of *Leucas*, and three of *Ambracia*, and  
come after. *Gylippus* went first from *Tarentum* to *Thuria*,  
as *Ambassadour*, by his Fathers right, who was free of  
the Citie of *Tarentum*; but not winning them to his side,  
hee put out againe, and sailed along the Coast of *Italy*. Pas-  
sing by the *Terinean* Gulfe, hee was put from the shore C  
(by a wind which in that quarter bloweth strongly against  
the North) and driuen into the maine Sea; and after an-  
other extreme Tempest, brought in againe, into *Tarentum*,  
where he drew vp such of his Gallies as had beene hurt by  
the weather, and repaired them.

*Nicias* hearing that hee came, contemned the small  
number of his Gallies, as also the *Thurians* had before, sup-  
posing them furnished as for Piracie, and appointed no  
Watch for them yet.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Lacedemonians* D  
inuaied the Territory of *Argos*, they and their Confede-  
rates, and wasted a great part of their Land. And the *A-  
thenians* ayded the *Argives* with thirty Gallies, which  
most apparantly broke the Peace betweene them and the  
*Lacedemonians*. For before, they went out from *Pylus*  
with the *Argives* and *Mantineans*, but in the nature of Free-  
booters; and that also not into *Laconia*, but other parts of  
*Peloponnesus*. Nay, when the *Argives* haue often entreated  
them, but onely to Land with their Armes in *Laconia*, and  
hauiug wasted neuer so little of their Territory, to re- E  
turne, they would not. But now, vnder the Conduct of

*Pythodorus*,

A *Pythodorus*, *Leopodius*, and *Demaratus*, they landed in the  
Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*, and in *Præsa*, and there and  
in other places wasted the Countrey, and gaue vnto the  
*Lacedemonians* a most iustificable cause to fight against the  
*Athenians*. After this, the *Athenians* being departed from  
*Argos* with their Gallies, and the *Lacedemonians* gone  
likewise home, the *Argives* inuaied *Phliasia*, and  
when they had wasted part of their Terri-  
tory, and killed some of their  
men, returned.

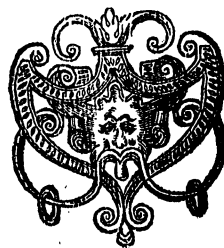
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THE  
S E V E N T H  
BOOKE OF THE HISTO-  
RIE OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Gylippus arriveth at Syracuse, checketh the fortune of the Athenians, and cutteth off their workes with a Counterwall. The Lacedæmonians invade Attica, and fortifie Decelea. The Confederates of each side are solicited for supplies to be sent to Syracuse. Two battels fought in the great Haven; in the first of which the Syracusians are beaten, in the second, superiour; Demosthenes arriveth with a new Army, and attempting the workes of the enemy in Epipolæ by night, is repulsed with great slaughter of his men. They fight the third time, and the Syracusians having the Victory, blocke vp the Haven with Boats. A Catalogue of the Confederates on each side. They fight againe at the Barres of the Haven, where the Athenians losing their Gallies, prepare to march away by land. In their march they are afflicted, beaten, and finally subdued by the Syracusians; The death of Nicias and Demosthenes, and misery of the Captives in the Quarry, which hapned in the nineteenth yeere of this Warre.

D



Gylippus, and Pythen, having repaired their Gallies, from Tarentum, went along the Coast to Locri Epizephyrj. And upon certaine intelligence now, that Syracuse was not wholly enclozed, but that comming with an Army, there was entrance still by Epipolæ, they consulted

Gylippus and Pythen resolve to goe to Syracuse.

E whether it were better to take Sicily on their right hand, and adventure into the Towne by Sea, or on the left, and

so



The took the ayde of  
the men of Himera

so first to goe to *Himera*, and then taking along both them A  
and as many other as they could get to their side, to goe  
into it by Land. And it was resolved to goe to *Himera*;  
the rather, because the foure *Antique* Gallies, which *Nicias*  
(though he contemned them before) had now when he  
heard they were at *Loeri*, sent to wait for them, were not  
arrived yet at *Rhegium*. Having prevented this guard,  
they crossed the Streight, and touching at *Rhegium*, and  
*Messana* by the way, came to *Himera*. Being there, they  
prevailed so farre with the *Himerians*, that they not onely  
followed them to the War themselves, but also furnished B  
with Armour, such of *Gylippus* and *Pythens* Mariners as  
wanted. For at *Himera* they had drawne their Gallies to  
Land. They likewise sent to the *Selinuntians*, to meet  
them at a place assigned with their whole Army. The  
*Geloans* also, and other of the *Siculi*, promised to send them  
Forces, though not many; being much the willinge to  
come to the side, both for that *Archonidas* was lately dead,  
who reigning over some of the *Siculi* in those parts, and  
being a man of no meane power, was friend to the *Atheni-  
ans*, and also for that *Gylippus* seemed to come from *Laceda-  
mon* with a good will to the businesse. *Gylippus* taking  
with him, of his owne Mariners, and Sea-Souldiers, for  
whom he had gotten Armes, at the most 700. and *Himeri-  
ans* with Armour, and without, in the whole 1000. and  
100 Horse, and some Light-armed *Selinuntians*, with some  
few Horse of the *Geloans*, and of the *Siculi* in all, about  
1000. marched with these towards *Syracuse*.

The Corinthian Gallies  
left by Gylippus make  
hast: after him, and Gon-  
gylus arriving first, kee-  
peth the Syracusians from  
compounding.

In the meane time, the *Corinthians*, with the rest of their  
Gallies, putting to Sea from *Leucas*, made after, as they  
were, every one with what speed he could, and *Gongy-  
lus*, one of the *Corinthian* Commanders, though the last  
that set forth, arrived first at *Syracuse* with one Gallie,  
and but a little before the comming of *Gylippus*. And find-  
ing them ready to call an Assembly about an end of the  
Warre, he hindered them from it, and put them into heart,  
relating both how the rest of the Gallies were comming,  
and also *Gylippus* the sonne of *Cleandridas* for Generall, sent  
vnto them by the *Lacedaemonians*. With this the *Syracusians*  
were reconfirmed, and went presently out with their  
whole Army to meet him; for they understood now E  
that he was neere. He, having taken *Iegas*, a Fort in his  
way

A way as he passed through the Territory of the *Siculi*; and  
imbattelled his men, commeth to *Epipole*, and getting vp  
by *Euryalus*, where also the *Athenians* had gotten vp before,  
marched together with the *Syracusians*, towards the wall  
of the *Athenians*. At the time when he arrived, the *Athe-  
nians* had finished a double wall, of seven or eight furlongs  
towards the great Haven, save onely a little next the Sea,  
which they were yet at worke on. And on the other side  
of their Circle, towards *Trogilus*, and the other Sea, the  
Stones were for the most part laid ready vpon the place,  
B and the worke was left in some places halfe, and in some  
wholly finished. So great was the danger that *Syracuse*  
was now brought into.

Gylippus arrived at Syracuse

The *Athenians*, at the sodaine comming on of *Gylippus*,  
though somewhat troubled at first, yet put themselves in  
order to receive him. And he, making a stand when he  
came neere, sent a Herald to them, saying, That if they  
would abandon *Sicily* within five dayes, with bagge and  
baggage, he was content to give them Truce. Which the  
*Athenians* contemning, sent him away without any answer.

Gylippus offereth the *A-  
thenians* five dayes Truce  
to be gone in,

C After this, they were putting themselves into order of bat-  
tell, one against another; but *Gylippus* finding the *Syracusians*  
troubled, and not easily falling into their rankes, led  
backe his Army in a more open ground. *Nicias* led not the  
*Athenians* out against him, but lay still, at his owne Fortifi-  
cation. And *Gylippus* seeing he came not vp, withdrew  
his Army into the top called *Temenites*, where he lodged  
all night. The next day, he drew out the greatest part of  
his Army, and imbattelled them before the Fortification  
of the *Athenians*, that they might not send succour to any  
D other place, but a part also, they sent to the Fort of *Labda-  
lum*, and tooke it; and slew all those they found within it.  
For the place was out of sight to the *Athenians*. The same  
day the *Syracusians* tooke also an *Athenian* Gally, as it en-  
tered into the great Haven.

The Syracusians win *Lab-  
dulum*.

After this, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates began a  
wall through *Epipole* from the City towards the single crosse  
wall vpwards; that the *Athenians*, unless they could hin-  
der it, might be excluded from bringing their owne wall any  
further on. And the *Athenians* by this time, having made  
E an end of their wall to the Sea, were come vp againe; and  
*Gylippus* (for some part of the wall was but weake) rising  
with

The Syracusians build a  
wall vpwards, through  
*Epipole*, to stop the pro-  
ceeding of the Wall of  
the *Athenians*.



The Athenians fortified  
Plemmyrium.

\* Viz. the lesser Haven.

\* The Temple there and whole  
Towne was consecrate to  
Iupiter Olympius.

\* Nicias sendeth 20 Gallies  
to lye in wait for the ayd  
comming from Peloponne-  
sus.

Gylippus goeth on with  
his wall, and fighteth  
with the Athenians, twice  
and in the latter battell  
hauing the Victory, he  
finished his wall, and vt-  
terly excluded the pro-  
ceeding of the wall of  
the Athenians.

with his Army by night, went to assault it; but the Athenians also knowing it (for they lodged all night without the wall) went presently to releue it; which Gylippus perceiuing, againe retired. And the Athenians, when they had built it higher, kept the watch in this part themselves, and diuided the rest of the Wall to the charge of their Confederates. Also it seemed good to Nicias to fortifie the place called *Plemmyrium*, (it is a Promontory ouer ouer against the Citie, which shooting into the entrance of the great Haven, streightneth the 'mouth of the same) which fortified, he thought, would facilitate the bringing in of necessities to the Army. For by this meanes, their Gallies might ride neerer to the \* Haven of the *Syracusians*, and not vpon euery motion of the Navy of the enemies, to be to come out against them, as they were before, from the bottome of the [ great ] Haven. And he had his mind set chiefly now, vpon the Warre by Sea, seeing his hopes by Land diminished, since the arriuall of *Gylippus*. Hauing therefore drawne his Army, and Gallies to that place, he built about it three Fortifications, wherein he placed his baggage, and where now also lay at Road both his great vessels of Carriage, and the nimblest of his Gallies. Here-upon principally ensued the first occasion of the great losse of his Sea-Souldiers. For hauing but little water, and that farre to fetch, and his Mariners going out also to ferch in wood, they were continually interceped by the *Syracusan* Horsemen, that were masters of the Field. For the third part of the *Syracusan* Cauallery, were quartered in a little Towne called \* *Olympieum*, to keepe those in *Plemmyrium*, from going abroad to spoyle the Countrey.

Nicias was aduertized moreover of the comming of the rest of the *Corinthian* Gallies, and sent out a guard of twenty Gallies, with order to wait for them about *Locri*, and *Rhegium*, and the passage there, into *Sicily*.

Gylippus in the meane time, went on with the wall through *Epipole*, vsing the Stones laid ready there by the Athenians, and withall drew out the *Syracusians* and their Confederates beyond the point of the same, and euer as hee brought them forth, put them into their order; and the Athenians on the other side imbattelled themselves against them. Gylippus, when he saw his time, began the battell, and being come to hands, they fought betweene the Fortifications

A fications of them both, where the *Syracusians* and their Confederates had no vse at all of their Horsemen. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates being ouercome, and the Athenians hauing giuen them Truce to take vp their dead, and erected a Trophie, Gylippus assembled the Armie, and told them, That this was not theirs, but his owne fault, who by pitching the Battell so farre within the Fortifications, had deprived them of the vse both of their Cauallery, and Darters, and that therefore hee meant to bring them on againe; and wished them to consider, that for Forces they were nothing inferior to the Enemy: and for courage, it were a thing not to be endured, that being *Peloponnesians* and *Doriens*, they should not master, and drive out of the Countrey, *Ionians*, *Ilanders*, and a rabble of mixed Nations.

After this, when he saw his opportunity, hee brought on the Armie againe. Nicias and the Athenians, who thought it necessary, if not to beginne the Battell, yet by no meanes to set light by the Wall in hand (for by this time it wanted little of passing the point of theirs, and proceeding, would giue the Enemy aduantage, both to winne, if hee fought, and not to fight, vnlesse hee listed) did therefore also set forth to meete the *Syracusians*.

Gylippus, when hee had drawne his men of Armes further without the Wallles than hee had done before, gaue the onfet. His Horsemen and Darters hee placed vpon the Flanke of the Athenians, in ground enough, to which neither of their Wallles extended. And these Horsemen, after the fight was begunne, charging vpon the left Wing of the Athenians next them, put them to flight; by which means the rest of the Armie was by the *Syracusians* ouercome likewise, and driuen headlong within their Fortifications. The night following, the *Syracusians* brought vp their Wall beyond the Wall of the Athenians, so as they could no longer hinder them; but should be vtterly vnable, though masters of the Field, to encloze the City.

After this, the other 12 Gallies of the *Corinthians*, *Ambraciotes* and *Leucadians*, vndercryed of the Athenian Gallies that lay in waite for them, entred the Haven, vnder the Command of *Erasmedes*, a *Corinthian*; and helped the *Syracusians* to finish what remained, to the crosse Wall.

The rest of the Gallies  
come in from Peloponnesus,  
vnlesse of the Athenians  
that were set to watch  
them.

H h h

Now



Gylippus goeth about Sicily, and sendeth into Peloponnesus for more ayde.

Now Gylippus went vp and downe Sicily, rayfing Forces A both for Sea and Land, and folliciting to his aide all such Cities as formerly either had not beene forward, or had wholly abstained from the Warre. Other Ambassadours also, both of the Syracusians and Corinthians, were sent to Lacedæmon and Corinth, to procure new Forces to be transported either in Ships or Boats, or how they could, because the Athenians had also sent to Athens for the like. In the meane time the Syracusians both manned their Nauie, and made tryall of themselves, as intending to take in hand that part also, and were otherwise exceedingly encour- B raged.

Nicias writeth to Athens for supply, and to be eased of his charge.

Nicias perceiuing this, and seeing the strength of the Enemye, and his owne necessities dayly increasing, hee also sent Messengers to Athens, both at other times, and often, vpon the occasion of euery action that passed; and now especially, as finding himselfe in danger, and that vnlesse they quickly sent for those away that were there already, or sent a great supply vnto them, there was no hope of safety: and fearing lest such as hee sent, through want of utterance or iudgement, or through desire to please the Multitude, should deliuer things otherwise C then they were, hee wrote vnto them a Letter. Conceauing that thus the Athenians should best know his minde, whereof no part could now be suppressed by the Messenger, and might therefore enter into deliberation vpon true grounds.

With these Letters, and other their instructions, the Messengers tooke their Iourney; and Nicias in the meane time, hauing a care to the well guarding of his Campe, was wary of entering into any voluntarie dan- D gers.

In the end of this Summer, Euction, Generall for the Athenians, with Perdiccas, together with many Thracians, warring against Amphipolis, tooke not the Citie; but bringing his Gallies about into Strymon, besieged it from the Riuer lying at Imeraum: And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the Messengers from Nicias arrived at Athens; and hauing spoken what they had in charge, and answered to such questions as they were asked, they E presented the Letter, which the Clerke of the Citie, standing

The Athenians besiege Amphipolis.

The end of the eighteenth Summer.

A ding forth, read vnto the Athenians, containing as followeth.

## THE LETTER OF NICIAS to the People of Athens.

A THENIANS, You know by many other my Letters, what hath passed formerly: nor is it lesse needfull for you to bee informed of the state we are in, and to take counsell vpon it at B this present. When we had in many Battels beaten the Syracusians, against whom we were sent, and had built the Walles within which we now lye, came Gylippus a Lacedæmonian, with an Armie out of Peloponnesus, and also out of some of the Cities of Sicily; and in the first Battell was overcome by vs; but in the second, forced by his many Horsemen and Darters, we retired within our Workes. Whereupon giuing ouer our vrralling vp of the Citie, for the multitude of our enemies, we now sit still. Nor can we indeed haue the vse of our vvhole Army, because some part of the men of Armes are employed to defend our Walles. And they haue built a single Wall vnto vs, so that now we haue no more meanes to enclose it, except one should come with a great Army, and vvinne that crosse-wall of theirs by assault. And so it is, that was who seemed to besiege others, are besieged our selues, for so much as concerneth the Land. For we cannot goe farre abroad by reason of their Caualery. They haue also sent Ambassadours for another Armie into Peloponnesus; and Gylippus is gone amongst the Cities of Sicily, both to sollicite such to toyne with him in the Warre, as haue not yet stirred; and of others to get, if he can, both more Land-souldiers, and more munition for their Nauie. For they intend (as I haue beene informed) D both to assault our Wall by Land with their Armie, and to make tryall what they are able to doe with their Navy by Sea. For though our Fleet (vvhich they also haue heard) were vigorous at first, both for soundnesse of the Gallies, and entirenesse of the men; yet our Gallies are now soaked, with lying so long in the water, and our men consumed. For we want the meanes to hale a land our Gallies, and trim them, because the Gallies of the Enemye, as good as ours, and more in number, doe keepe vs in a continuall expectation of assault, which they manifestly endeaour. And seeing it is in their owne choice to attempt or not, they haue therefore liberty to dry their Gallies at their E pleasure. For they lye not, as we, in attendance vpon others: Nay, we could hardly doe it, though we had many Gallies there, and were not



constrained, as now, to keepe watch vpon them vwith our whole number. For should we abate, though but a little, of our obseruance, we should want prouision, vvhich as we are, being to passe so neere their Citie, is brought in vwith difficulty; and hence it is, that our Mariners, both formerly haue beene, and are now wasted. For our Mariners, fetching wood and water, and forraging farre off, are intercepted by the Horsemen; and our Slaues, now wee are on equall termes, runne ouer to the Enemy. \* As for strangers, some of them hauing come aboard by constraint, retorne presently to their Cities; and others hauing beene leui'd at first vwith great wages, and thinking they came to enrich themselves rather then to fight, now they see the Enemy make so strong resistance, both otherwise beyond their expectation and especially, vwith their Nauie, partly take pretext to bee gone that they may serue the Enemy, and partly, (Sicily being large) kisse themselves away, every one as bee can. Some there are also, who hauing bought heere \* Hyccarian slaues, haue gotten the Captaines of Gallies to accept of them in the roome of themselves and thereby destroyed the purity of our Nauall strength. To you I write, who know how small a time any Fleet continueth in the height of vigoir, and how few of the Mariners are skilfull, both how to hasten the course of a Gallie, and how to containe the Oare. But of all, my greatest trouble is this, that being Generall, I can neither make them doe better, (for your natures are hard to be gouerned) nor get Mariners in any other place, (vvhich the Enemy can doe from many places) but must of necessity haue them from whence wee brought both these we haue, and those we haue lost. For our now Confederate Cities, Naxus and Catana, are not able to supply vs. Had the Enemy but this one thing more, that the Townes of Italy, that now send vs prouision, seeing what estate we are in, and you not helpe vs, would turne to them, the Warre were at an end, and wee expugned, without another stroke. I could haue written to you other things, more pleasing then these, but not more profitable, seeing it is necessary for you to know certainly the affaires here, when you goe to counsell vpon them; withall, (because I know your natures to bee such, as though you loue to heare the best, yet afterwards when things fall not out accordingly, you will call in question them that write it) I thought best to write the truth for my owne safeties sake. And now thinke thus, that though we haue carried our selues, both Captaines and Souldiers, in that for which we came at first hither, vnb lameably; yet, since all Sicily is vnitied against vs, and another Army expected out of Peloponnesus, you must resolve (for those we haue here, are not enow for the Enemies present forces) eyther to send for these away, or to send

\* These were they, which Nicias, upon the taking of Hyccaria, made sale of, himselfe.

hither

A hither another Army, both of Land and Sea-souldiers, no lesse then the former, and money, not a little; and also a Generall to succeed me who am able no longer to stay heere, being troubled vwith the stone in the Kidney. I must craue your pardon. I haue done you many good seruices in the conduits of your Armies when I had my health. What you will doe, doe in the very beginning of Spring, and delay it not. For the Enemy will soon haue furnished himselfe of his Sicilian aydes; And though those from Peloponnesus will bee later, yet if you looke not to it, they will get hither partly vnseene, as before, and partly by preuenting you vwith speed.

B These were the Contents of the Letter of Nicias.

The Athenians, when they had heard it read, though they released not Nicias of his Charge, yet for the present till such time as others chosen to be in Commission might arriue, they ioyned vwith him two of those that were already in the Armie, Menander and Eubrydemon, to the end that hee might not sustaine the whole burthen alone in his sicknesse. They concluded likewise to send another Armie, as well for the Sea as the Land, both of Athenians enroled, and of their Confederates. And for fellow-Generals vwith Nicias, they elected Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon the sonne of Thucles. Eurymedon they sent away presently for Sicily, about the time of the Winter Solstice, vwith tenne Gallies, and twenty Talents of Silver, to tell them there, that ayde was comming, and that there was care taken of them. But Demosthenes staying, made preparation for the Voyage, to set out early the next Spring; and sent vnto the Confederates, appointing what Forces they should prouide, and to furnish himselfe amongst them, vwith Money, and Gallies, and men of Armes.

The Athenians sent also twenty Gallies about Peloponnesus, to watch that none should goe ouer into Sicily, from Corinth or Peloponnesus. For the Corinthians, after the Ambassadors were come to them, and had brought newes of the amendment of the affaires in Sicily, thought it was well that they had sent thither those other Gallies before; but now they were encouraged a great deale more, and prepared men of Armes to be transported into Sicily in Ships, and the Lacedaemonians did the like for the rest of Peloponnesus. The Corinthians manned fixe and twenty Gallies, to present Battell to the Fleet that kept watch at Naupactus, that

The Athenians conclude to send a new Army to Syracuse.

They send twenty Gallies to Naupactus, to keep the Corinthians from transporting their forces into Sicily.



The Lacedæmonians prepare to invade Attica, and to take Declea, supposing the Athenians to have broken the Peace.

that the Ships with the men of Armes, whilest the Athenians attended these Gallies so embattailed against them, might passe by unhindered.

The Lacedæmonians, as they intended before, and being also infligated to it by the Syracusians and Corinbians, vpon aduertisement now of the Athenians new supply for Sicily, prepared likewise to invade Attica, thereby to diuert them. And Alcibiades also importunately vrged the fortifying of Declea, and by no meanes to warre remissely. But the Lacedæmonians were heartned thereunto principally, because they thought the Athenians hauing in hand a double War, one against them, and another against the Sicilians, would be the easilier pulled downe; and because they conceived the breach of the last Peace was in themselves; for in the former Warre, the iniury proceeded from their own side, in that the Thebans had entred Platea in time of peace, And because also, whereas it was inserted in the former Articles, that Armes should not bee carried against such as would stand to tryall of Iudgement, they had refused such tryall when the Athenians offered it. And they thought all their misfortunes had deseruedly befallne them for that cause; remembring amongst others, the calamity at Pylus. But when the Athenians with a Fleet of thirty Sayle had spoiled part of the Territory of Epidaurus, and of Præse, and other places, and their Souldiers that lay in Garrison in Pylus, had taken bootie in the Countrey about; And seeing that as often as there arose any controuersie touching any doubtfull point of the Articles, the Lacedæmonians offering tryall by Iudgement, they refused it; Then indeed, the Lacedæmonians conceiuing the Athenians to bee in the same fault that themselves had beene in before, be-  
 tooke themselves earnestly to the Warre. And this Winter they sent about vnto their Confederates, to make ready Iron, and all Instruments of Fortification. And for the ayde they were to transport in Ships to the Sicilians, they both made prouision amongst themselves, and compelled the rest of Peloponnesus to doe the like. So ended this Winter, and the eighteenth Yeere of the Warre; written by Thucydides.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE.

The Peloponnesians invade Attica, and fortifie Declea.

The next Spring, in the very beginning, earlier then euer before, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates entered with their Armie into Attica, vnder the command of

Agis

A Agis the sonne of Archidamus, their King. And first they wasted the Champaigne Countrey, and then went in hand with the Wall at Declea, diuiding the worke amongst the Armie according to their Cities. This Declea is from the Citie of Athens, at the most, but 120. Furlongs, and about as much, or a little more from Boeotia. This Fort they made in the plaine, and in the most opportune place that could bee, to annoy the Athenians, and in sight of the Citie. Now the Peloponnesians and their Confederates in Attica went on with their fortification.

B They in Peloponnesus sent away their Ships with the men of Armes about the same time into Sicily. Of which, the Lacedæmonians, out of the best of their Helotes, and men made newly free, sent in the whole sixe hundred, and Ecritius a Spartan for Commander. And the Boeotians three hundred, vnder the Conduct of Xenon and Nicon, Thebans, and Hegessander a Thessian. And these set forth first, and put to Sea at Tenarus in Laconia. After them a little, the Corinthians sent away five hundred more, part from the Citie it selfe of Corinth, and part mercenarie Arcadians, and Alexarchus a Corinthian for Captaine. The Sicyonians also sent two hundred with them that went from Corinth, and Sargeus a Sicyonian for Captaine. Now the 25 Corinthian Gallies that were manned in Winter, lay opposite to the twenty Gallies of Athens which were at Naupactus, till such time as the men of Armes in the Ships from Peloponnesus might get away; for which purpose they were also set out at first, that the Athenians might not haue their mindes vpon these Ships, so much as vpon the Gallies.

The Peloponnesians send away their men of Armes for Sicily.

In the meantime also, the Athenians, whilest Declea was fortifying, in the beginning of the Spring, sent twenty Gallies about Peloponnesus, vnder the command of Caricles the sonne of Apollodorus; with order when hee came to Argos, to take aboard the men of Armes which the Argines were to send them, according to League; and sent away Demosthenes (as they intended before) into Sicily, with threescore Gallies of Athens, and five of Chios, and one thousand two hundred men of Armes of the Roll of Athens, and as many of the Islanders as they could get, provided by their subiect Confederates of all other necessities for the  
 E Warre: But he had order to ioyne first with Charicles, and helpe him to make Warre first vpon Laconia. So Demosthenes

The Athenians send out Demosthenes toward Sicily.



Gylippus persuadeth the  
Syracusians to fight by  
Sea.

mosthenes went to *Agina*, and stayed there both for the *A* remnant of his owne Army, if any were left behind; and for *Charicles* till he had taken aboard the *Argives*.

In *Sicily*, about the same time of the Spring, *Gylippus* also returned to *Syracuse*, bringing with him from the Cities hee had dealt withall, as great forces as severally hee could get from them; And having assembled the *Syracusians*, he told them, that they ought to man as many Gallies as they could, and make triall of a battell by Sea, and that he hoped thereby to performe somewhat to the benefit of the Warre, which should be worthy the danger. *Hermocrates* also was none of the least meanes of getting them to vndertake the *Athenians* with their Navy, who told them, That neither the *Athenians* had this skill: by Sea, hereditary, or from everlasting, but were more Inland-men than the *Syracusians*, and forced to become Sea-men by the *Medes*: And that to daring men, such as the *Athenians* are, they are most formidable that are as daring against them. For wherewith they terrifie their neighbours, which is not alwayes the aduantage of power, but boldnesse of enterprizing, with the same shall they in like manner be terrified by their enemies. He knew it, he said, certainly, that the *Syracusians* by their unexpected daring, to encounter the *Athenian* Navy, would get more aduantage in respect of the feare it would cause, then the *Athenians* should endamage them by their oddes of skill. He bade them therefore, to make triall of their Navy, and to be afraid no longer. The *Syracusians* on these perswasions of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, and others, if any were, became now extremely desirous to fight by Sea, and presently manned their Gallies.

The *Syracusians* win *Plemmyrium*, but are beaten by Sea.

*Gylippus*, when the Navy was ready, drew out his whole power of Land Souldiers in the beginning of night, meaning to goe himselfe and assault the Fortifications in *Plemmyrium*. Withall, the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, by appointment, 35 of them came vp towards it, out of the great Hauen, and 45 more came about out of the little Hauen, where also was their Arsenall, with purpose to ioyne with those within, and to goe together to *Plemmyrium*, that the *Athenians* might be troubled on both sides. But the *Athenians* having quickly manned 60 Gallies to oppose them; with 25 of them, they fought with the 35 of the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, and with the rest went

to

*A* to meete those that came about from the little Hauen. And these fought presently before the mouth of the great Hauen, and held each other to it for a long time; one side endeavouring to force, the other to defend the entrance. In the meane time *Gylippus* (the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium* being now come downe to the water side, and having their mindes busied vpon the fight of the Gallies) betimes in the mornings, and on a sudden assaulted the Fortifications, before they could come backe againe to defend them; and possessed first the greatest, and afterwards the two lesser: for they that watched in these, when they saw the greatest to easily taken, durst stay no longer. They that fled vpon the losing of the first Wall, and put themselves into Boats, and into a certaine Ship, got hardly into the Campe, for whilst the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, had yet the better in the fight vpon the water, they gaue them chase with one nimble Gally. But by that time that the other two Walles were taken, the *Syracusians* vpon the water were overcome, and the *Athenians* which fled from those two Walles, got to their Campe with more ease. For those *Syracusian* Gallies that fought before the Hauens mouth, having beaten backe the *Athenians*, entered in disorder, and falling foule one on another, gaue away the Victorie vnto the *Athenians*, who put to flight not onely them, but also those other, by whom they had before beene overcome within the Hauen, and sunke eleuen Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and slew most of the men aboard them, saue onely the men of three Gallies, whom they tooke aliue. Of their owne Gallies they lost onely three.

The *Syracusians* winne the  
workes of the *Athenians*  
in *Plemmyrium*.

The *Athenians* get the  
victory by water.

*D* When they had drawne to Land the wreoke of the *Syracusian* Gallies, and erected a Trophie in the little Iland ouer against *Plemmyrium*, they returned to their Campe. The *Syracusians*, though such were their successe in the Battell by Sea, yet they wonne the Fortification in *Plemmyrium*, and set vp three Trophies, for euery Wall one. One of the two Walles last taken, they demolished, but two they repayred, and kept with a Garrison.

At the taking of these Walles, many men were slaine, and many taken aliue, and their goods, which all together was a great matter, were all taken. For the *Athenians*

I i

vsing



using these Workes for their storehouse, there was in them A much wealth and victuall, belonging vnto Merchants, and much vnto Captaines of Gallies: For there were Sayles within it for fortie Gallies, besides other furniture, and three Gallies drawne to Land. And this losse of *Plemmyrium* was it that most and principally empayed the *Athenians* Army. For the entrance of their prouision was now no longer safe, (for the *Syracusians* lying against them there with their Gallies, kept them out) and nothing could be brought in vnto them but by fight, and the Armie besides was thereby otherwise terrified and B deiected.

After this the *Syracusians* sent out twelue Gallies, vnder the command of *Agatharchus* a *Syracusan*. Of which one carried Ambassadors into *Peloponnesus*, to declare what hope they had now of their businesse, and to instigate them to a sharper Warre in *Auica*. The other eleuen went into *Italy*, vpon intelligence of certaine Vessels laden with commodities comming to the *Athenians* Army: which also they met with, and destroyed most of them; and the Timber which for building of Gallies, the *Athenians* had ready framed, they burned in the Territory of *Caulonia*. C

After this they went to *Locri*, and riding heere, there came vnto them one of the Ships that carried the men of Armes of the *Thebians*; whom the *Syracusians*, tooke aboard, & went homeward by the Coast. The *Athenians* that watched for them with 20 Gallies at *Megara*, tooke one of them, and the men that were in her, but could not take the rest: So that they escaped through to *Syracuse*.

There was also a light Skirmish in the Hauen of D *Syracuse*, about the Piles which the *Syracusians* had driuen downe before their old Harbour, to the end that the Gallies might ride within, and the *Athenians* not annoy them by assault. The *Athenians* hauing brought to the place a Ship of huge greatnesse, fortified with Wooden Turrets, and couered against Fire, caused certaine men with little Boats, to goe and fasten Cords vnto the Piles, and so broke them vp with craning. Some also the Diuers did cut vp with Sawes. In the meane time the *Syracusians* from the Harbour, and they E from the great Ship, shot at each other, till in the end,

A end, the greatest part of the Piles were by the *Athenians* gotten vp. But the greatest difficulty was to get vp those Piles which lay hidden; for some of them they had so driuen in, as that they came not about the Water. So that hee that should come neere, was in danger to bee throwne vpon them, as vpon a Rocke. But these also for reward the Diuers went downe, and sawed asunder. But the *Syracusians* continually draue down other in their stead. Other deuices they had against each other, (as was not vnlkely betweene Armies so neere opposed) and many light B Skirmishes passed, and attempts of all kinde were put in execution.

The *Syracusians* moreouer sent Ambassadors, some *Corinthians*, some *Ambraciotes*, and some *Lacedamonians*, vnto the Cities about them, to let them know, that they had wonne *Plemmyrium*, and that in the Battell by Sea, they were not ouercome by the strength of the Enemy, but by their owndisorder; and also to shew what hope they were in, in other respects, and to intreat their ayd both of Sea and Land-forces, forsomuch as the *Athenians* expecting another C Army, if they would send ayde before it came, whereby to overthrow that which they had now there, the Warre would be at an end. Thus stood the affaires of *Sicily*.

*Demosthenes*, as soone as his forces which he was to carry to the succour of those in *Sicily*, were gotten together, put to Sea from *Agina*, and sayling into *Peloponnesus*, ioyned with *Charicles*, and the 30. Gallies that were with him. And hauing taken aboard some men of Armes of the *Argiues*, came to *Laconia*, and first wasted part of the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*. From thence, going to that part of D *Laconia* which is ouer against the Iland *Cythera*, (where is a Temple of *Apollo*) they wasted a part of the Countrey, and fortified an Isthmus there, both that the *Helots* might haue a refuge in it, running away from the *Lacedamonians*, and that *Freebooters* from thence, as from *Pylus*, might fetch in Prizes from the Territory adioyning. As soone as the place was taken in, *Demosthenes* himselfe went on to *Coreyra*, to take vp the Confederates there, with intent to goe thence speedily into *Sicily*. And *Charicles* hauing staid to finish, and put a Garrison into the Fortification, went afterwards with his thirty Gallies to *Athens*; and the *Argiues* also went home.

*Demosthenes* in his way to *Sicily*, fortified a necke of Land in *Laconia*.



The aydes of the Thracians come too late to goe into Sicily.

The incommodities which befell the Athenians by the fortification in Declea.

The same Winter also came to Athens a thousand and A three hundred Targettiers, of those called *Machorophori*, of the race of them that are called *Dij*, and were to have gone with *Demosthenes* into Sicily. But comming too late, the Athenians resolved to send them backe againe into Thrace, as being too chargeable a matter to entertaine them onely for the Warre in Declea; for their pay was to have beene a Drachma a man by the day. For Declea being this Summer fortified, first by the whole Army, & the by the seuerall Cities maintained with a Garrison by turnes, much endamaged the Athenians, and weakned their estate, both by destroying their commodities, and consuming of their men, so as nothing more. For the former inuasions hauing beene short, hindred them not from reaping the benefit of the earth for the rest of the time; but now, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, and sometimes with greater forces, sometimes of necessity with the ordinary Garrison making incursions, and fetching in boorie, Agis the King of Lacedaemon being alwayes there in person, and diligently prosecuting the Warre, the Athenians were thereby very grievously afflicted: for they were not onely deprived of the fruit of the Land, but also about twenty thousand of their slaues fled ouer to the Enemy, whereof the greatest part were Artificers.

Besides, they lost all their Sheepe and Oxen. And by the continuall going out of the Athenian Horsemen, making excursions to Declea, and defending the Countrey, their Horses became partly lamed, through incessant labour in rugged grounds, & partly wounded by the Enemy. And their prouision, which formerly they vsed to bring in from Euboea by Oropus, the shortest way, through Declea by Land, they were now forced to fetch in by Sea, at great cost, about the Promontory of Sunium. And whatsoever the City was wont to be serued withall from without, it now wanted, and in stead of a Citie was become as it were a Fort. And the Athenians watching on the Battlements of the Wall, in the day time by turnes, but in the night, both Winter and Summer, all at once, (except the Horsemen) part at the Wall, and part at the Armes, were quite tyred. But that which pressed them most, was that they had two Warres at once. And yet their obstinacie was so great, as no man would haue beleued, till now they

A they saw it. For being besieged at home, from the Fortification of the Peloponnesians, no man would haue imagined, that they should not onely not haue recalled their Armie out of Sicily, but haue also besieged Syracuse there, a Citie of it selfe no lesse then Athens, and therein so much haue exceeded the expectation of the rest of the Grecians, both in power and courage, (who in the beginning of this Warre conceived, if the Peloponnesians inuaded their Territory, some of them, that they might hold out two yeeres, others three, no man more) as that in the seuenteenth B yeere after they were first inuaded, they should haue vndertaken an expeditio into Sicily, & being euery way weakned already by the former Warre, haue vndergone another, not inferiour to that which they had before with the Peloponnesians. Now their Treasure being by these Warres, and by the detriment sustained from Declea, and other great expences that came vpon them, at a very low ebbe, about this time they imposed on such as were vnder their dominion, a twentieth part of all goods passing by Sea, for a Tribute, by this meanes to improoue their commings C in. For their expences were not now as before, but so much greater, by how much the Warre was greater, and their reuenue besides cut off.

The Thracians therefore, that came too late to goe with Demosthenes, they presently sent backe, as being vnwilling to lay out money in such a scarcity; and gaue the charge of carrying them backe to Diitrephes, with command as he went along those Coasts, (for his way was through the \*Euripus) if occasion serued, to do somewhat against the Enemy. He accordingly landed them by Tanagra, and hastily D fetched in some small booty. Then going ouer the Euripus from Chalcis in Euboea, he disbarqued againe in Boeotia, and led his Souldiers towards Mycalessus, and lay all night at the Temple of Mercury vndiscovered, which is distant from Mycalessus about sixteene furlongs. The next day he commeth to the City, being a very great one, and taketh it. For they kept no Watch, nor expected that any man would haue come in and assaulted them, so farre from the Sea. Their Wallles also were but weakke, in some places faine downe, and in others low built, and their Gates open through security. The Thracians entering into Mycalessus, spoiled both Houses and Temples, slew the people, without

The Thracians sent backe in their way sacke the citie of Mycalessus.

\* The straight betwene Euboea and Boeotia.

The barbarous cruelty of the Thracians.



without mercy on old or young, but killed all they could A  
light on, both women and children, yea, and the labour-  
ing Cattell, and whatsoever other living thing they saw.  
For the Nation of the *Thracians*, where they dare, are ex-  
treme bloody, equall to any of the *Barbarians*. Inasmuch  
as there was put in practise at this time, besides other dis-  
order, all formes of slaughter that could be imagined.  
They likewise fell vpon the Schoolehouse (which was  
in the Citie a great one, and the children newly entred into  
it) and killed them euery one. And the calamity of the  
whole City, as it was as great as euer befell any, so also B  
was it more vnexpected, and more bitter. The *Thebans*  
hearing of it, came out to helpe them; and ouertaking  
the *Thracians* before they were gone farre, both recouered  
the booty, and chased them to the *Euripus*, and to the Sea,  
where the Gallies lay that brought them. Some of them  
they killed, of those most, in their going aboard. For  
swimme they could not; and such as were in the small  
Boats, when they saw how things went a-land, had thrust  
off their Boats; and lay without the *Euripus*. In the rest  
of the retreat, the *Thracians* behaued themselues not vn- C  
handsomely, against the *Theban* Horsmen, by whom  
they were charged first; but running out, and againe ral-  
lying themselues in a circle, according to the manner of  
their Countrey, defended themselues well, and lost but few  
men in that action. But some also they lost in the City  
it selfe, whilest they stayed behind for pillage. But in the  
whole, of 1300, there were slaine, onely 250. Of the *The-  
bans* and others that came out to helpe the Citie, there were  
slaine Horsmen, and men of Armes, one with another, a-  
bout 20, and amongst them *Scirphondas* of *Thebes*, one of D  
the Gouvernours of *Boetia*. And of the *Mycalians*  
there perished a part. Thus went the matter at *Myca-  
lessu*, the losse which it receiued, being for the quantity of  
the City, no lesse to be lamented, then any that happened  
in the whole Warre.

*Demosthenes* going from *Corcyra*, after his fortifying in  
*Laconia*, found a Ship lying in *Phia* of *Eliu*, and in her cer-  
taine men of Armes of *Corinth*, ready to goe into *Sicily*.  
The Ship he sunke, but the men escaped; and after-  
wards getting another Shippe, went on in their E  
voyage.

After

A After this, *Demosthenes* being about *Zacynthus*, and *Ce-  
phallenia*, tooke aboard their men of Armes, and sent to  
*Naupactus* for the *Messenians*. From thence he crossed o-  
uer to the Continent of *Acarmania*, to *Alycia*, and *Anastor-  
ium*, which belonged to the *Athenians*. Whilest he was  
in these parts, he met with *Eurymedon* out of *Sicily*, that  
had been sent in Winter vnto the Army with commodi-  
ties, who told him amongst other things, how he had  
heard by the way, after he was at Sea, that the *Syracusians*  
had wonne *Plemmyrium*. Conon also the Capitaine of *Na-  
pactus* came to them, and related, that the 25 Gallies of  
*Corinth* that lay before *Naupactus*, would not giue ouer  
Warre, and yet delayed to fight, and therefore desired to  
haue some Gallies lent him, as being vnable with his  
18 to giue battell to 25 of the enemy. Whereupon *De-  
mosthenes* and *Eurymedon* sent 20 Gallies more to those at  
*Naupactus*, the nimblest of the whole Fleet, by Conon him-  
selfe; And went themselues about furnishing of what  
belonged to the Army. Of whom *Eurymedon* went to  
*Corcyra*, & hauing appointed the there to man 15 Gallies,  
C leuyed men of Armes; for now giuing ouer his course to *A-  
thens*, he ioyned with *Demosthenes*; as hauing been elected  
with him, in the charge of Generall; and *Demosthenes*  
tookey vp Slingers and Darters, in the parts about *Acar-  
mania*.

The Ambassadors of the *Syracusians*, which after the  
taking of *Plemmyrium*, had been sent vnto the Cities about  
hauing now obtained, and leuyed an Army amongst  
them, were conducting the same to *Syracuse*. But *Nicias*,  
vpon intelligence thereof, sent vnto such Cities of the *Si-  
cili* as had the passages, and were their Confederates, the  
*Centoripines*, *Halicynaans*, and others, not to suffer the ene-  
my to goe by, but to vnite themselues and stop them; for  
that they would not so much as offer to passe any other  
way, seeing the *Agrigentines* had already denyed them.  
When the \* *Sicilians* were marching, the \* *Siculi*, as the  
*Athenians* had desired them, put themselues in Ambush in  
three seuerall places, and setting vpon them vnawares, and  
ona sodaine, slew about eight hundred of them, and all  
E the Ambassadors, saue onely one, a *Corinthian*, which  
conducted the rest that escaped, being about 1500, to *Sy-  
racuse*.

About

*Eurymedon* cometh to  
*Demosthenes* out of *Sicily*,  
and telleth him of the  
taking of *Plemmyrium*.

*Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*  
leuy forces for *Sicily*.

*Nicias* ouerthroweth the  
new supply going to *Sy-  
racuse* from the neigh-  
bouring Cities, and kil-  
leth 800 of them.

\* *Zacynthus*.  
\* *Zakynthos*.



About the same time, came vnto them, also the ayde of A the *Camarineans*, 500 men of Armes, 300 Darters, and 300 Archers. Also the *Geloans* sent them men for five Gallies, besides 400 Darters, and 200 Horsemen. For now all *Sicily* (except the *Agrigentines*, who were Newtrall) but all the rest, who before stood looking on, came in, to the *Syracusan* side against the *Athenians*. Neuertheless, the *Syracusan*s, after this blow receiued amongst the *Siculi*, held their hands, and assaulted not the *Athenians* for a while.

\*The Continent about Sicily, for there was Demosthenes; and at Corcyra was Eurymedon.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon hauing their Army now ready, crossed ouer from *Corcyra*, and the \* Continent with B the whole Army, to the Promontory of *Lapygia*. From thence they went to the *Cherades*, Ilands of *Lapygia*, and here tooke in certaine *Lapygian* Darters, to the number of 250, of the *Messapian* Nation. And hauing renewed a certaine ancient alliance, with *Arias*, who reigned there, and granted them those Darters, they went thence to *Metapontium*, a City of *Italy*. There by vertue of a League, they got two Gallies, and 200 Darters, which taken aboard, they kept along the Shoare, till they came to the Territory of *Thuria*. Here they found the aduers faction C to the *Athenians* to haue been lately driuen out in a sedition. And because they desired to muster their Army here, that they might see if any were left behind, and perswade the *Thurians* to ioyne with them freely in the War, (and as things stood) to haue for friends and enemies, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, they staied about that in the Territory of the *Thurians*.

The battell by Sea, before *Naupactus*, betweene the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

The *Peloponnesians*, and the rest, who were at the same time in the 25 Gallies that for safegard of the Ships, lay D opposite to the Gallies before *Naupactus*, hauing prepared themselves for battell, and with more Gallies, so as they were little inferiour in number to those of the *Athenians*, went to an Anchor vnder *Erineus* of *Achaia* in *Rhopyca*. The place where they rid, was in forme like a halfe-Moone, and their Land forces they had ready on either side to assit them, both *Corinthians*, and other their Confederates of those parts, embattelled vpon the points of the Promontory, and their Gallies made vp the space betweene, vnder the command of *Polyarches*, a *Corinthian*. Against these, E the *Athenians* came vp, with 33 Gallies from *Naupactus*, commanded by *Dipbilus*. The *Corinthians* at first lay still, but

A but afterwards when they saw their time; and the Signall giuen, they charged the *Athenians*, and the fight began. They held each other to it long. The *Athenians* sunke three Gallies of the *Corinthians*. And though none of their owne were sunke, yet seauen were made vnseruiceable, which hauing encountred the *Corinthian* Gallies a-head, were torne on both sides between the beake and the oares, by the beakes of the *Corinthian* Gallies, made stronger for the same purpose. After they had fought with equall fortune, and so as both sides challenged the victory, (though B yet the *Athenians* were masters of the wrecks, as driuen by the wind into the maine, and because the *Corinthians* came not out to renew the fight) they at length parted. There was no chasing of men that fled, nor a prisoner taken on either side, because the *Peloponnesians* and *Corinthians* fighting neere the Land, easily escaped, nor was there any Gally of the *Athenians* sunke. But when the *Athenians* were gone backe to *Naupactus*, the *Corinthians* presently set vp a Trophie, as victors, in regard that more of the *Athenian* Gallies were made vnseruiceable, than of theirs; and thought C themselves not to haue had the worse, for the same reason that the others thought themselves not to haue had the better. For the *Corinthians* thinke they haue the better, when they haue not much the worse, and the *Athenians* thinke they haue the worse, when they haue not much the better. And when the *Peloponnesians* were gone, and their Armie by Land dissolved, the *Athenians* also set vp a Trophie in *Achaia*, as if the victorie had beene theirs, distant from *Erineus*, where the *Peloponnesians* rid, about twenty Furlongs. This was the successe of that battell by Sea.

D Demosthenes and Eurymedon, after the *Thurians* had put in readinesse to goe with them, 700. men of Armes, and 300. Darters, commanded their Gallies to go along the Coast, to *Corcyra*, and conducted their Land-souldiers, hauing first taken a muster of them all vpon the side of the Riuer *Sycaris*, through the Territory of the *Thurians*. But coming to the Riuer *Hylias*, vpon word sent them from the men of *Corcyra*, that if the Army went thorow their Territory, it should be against their will, they marched downe to the E Sea side, and to the mouth of the Riuer *Hylias*; where they staid all that night, and were met by their Gallies.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon come along the shore of *Italy*, and take vp forces.



The *Syracusians* make ready their Gallies to fight with the *Athenians* there, before the supply came.

Their manner of strengthening their Gallies.

The next day imbarcking, they kept along the shore, and A touched at euery Towne sauing *Locri*, till they arriued at *Petra*, in the Territory of *Rhegium*.

The *Syracusians* in the meane time, vpon intelligence of their comming on, resolued to try againe what they could doe with their Navy, and with their new supply of Landmen, which they had gotten together on purpose, to fight with the *Athenians*, before *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* should arriue. And they furnished their Nauie, both otherwise, according to the aduantages they had learnt in the last battell, and also made shorter the heads of their Gallies, and thereby stronger, and made beakes to them of a great thicknesse, which they also strengthened with rafters fastned to the sides of the Gallies, both within and without, of 6 cubits long, in such manner as the *Corinthians* had armed their Gallies a-head to fight with those before *Naupactus*. For the *Syracusians* made account, that against the *Athenian* Gallies, not so built, but weake before, as not vsing so much to meet the Enemy a-head, as vpon the side, by fetching a compasse, they could not but haue the better; and that so fight in the great Hauens, many Gallies in not much roome, was an aduantage to them, for that vsing to direct encounter; they should breake with their firme and thicke beakes, the hollow and infirme foreparts of the Gallies of their Enemies; and that the *Athenians* in that narrow roome, would want meanes both to goe about, and to goe through them, which was the point of Art they most relied on. For as for their passing through, they would hinder it themselves as much as they could, and for fetching compasse, the straightnesse of the place would not suffer it. And that fighting a-head, which seemed before to be want of skill in the Masters [to doe otherwise,] was it they would now principally make vse of; for in this would bee their principall aduantage. For the *Athenians*, if ouercome, would haue no retiring, but to the Land, which was but a little way off, and little in compasse, neere their owne Campe, and of the rest of the Hauens themselves should be Masters, and the Enemy being prest, could not choose, thronging together into a little roome, and all into one & the same place, but disorder one another, which was indeed the thing that in all their battells by Sea, did the *Athenians* the greatest hurt; hauing not, as the *Syracusians* had,

A had the liberty of the whole Hauens to retire vnto) and to goe about into a place of more roome, they hauing it in their power to set vpon them from the maine Sea, and to retire againe at pleasure, they should neuer be able; especially hauing *Plemmyrium* for enemy, and the Hauens mouth not being large. The *Syracusians* hauing deuised thus much ouer and about their former skill and strength, and far more confident now since the former Battell by Sea, assaulted them both with their Army and with their Navy at once. The Landmen from the City *Gylippus* drew sooner out a B little, and brought them to the Wall of the *Athenians* Campe, vpon the side towards the Citie; and from *Olympieum*, the men of Armes, all that were there, and the Horsemen and light-armed of the *Syracusians*, came vp to the Wall on the other side. And by and by after came sailing forth also the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates. The *Athenians* that thought at first, they would haue made the attempt only with their Landmen, seeing also the Gallies on a sudden comming towards them, were in confusion, and some of them put themselves in order vpon and before the Wall, against those C that came from the Citie, and others went out to meete the Horsemen and Darters, that were comming in great numbers, and with speed from *Olympieum*, and the parts without. Others againe went aboard, and withall came to ayde those ashore; but when the Gallies were manned, they put off, being 75. in number, and those of *Syracuse* about 80. Hauing spent much of the day in charging and retiring, and trying each other, and performed nothing worth the mentioning, saue that the *Syracusians* sunke a D Gallie or two of the *Athenians*, they parted againe, and the Land-souldiers retired at the same time from the Wall of the *Athenian* Campe. The next day the *Syracusians* lay still, without shewing any signe of what they meant to doe. Yet *Nicias* seeing that the Battell by Sea was with equality, and imagining that they would fight againe, made the Capitaines to repaire their Gallies; such as had bene torne, and 2 great Ships to be mored, without those Piles which he had driuen into the Sea before his Gallies, to bee instead of a Hauens inclozed. These Ships he placed about E 2 acres breadth asunder, to the end if any Gally chanced to bee prest, it might safely runne in, and againe

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.



The Athenians and Syracu-  
sans fight againe.

The Stratagem of Arifion,  
a Master of a Gally,

goe safely out at leasure. In performing of this, the *Athe- A*  
*nians* spent a whole day from morning vntill night.

The next day the *Syracusians* assaulted the *Athenians* a-  
gain with the same Forces both by Sea and Land, that  
they had done before, but begunne earlier in the morning,  
and being opposed Fleet against Fleet, they drew out a  
great part of the day, now againe, as before, in attempting  
vpon each other without effect. Till at last *Arifion*  
the sonne of *Pyrrhichus*, a *Corinthian*, the most expert Ma-  
ster that the *Syracusians* had in their Fleet, perswaded the  
Commanders of the Nauie, to send to such in the Citie as B  
it belonged to, and command that the Market should bee  
speedily kept at the Sea-side, and to compell every man to  
bring thither whatsoeuer hee had fit for meate, and there  
to sell it, that the Mariners disbarking, might presently  
dine by the Gallies sides, and quickly againe vlooked-  
for, assault the *Athenians* afresh the same day.

This aduice being liked, they sent a Messenger, and the  
Market was furnished. And the *Syracusians* suddenly row-  
ed a-sterne, towards the Citie, and disbarking, dined there-  
right on the shore. The *Athenians* supposing they had C  
retired towards the Citie, as vanquished, landed at leasure,  
and amongst other businesse, went about the dressing of  
their dinner, as not expecting to haue fought againe the  
same day. But the *Syracusians* suddenly going aboard, came  
towards them againe. And the *Athenians* in great tu-  
mult, and for the most part vndined, imbarking disorderly,  
at length with much adoe went out to meete them. For  
a while they held their hands on both sides, and  
but obserued each other; But anon after, the *Athenians*  
thought not fit by longer dallying, to ouercome them- D  
selues with their owne labour, but rather to fight as soone  
as they could; and thereupon at once with a ioynt shour,  
charged the Enemy, and the fight began. The *Syracusians*  
receiued and resisted their charge; and fighting, as  
they had before determined, with their Gallies head to  
head with those of the *Athenians*, and provided with beakes  
for the purpose, brake the Gallies of the *Athenians* very  
much, between the heads of the Gallies and the oares. The  
*Athenians* were also annoyed much by the Darters from the  
Deckes, but much more by those *Syracusians*, who going a- E  
bout in small Boats, passed vnder the rowes of the Oares  
to

A of the Enemies Gallies, and comming close to their sides,  
threw their Darts at the Mariners from thence.

The *Syracusians* hauing fought in this manner with the  
vntmost of their strength, in the end gat the victory, and  
the *Athenians*, betweene the two *Ships*, escaped into their  
harbour. The *Syracusan* Gallies chased them as farre as  
to those *Ships*, but the *Dolphins* hanging from the Masts  
ouer the entrance of the harbour, forbad them to follow  
any further. Yet there were two Gallies, which vpon a  
iollity after victory approached them, but were both lost,  
B of which one with her men and all was taken. The *Syr-*  
*acusians*, after they had sunke seuen Gallies of the *Atheni-*  
*ans*, and torne many more, and of the men had taken some  
aliue, and killed others, retired, and for both the battels  
erected Trophies, and had already an assured hope, of be-  
ing farre superiour by Sea, and also made account to sub-  
due the Army by Land. And they prepared to assault  
them againe in both kindes.

In the meane time *Demosthenes*, and *Eurymedon* arriued  
with the *Athenian* supply, being about 73 Gallies, and men  
C of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates about  
5000. Besides Darters, as well *Barbarians* as *Greekes*, not  
a few, and Slingers, and Archers, and all other prou-  
ision sufficient. For the present, it not a little daunted the  
*Syracusians* and their Confederates, to see no end of their  
danger, and that notwithstanding the fortifying in *Declea*,  
another Army should come now, equall, and like vnto  
their former, and that their power should be so great in  
euery kind. And on the other side, it was a kind of streng-  
thening after weakenesse, to the *Athenian* Army that was  
D there before. *Demosthenes*, when hee saw how things  
stood, and thinking it vnfit to loyter, and fall into *Nicias* his  
case (For *Nicias*, who was formidable at his first com-  
ming, when he set not presently vpon *Syracuse*, but Win-  
tered at *Catana*, both grew into contempt, and was preuen-  
ted also by the comming of *Gylippus* thither, with an Ar-  
my out of *Peloponnesus*. The which if *Nicias* had gone a-  
gainst *Syracuse* at first, had neuer been so much as sent for.  
For supposing themselves to haue been strong enough a-  
lone, they had at once both found themselves too weak,  
E and the City been enclosed with a Wall, whereby though  
they had sent for it, it could not haue helped them, as it  
did)

The *Syracusan* haue the  
victory.

*Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*,  
with a new Army  
arriue at *Syracuse*.



*Demosthenes attempted to win the Wall which the Syracusians had built through Epipole, to exclude the proceeding of the Wall of the Athenians.*

did) *Demosthenes* I say considering this, and that he also, A  
euen at the present, and the same day was most terrible to  
the enemy, intended with all speed to make vse of this pre-  
sent terriblest of the Army. And hauing obserued  
that the Crosse-wall of the *Syracusians*, wherewith they  
hindred the *Athenians* from enclosing the Citie, was but  
single, and that if they could be Masters of the ascent to  
*Epipole*, and againe of the Campe there, the same might  
easily be taken, (for none would haue stood against  
them) hasted to put it to triall, and thought it his shor-  
test way to the dispatching of the Warre. For either he B  
should haue successe, he thought, and so winne *Syracuse*,  
or he would lead away the Army, and no longer without  
purpose consume, both the *Athenians* there with him, and  
the whole State. The *Athenians* therefore went out, and  
first wasted the Territory of the *Syracusians*, about the Ri-  
uer *Anapus*, and were the stronger as at first, both by Sea  
and Land. For the *Syracusians* durst neither way goe out  
against them, but onely with their Horsemen and Dar-  
ters from *Olympieum*.

After this, *Demosthenes* thought good to try the Wall, C  
which the *Athenians* had built to enclose the City withall,  
with Engines, but seeing the Engines were burnt by the  
Defendants fighting from the Wall, and that hauing as-  
faulted it in diuers parts with the rest of his army, he was,  
notwithstanding put backe, he resolved to spend the time  
no longer, but (hauing gotten the consent of *Nicias*, and the  
rest in Commission, thereunto) to put in execution his de-  
signe for *Epipole*, as was before intended. By day, it was  
thought impossible not to be discouered, either in their ap-  
proach, or in their ascent. Hauing therefore first com- D  
manded to take fide dayes prouision of Victuall, and all  
the Masons and Workmen, as also store of Casting Wea-  
pons, and whatsoeuer they might need, if they ouercame,  
for Fortification, He, and *Eurymedon*, and *Menander*, with  
the whole Army, marched about midnight to *Epipole*, lea-  
uing *Nicias* in the Campe. Being come to *Epipole* at *Euryalus* (where also the Army went vp before) they were  
not onely not discouered by the *Syracusians* that kept the  
Watch, but ascending, tooke a certaine Fortification of  
the *Syracusians* there, and killed part of them that kept it. E  
But the greatest number escaping, ranne presently to the  
Campe,

A Campe, of which there were in *Epipole* three walled a-  
bout, without the City, one of *Syracusians*, one of other *Si-*  
*cilians*, and one of Confederates, and carried the newes of  
their comming in, and told it to those 600 *Syracusians* that  
kept this part of *Epipole* at the first, who presently went  
forth to meet them. But *Demosthenes* and the *Athenians*  
lighting on them, though they fought valiantly, put them  
to flight, and presently marched on, making vse of the  
present heat of the Army, to finish what he came for, be-  
fore it were too late. And others going on, in their first  
B course tooke the Crosse-wall of the *Syracusians*, they flying  
that kept it, and were throwing downe the Battlements  
thereof. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, and *Gy-*  
*lippus*, and those with him, came out to meet them, from  
their Campe, but because the attempt was vnexpected,  
and in the night, they charged the *Athenians* timorously,  
and were euen at first forced to retire. But as the *Athenians*  
aduanced more out of order, chiefly as hauing already got-  
ten the victory, but desiring also, quickly to passe through  
all that remained yet vnfoughten with, (left through  
C their remissenesse in following, they might againe rally  
themselues,) the *Boeotians* withstood them first, and char-  
ging, forced them to turne their backs. And here the *A-*  
*thenians* were mightily in disorder, and perplexed, so that  
it hath been very hard to be informed of any side, in what  
manner each thing passed. For if in the day time,  
when things are better seene, yet they that are present  
cannot tell how all things goe, saue onely what euery man  
with much adoe seeth neere vnto himselfe: How then  
in a battell by night, (the onely one that hapned betweene  
D great Armies in all this Warre) can a man know any thing  
for certaine? For though the Moone shined bright, yet  
they saw one another no otherwise then (as by Moone-  
light was likely) so as to see a body, but not be sure  
whether it were a friend, or not. And the men of Armes  
on both sides being not a few in number, had but little  
ground to turne in. Of the *Athenians*, some were already  
ouercome, others went on in their first way. Also a  
great part of the rest of the Army was already part got-  
ten vp, and part ascending, and knew not which way to  
E march; For after the *Athenians* once turned their backs,  
all before them was in confusion, and it was hard to  
distinguish



distinguish of any thing for the noyse. For the *Syracusians* A and their Confederates preuailing, encouraged each other, and receiued the assailants with exceeding great shouts, (for they had no other meanes in the night to expresse themselves.) And the *Athenians* fought each other, and tooke for Enemies all before them, though friends, and of the number of those that fled. And by often asking the word, there being no other meanes of distinction, all asking at once, they both made a great deale of stirre amongst themselves, and reuealed the word to the Enemy. But they did not in like manner know the word of the *Syracusians*, because these, being victorious, and vndistracted, knew one another better. So that when they lighted on any number of the Enemy, though they themselves were more, yet the Enemy escaped, as knowing the Watchword; but they, when they could not answer, were slaine. But that which hurt them most, was the tune of the \* *Pæan*, which being in both Armies the same, draue them to their wits end. For the *Argives* and *Coreyrians*, and all other of the *Dorique* Race on the *Athenians* part, when they sounded the *Pæan*, terrified the *Athenians* on one side, and the Enemy terrified them with the like on the other side. Wherefore at the last falling one vpon another in diuers parts of the Armie, friends against friends, and Countrey men against Countrey men, they not onely terrified each other, but came to hand-strokes, and could hardly againe be parted.

As they fled before the Enemy, the way of the descent from *Epipolæ*, by which they were to goe backe, being but strait, many of them threw themselves downe from the Rockes, and dyed so: and of the rest that gat downe safely into the Plaine, though the greatest part, and all that were of the old Armie, by their knowledge of the Countrey escaped into the Campe, yet of these that came last, some lost their way, and straying in the Fields, when the day came on, were cut off by the *Syracusan* Horsemen that ranged the Countrey about.

The next day the *Syracusians* erected two Trophies, one in *Epipolæ* at the ascent, and another, where the first checke was given by the *Boeotians*. The *Athenians* receiued their dead vnder Truce, and many there were that dyed, both of themselves and of their Confederates. But the Armes taken,

\* A Hymne with Trumpets or other loud musique, both before and after battails.

The *Athenians* fly.

A taken, were more then for the number of the slaine: for of such as were forced to quit their Bucklers, and leape downe from the Rockes, though some perished, yet some there also were that escaped.

After this, the *Syracusians* hauing by such vnlooked for prosperity recovered their former courage, sent *Sicanus* with fiftene Gallies to *Agrirentum* being in sedition, to bring that Citie if they could to their obedience. And *Gylippus* went againe to the *Sicilian* Cities by Land, to raise yet another Army, as being in hope to take the Campe of the *Athenians* by assault, considering how the matter had gone in *Epipolæ*.

In the meane time the *Athenian* Generals went to Councell vpon their late ouerthrow, and present general weaknesse of the Army. For they saw, not onely that their designs prospered not, but that the Souldiers also were weary of staying. For they were troubled with sickness, proceeding from a double cause; this being the time of the yeere most obnoxious to diseases, and the place where they lay, moorish and noysome. And all things else appeared desperate.

*Demosthenes* thought fit to stay no longer; and since the execution of his Designe at *Epipolæ* had failed, deliuered his opinion for going out of the Hauens whilest the Seas were open, and whilest, at least with this addition of Gallies, they were stronger then the Army of the Enemy. For it was better, hee said, for the Citie to make Warre vpon those which fortifie against them at home, then against the *Syracusians*, seeing they cannot now be easily overcome; and there was no reason why they should spend much money in lying before the City. This was the opinion of *Demosthenes*.

*Nicias*, though he also thought their estate bad, yet was vnwilling to haue their weaknesse discouered, and by decreeing of their departure openly with the Votes of many, to make knowne the same to the enemy. For if at any time they had a minde to bee gone, they should then bee lesse able to doe it secretly. Besides, the estate of the Enemy, in as much as hee vnderstood it better then the rest, put him into some hope that it might yet grow worse then their owne, in case they pressed the Siege, especially being already Masters of the Sea, farre and neere, with their present Fleet. There was moreover a party

LII

The *Syracusians* send for more supplies, and hope to winne the *Athenian* Campe.

The *Athenian* Commanders take counsell what to doe.

The advice of *Demosthenes*.

for



The opinion of Nicias.

for the Athenians in Syracuse that desired to betray the A State into their hands, and that sent messengers vnto him, and suffered him not to rise and be gone. All which hee knowing, though hee were intruth doubtfull what opinion to be of, and did yet consider, neuerthelesse openly in his speech, hee was against the withdrawing of the Armie, and said, *That he was sure, the People of Athens would take it ill, if hee went thence without their order: For that they were not to haue such Iudges, as should giue sentence vpon their owne sight of things done, rather then vpon the report of Calumniators, but such as would beleue whatsoeuer some fine speaker should accuse them of. That many, nay most of the Souldiers heere, who now cry out vpon their misery, will there cry out on the contrary, and say the Generals haue betrayed the State, and come away for a bribe. That hee would not therefore, knowing the nature of the Athenians so well, chuse to bee put to death unjustly, and charged with a dishonourable crime by the Athenians, rather then, if he must needs doe one, to suffer the same at the hand of the Enemy by his owne aduenture. And yet, he said, the State of the Syracusians was still inferiour to their owne: For paying much money to strangers, and laying out much more on Forts without and about the Citie, hauing also had a great Nauie a yeere already in pay, they must needs want money at last, and all these things faile them. For they haue spent already two thousand Talents, and are much in debt besides. And whensoever they shall giue ouer this course, and make pay no longer, their strength is gone, as being auxiliary, and not constrained to follow the Warre, as the Athenians are. Therefore it was fit, he said, to stay close to the Citie, and not to goe away, as if they were too weake in money, wherein they were much superiour.*

Nicias, when he spake this, assured them of it, as knowing the state of Syracuse precisely; and their want of money; and that there were some that desired to betray the Citie to the Athenians, and sent him word not to goe. Withall hee had now confidence in the Fleet, which, as being before overcome, he had not. As for lying where they did, Demosthenes would by no means heare of it. But if the Armie might not be carried away without order from the Athenians, but must needs stay in Sicily, then he said they might goe to Thapsus, or Catana, from whence by their Land men they might inuade, and turne

A turne much of the Countrey to them, and wasting the Fields of the Enemies, weaken the Syracusians, and bee to fight with their Gallies in the maine Sea, and not in a narrow (which is the aduantage of the Enemy) but in a wide place, where the benefit of skill should bee theirs, and and where they should not be forced in charging and rettyring, to come vp, and fall off in narrow and circumscribed limits. In summe he said, he by no meanes liked to stay where they were, but with all speed, no longer delaying the matter, to arise and be gone. Eurymedon also gaue the B like counsell. Neuerthelesse vpon the contradiction of Nicias, there grew a kind of sloth and procrastination in the businesse, and a suspicion withall, that the asseueration of Nicias, was grounded on somewhat that he knew about the rest, and therevpon the Athenians deferred their going thence, and stayed vpon the place.

In the meane time Gylippus and Sycanus returned vnto Syracuse. Sicanus without his purpose at Agrigenu (for whilest he was yet in Gela, the sedition which had beene raised in the behalfe of the Syracusians was turned into friendship,) C but Gylippus not without another great Army out of Sicily, besides the men of Armes, which hauing set forth from Peloponnesus in Ships the Spring before, were then lately arriued at Selinus from out of Africke. For hauing beene driuen into Africke, and the Cyreneans hauing giuen them two Gallies with Pilots, in passing by the shore they ayded the Euesperine, besieged by the Africans, and hauing overcome the Africans, they went on to Neapolis, a Towne of traffique belonging to the Carthaginians, where the passage into Sicily is shortest, and but two dayes and a nights faile D ouer. And from thence they crossed the Sea to Selinus. As soone as they were come, the Syracusians againe presently prepared to set vpon the Athenians, both by Sea and Land. The Athenian Generals seeing them haue another Armie, and their owne not bettering, but growing every day worse then other, but especially as being pressed to it by the sicknesse of the Souldiers, repented now that they removed not before; and Nicias being now no longer against it, as he was, but desirous onely that it might not be concluded openly, gaue order vnto all, as secretly as was possible, E to put forth of the Harbour, and to be ready, when the signe should be giuen.

Gylippus returneth with another Armie from the Cities of Sicily.



The Athenians out of superstition forbore to venture, because of an eclipse of the Moone.

The Syracusians assault the Athenian Campe with their Land-souldiers.

But when they were about it, and every thing was ready, the Moone hapned to be eclipsed. For it was full Moone. And not onely the greatest part of the Athenians called vpon the Generals to stay, but Nicias also (for hee was addicted to superstition, and obseruations of that kind somewhat too much) said, that it should come no more into debate, whether they should goe or not, till the three times nine dayes were past, which the Southfayers appoint in that behalfe. And the Athenians, though vpon going, stayed still for this reason.

The Syracusians also, hauing intelligence of this, were encouraged vnto the pressing of the Athenians much the more, for that they confessed themselues already too weake for them, both by Sea and Land; for else they would neuer haue sought to haue runne away.

Besides, they would not haue them sit downe in any other part of Sicily, and become the harder to be warred on; but had rather there-right, and in a place most for their owne aduantage, compell them to fight by Sea. To which end they manned their Gallies, and after they had rested as long as was sufficient, when they saw their time, the first day they assaulted the Athenians Campe, and some small number of men of Armes, and Horsemen of the Athenians sallied out against them by certaine Gates, and the Syracusians intercepting some of the men of Armes, beat them backe into the Campe. But the entrance being strait, there were 70 of the Horsemen lost, and men of Armes some, but not many.

The Syracusians overcome the Athenians againe by Sea.

The next day, they came out with their Gallies, 76 in number, and the Athenians set forth against them with 86; and being come together, they fought. Eurymedon had charge of the Right Wing of the Athenians, and desiring to encompassse the Gallies of the Enemies, drew forth his owne Gallies in length more toward the shoare; and was cut off by the Syracusians, that had first overcome the middle battell of the Athenians from the rest, in the bottome and inmost part of the Hauen; and both slaine himselfe, and the Gallies that were with him lost. And that done, the rest of the Athenian Fleet was also chased and driuen ashore.

Gylippus, when he saw the Navy of the Enemy vanquished, and carried past the Piles, and their owne Harbour,

A boue, came with a part of his Armie to the peece, to kill such as landed, and to cause that the Syracusians might the easilier pull the Enemies Gallies from the shore, whereof themselves were Masters. But the Tuscans, who kept guard in that part for the Athenians, seeing them comming that way in disorder, made head, and charging these first, forced them into the Marish, called *Lysimelia*. But when afterwards a greater number of the Syracusians and their Confederates came to helpe them, then also the Athenians, to helpe the Tuscans, and for feare to lose their Gallies, fought with them, and hauing overcome them, pursued them, and not onely slew many of their men of Armes, but also saued the most of their Gallies, and brought them backe into the Harbour. Neuerthelessse the Syracusians tooke eightene, and slew the men taken in them. And amongst the rest, they let driue before the Wind, (which blew right vpon the Athenians) an old Ship, full of Faggots and Brands set on fire, to burne them: The Athenians on the other side, fearing the losse of their Nauie, deuised remedies for the fire, and hauing quenched the flame, and kept the Shippe from comming neere, escaped that danger.

After this the Syracusians set vp a Trophie both for the Battell by Sea, and for the men of Armes which they intercepted aboue before the Campe, where also they rooke the Horses. And the Athenians erected a Trophie likewise, both for the flight of those Footmen, which the Tuscans draue into the Marish; and for those which they themselues put to flight with the rest of the Armie.

When the Syracusians had now manifestly overcome their Fleet (for they feared at first the supply of Gallies that came with Demosthenes) the Athenians were in good earnest vterly out of heart. And as they were much deceived in the event, so they repented more of the Voyage. For hauing come against these Cities, the onely ones that were for institution like vnto their owne, and gouerned by the People, as well as themselues, and which had a Nauie, and Horses, and greatnesse, seeing they could create no dissention amongst them, about change of gouernment; to winnie them that way, nor could subdue it with the greatnesse of their Forces, when they were fatte the stronger; but misprospered in most of their designs, they were then at their wits

The Athenians desisted, and repented of the voyage.



The *Syracusians* intend to keepe in the *Athenians*, & reckon upon the glory of a full victory.

wits end. But now, when they were also vanquished by A Sea (which they would neuer haue thought) they were much more dejected then euer.

The *Syracusians* went presently about the Haven without feare, and meditated how to shut vp the same, that the *Athenians* might not steale away without their knowledge, though they would. For now they studied not onely how to saue themselves, but how to hinder the safety of the *Athenians*. For the *Syracusians* conceiued (not vtruelly) that their owne strength was at this present the greater, and that if they could vanquish the *Athenians*, B and their Confederates, both by Sea and Land, it would be a mastery of great honour to them, amongst the rest of the *Grecians*. For all the rest of *Greece* should be one part freed by it, and the other part out of feare of subiecti- on hereafter. For it would be vnpossible for the *Atheni- ans*, with the remainder of their strength to sustaine the Warre that would be made vpon them afterwards; and they being reputed the authors of it, should be had in admiration, not only with all men now liuing, but also with posterity. And to say truth, it was a worthy Mastery, C both for the causes shewne, and also for that they became Victors not of the *Athenians* onely, but many others their Confederates, nor againe they themselves alone, but their Confederates also, hauing been in ioynt command with the *Corinthians* and *Lacedemonians* and both exposed their City to the first hazard, and of the busines by Sea performed the greatest part themselves.

The Nations that were at the Warres of *Syracuse* on one side or other.

The greatest number of Nations, except the generall Roll of those which in this Warre adhered to *Athens*, and D *Lacedemon*, were together at this one City; And this number on both sides, against *Sicilie*, and for it, some to helpe winne, and some to helpe saue it, came to the Warre at *Syracuse*, not on any pretence of right, nor as kindred to aid kindred, but as profit or necessity seuerally chanced to induce them. The *Athenians* being *Ionique* went against the *Syracusians* that be *Dorique*, voluntarily. With these, as being their Colonies, went the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians*, and the *Æginetæ*, that dwelt in *Ægina* then; all of the same language and institutions with themselves.

*Athenians*.

*Lemnians*. *Imbrians*.

*Æginetæ*.

*Hesians* of *Eubœa*.

Also the *Hesians* of *Eubœa*. Of the rest, some went with

E

A with them as their subiects, and some as their free Confederates, and some also hired. Subiects and Tributaries, as the *Eretrians*, *Chalcidians*, *Syrians*, and *Carystians*, from *Eubœa*. *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, from out of the Ilands. *Mileians*, *Samians*, and *Chians*, from *Ionie*. Of these the *Chians* followed them as free, not as tributaries of money, but of Gallies. And these were almost all of them *Ionians*, descended from the *Athenians*, except onely the *Carystians*, that are of the Nation of the *Drjopes*. And though they were subiects and went vpon constraint, yet they B were *Ionians* against *Dorians*. Besides these, there went with them *Æolians*, namely the *Methymnæans*, subiects to *Athens*, not tributaries of money, but of Gallies, & the *Tenedians* and *Ænians* tributaries. Now here, *Æolians* were constrained to fight against *Æolians*, namely against their Founders the *Boeotians*, that tooke part with the *Syracusians*. But the *Plataeans*, and onely they, being *Boeotians*, fought against *Boeotians* vpon iust quarrell. The *Rhodians* and *Cytherians* Dorique both, by constraint, bore Armes one of them, namely the *Cytherians* a Colony of the *Lacedemonians* with the *Athenians*, against the *Lacedemonians* that were with C *Gylippus*; and the other, that is to say, the *Rhodians*; being by descent *Argiues*, not onely against the *Syracusians*, who were also *Dorique*, but against their owne Colony the *Gelans* which tooke part with the *Syracusians*. Then of the Ilanders about *Peloponnesus*, there went with them the *Cephallenians*, and *Zaibyrians*; not but that they were free States, but because they were kept in awe as Ilanders by the *Athenians* who were masters of the Sea. And the *Corcyraens*, being not only *Dorique*, but *Corinthians*, fought openly D against both *Corinthians* and *Syracusians*, though a Colony of the one, and of kin to the other: which they did necessarily (to make the best of it) but indeed no lesse willingly, in respect of their hatred to the *Corinthians*. Also the *Messenians* now so called, in *Naupactus*, were taken along to this Warre, and the *Messenians* at *Pylos* then holden by the *Athenians*. Moreover the *Megarean* Out-laws though not many, by advantage taken of their misery, were faine to fight against the *Sclimitians*, that were *Megareans* likewise. But now the rest of their Army was E ther voluntary. The *Argiues* not so much for the *Boeotians*, as for their enmity with the *Lacedemonians* and their present

*Eretrians*, *Chalcidians*, *Syrians*, *Carystians*, *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, *Mileians*, *Samians*, *Chians*.

*Methymnæans*, *Tenedians*, *Ænians*.

*Plataeans*, *Rhodians* and *Cytherians*.

*Cephallenians*, *Zaibyrians*.

*Corcyraens*.

*Messenians*.

*Megareans*.

*Argiues*.



Mantineans and other Arcadians.

Cretans, Etolians.

Acaruanians.

Thurians, Metapontians, Naxians, Cataneans, Egesteans.

Tuscan, Iapygians.

Syracusians, Camarinians.

Himerians.

Siculi.

Lacedaemonians, who were formerly made free, or accounted among the people, Corinthians, Leucadians, Ambraciotes, Arcadian Mercenaries, Sicyonians.

sent particular spleene, followed the Athenians to the Warre **A** though Ionique, against Dorians. And the Mantineans and other Arcadian Mercenaries went with him, as men accustomed euer to invade the enemy shewed them, and now for gaine, had for enemies as much as any those other Arcadians which went thither with the Corinbians. The Cretans, and Etolians were all Mercenary, and it fell out, that the Cretans, who together with the Rhodians were Founders of Gela, not onely tooke not part with their Colony, but fought against it willingly for their hire. And some Acarnanians also went with them for gaine, but **B** most of them went as Confederates, in loue to Demosthenes, and for good will to the State of Athens. And thus many, within the bound of the Ionian Gulfe. Then of Italians fallen into the same necessity of seditious times, there went with them to this Warre, the Thurians, and Metapontians. Of Greeke Sicilians, the Naxians and Cataneans. Of Barbarian, the Egesteans, who also drew with them the most of those Greeke Sicilians. Without Sicily, there went with them some Thuscans, vpon quarrels betwene them and the Syracusians; and some Iapygian Mercenaries. These were the Nations that followed the Army of the Athenians. **C**

On the other side, there opposed them, on the part of the Syracusians, the Camarinians their borderers. And beyond them againe the Gelans. And then (the Agrigentines not stirring) beyond them againe the same way, the Selinuntians. These inhabite the part of Sicily, that lyeth opposite to Africke. Then the Himerians, on the side that lyeth to the Terren sea, where dwel only Grecians, of which, these also onely ayded them. These were their Confederates of the Greeke Nation, within Sicily, all Doreans and free States. **D** Then of the Barbarians there, they had the Siculi, all but what revolted to the Athenians. For Grecians without Sicily, the Lacedaemonians sent them a Spartan Commander, with some Helotes and the rest \* Freed-men. Then ayded them, both with Gallies and with Land-men the Corinbians onely; and for kindreds sake the Leucadians, and Ambraciotes. Out of Arcadia, those Mercenaries sent by the Corinbians. And Sicyonians on constraint. And from without Peloponnesus, the Boeotians. To the forraigne aydes the Sicilians themselves, as being great Cities, added more **E**

A more in euery kinde then as much againe; for they got together men of Armes, Gallies and Horses, great store, and other number in abundance. And to all these againe the Syracusians themselves, added, as I may say, aboue as much more, in respect of the greatnesse, both of their Citie, and of their danger.

These were the succours assembled on either part, and which were then all there, and after them came no more, neither to the one side nor the other. No manuell then, if the Syracusians thought it a noble mastery, if to the victory **B** by Sea already gotten, they could adde the taking of the whole Athenian Armie, so great as it was, and hinder their escape both by Sea and Land.

Presently therefore they fall in hand with stopping vp the mouth of the great Hauen; being about eight Furlongs wide, with Gallies laid crosse, and Lighters and Boats vpon their Anchors; and withall prepared whatfoeuer else was necessary, in case the Athenians would hazard another Battell, meditating on no small matters in any **C** thing.

The Athenians seeing the shutting vp of the Hauen, and the rest of the Enemies, designed, thought good to goe to counsell vpon it: and the Generals, and Commanders of Regiments, hauing met, and considered their present want, both otherwise, and in this, that they neither had prouision for the present, (for vpon their resolution to bee gone, they had sent before to Catania, to forbid the sending in of any more) nor were likely to haue for the future, vnlesse their Navy got the vpper hand, they resolved to **D** abandon their Campe aboue, and to take in some place, no greater then needs, they must, neere vnto their Gallies, with a Wall, and leaving some to keepe it, to goe aboard with the rest of the Armie, and to man euery Gallie they had, seruicicable and lesse seruicicable; and hauing caused all sorts of men to goe aboard, and fight it out, if they gat the victory, to goe to Catania; if not, to make their retreat in order of Battell by Land (hauing first set fire on their Navy) at the nearest way vnto some amicable place, either Barbarian or Grecians, that they should best **E** be able to reach vnto before the Enemy. As they had concluded so they did, for they both came downe to the shore

The Syracusians shut vp the Hauens.

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from their Campe aboute, and also manned euery Gallie A they had, and compelled to goe aboard euery man of age, of any ability whatsoeuer. So the whole Nauie was manned, to the number of a hundred and tenne Gallies, vpon which they had many Archers and Darters, both Acarnanians and other strangers, and all things else provided, according to their meanes and purpose. And Nicias, when almost euery thing was ready, perceiuing the Souldiers to bee deiected, for being so farre overcome by Sea, contrary to their cullome, and yet in respect of the scarcity of victuall, desirous as soone as could be to fight, called them B together, and encouraged them then the first time, with words to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

Souldiers, Athenians, and other our Confederates, though the tryall at hand will be common to all alike, and will concerne the safety and Countrey, no lesse of each of vs, then of the Enemy: (For if our Gallies get the victory, we may euery one see C his native Citie againe) yet ought wee not to bee discouraged, like men of no experience, who failing in their first aduentures, euer after carry a feare iutable to their misfortunes. But you Athenians heere present, hauing had experience already of many Wars, and you our Confederates, that haue alwayes gone along with our Armies, remember how often the euent falleth out otherwise in Warre, then one would thinke; and in hope that Fortune will once also be of our side, prepare your selues to fight againe, in such manner as shall be worthy the number you see your selues to bee. What we thought would be helpes in the narrownesse of the Haues, against D such a multitude of Gallies as will be there, and against the prouision of the Enemy vpon their Deckes, whereby wee were formerly annoyed, we haue with the Masters now considered them all, and as well as our present meanes will permit, made them ready. For many Archers and Darters shall goe aboard, and that multitude, which if wee had bene to fight in the maine Sea, we would not haue rosed, because by slugging the Gallies, it would take away the vse of Skill, will neuertheless be usefull heere, where wee are forced to make a Land-fight from our Gallies. Wee haue also deuised, instead of what should E haue bene provided for in the building of our Gallies, against

A against the thickeesse of the beakes of theirs, which did most hurt vs, to lash their Gallies vnto ours with Iron Grapuels, whereby (if the men of Armes doe their part) wee may keepe the Gallies which once come close vp, from falling backe againe. For we are brought to a necessity now, of making it a Land-fight vpon the Water; and it will be the best for vs, neither to fall backe our selues, nor to suffer the Enemy to doe so. Especially, when except what our men on Land shall make good, the shore is altogether hostile. Which you remembring, must therefore fight it out to the vtmost, and not suffer your selues to bee beaten backe vnto the shore. But when Gallies to Gallies shall B once be close, neuer thinke any cause worthy to make you part, vntlesse you haue first beaten off the men of Armes of the Enemy from their Deckes. And this I speake to you rather, that are the men of Armes, than to the Mariners, in as much as that part belongeth rather vnto you that fight aboute; and in you it lyeth, euen yet to atchieue the Victory for the most part with the Land-men. Now for the Mariners, I aduise, and withall beseech them, not to bee too much daunted with the losses past, hauing now, both a greater number of Gallies, and greater Forces vpon the Deckes. Thinke it a pleasure worth preserving, that being taken by your knowledge of the language, and imitation of our fashions for Athenians, (though you be not so) you are not C only admired for it through all Greece, but also partake of our dominion, in matter of profit, no lesse then our selues; and for awfulnessse to the Nations subiect, and protection from iniury, more. You therefore that alone participate freely of our Dominion, cannot with any iustice betray the same. In despite therefore of the Corinthians, whom you haue often vanquished, and of the Sicilians, who, as long as our Fleet was at the best, durst neuer so much as stand vs, repell them, and make it appeare, that your knowledge, euen with weaknesse and losse, is better then the strength of another, with Fortune. Again, D to such of you as are Athenians, I must remember this, that you haue no more such Fleets in your Harbours, nor such able men of Armes, and that if ought happen to you but victory, your Enemies here will presently bee vpon you at home; and those at home will bee vnable to defend themselves, both against those that shall goe hence, and against the Enemy that lyeth there already. So one part of vs shall fall into the mercy of the Syracusians, against whom you your selues know, with what intent you came hither, and the other part which is at home, shall fall into the hands of the Lacedaemonians. Being therefore in this one battell to fight both for your selues E and them, be therefore valiant now, if euer, & beare in mind euery one of you, that you that goe now aboard, are the Land-forces, the Sea-forces,



the whole estate, and great name of Athens: For which, if A any man excell others in skill or courage, he can neuer shew it more opportunely then now, when he may both helpe himselfe with it, and whole.

Nicias having thus encouraged them, commanded presently to goe aboard.

Gylippus and the Syracusians, might easily discern that the Athenians meant to fight, by seeing their preparation. Besides, they had aduertisement of their purpose to cast Iron Grapnels into their Gallies. And as for every thing B else, so also for that, they had made provision. For they covered the fore-part of their Gallies, and also the Deckes for a great way, with Hydes, that the Grapnels cast in, might slip, and not be able to take hold. When all was ready, Gylippus likewise, and other the Commanders, vsed vnto their Souldiers this hortatiue.

### THE ORATION OF GYLIPPVS, and the Syracusan Generals.

**T**HAT not onely our former acts haue beene honourable, but that wee are to fight now also for further honour, (Men of Syracuse, and Confederates) the most of you seeme to know already (for else you neuer would so valiantly haue undergone it.) And if there be any man that is not so sensible of it as he ought, wee will make it appeare vnto him better. For whereas the Athenians came into this Countrey, with designe, first to enslave Sicily, and then, if that succeeded, Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece. And whereas already they had the greatest dominion of any Grecians whatsoeuer, either present or past, you, the first that euer D withstood their Navy, where with they were every where Masters, haue in the former Battels overcome them, and shall in liklyhood overcome them againe in this. For men that are cut short, where they thought themselves to exceed, become afterwards further out of opinion with themselves, then they would haue beene, if they had neuer thought so. And when they come short of their hope, in things they glory in, they come short also in courage, of the true strength of their forces. And this is likly now to be the case of the Athenians. Whereat with vs, it falleth out, that our former courage, where with, though vnexperienced, we durst stand them, being now confirmed, and an opinion added of being the stronger, giueth to every one of

A of vs a double hope. And in all enterprizes, the greatest hope confereth for the most part the greatest courage. As for their imitation of our provisions, they are things we are acquainted withall, and we shall not in any kinde be vnprovided for them. But they, when they shall haue many men of Armes vpon their Deckes; (being not vsed to it) and many (as I may terme them) \* Land-Darters, both Acarnani-  
ans, and others, who would not be able to direct their Darts, though they should sit, how can they choose but put the Gallies into danger, and be all in confusion amongst themselves, moving in a fashion \* not their owne? As for the number of their Gallies, it will helpe them nothing (if any of you feare also that, as being to fight against oddes in number.) For many in little roomes, are so much the slower to doe what they desire, and easiest to bee annoyed by our munition. But the very truth you shall now vnderstand by these things, whereby we suppose we haue most certaine intelligence.

Overwhelmed with Calamities, and forced by the difficulties which they are in at this present, they are growne desperate, not trusting to their Forces, but willing to put themselves vpon the decision of Fortune, as well as they may, that so they may either goe out by force, or else make their retreat afterward by Land, as men whose estates cannot change into the worse.

C Against such confusion therefore, and against the fortune of our greatest enemies, now betraying it selfe into our hands, let vs fight with anger, and with an opinion, not onely that it is most lawfull, to fulfill our hearts desire vpon those our enemies that iustified their coming hither, as a righting of themselves against an assault; but also so; that to be reuenged on an Enemy, is both most naturall, and, as it is most commonly said, the sweetest thing in the world. And that they are our Enemies; and our greatest Enemies, you all well enough know, seeing them come hither into our dominion, to bring vs into seruitude.

D Wherein if they had sped, they had put the men to the greatest torments, the women and children to the greatest dishonour, and the whole Citty to the most ignominious name in the world. In regard whereof, it is not fit that any of you should be so tender, as to thinke it gaine, if they goe away without putting you to further danger, for so they meane to doe, though they get the victory. But esteeming (as it is likly we shall) what wee intend, both to be reuenged of these, and to deliver vnto all Sicily their liberty, which they enjoyed before, this now is more assured. Honourable is this Combate, and rare are those hazards, wherein the falling bringeth little losse, and the suc-  
cess, a great deale of Profit.

When

\* Land-Darters. Such as being vpon Land, could vse their Darts, but not tossing vpon the water.

\* that is, according to the motion of the Gally, not steadily as vpon Land.

\* viz. the name of Subject.



When *Gylippus*, and the Commanders of the *Syracusians* **A** had in this manner encouraged their Souldiers, they presently put their men aboard, perceiuing the *Athenians* to doe the same.

*Nicias* encourageth his Souldiers anew.

*Nicias* perplexed with this present estate, and seeing how great and how neere the danger was, being now on the point to put forth from the Harbour, and doubting (as in great battels it falleth out) that somewhat in euery kind was still wanting, and that he had not yet sufficiently spoken his mind, called vnto him againe, all the Capitaines of Gallies, and spake vnto them euery one by their fathers, **B** their tribes, and their proper names, and entreated euery one of them that had reputation in any kind, not to betray the same; and those whose Ancestors were eminent, not to deface their hereditary vertues; remembring them of their Countreys liberty, and the vnccontrolled power of all men to live as they pleased, and saying whatsoeuer else in such a pinch men are accustomed, not out of their store to \* vtter things stale, and in all occasions the same, touching their *Wives*, *Children*, and *patriall Gods*, but such things as being thought by them auailable in the present discouragement, they **C** vse to cry into their eares. And when he thought he had admonished them not enough, but as much as the time would permit, he went his way, and drew out those forces that were to serue on Land, to the Sea side, and embattelled them so, as they might take vp the greatest length of ground they were able, thereby, so much the more to confirme the courage of them that were aboard. And *Demosthenes*, *Menander*, and *Eudemus*, (for those of the *Athenian* Commanders went aboard) putting forth of the Harbour, went immediately to the Locke of the Hauen, **D** and to the passage that was left open, with intention to force their way out. But the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being out already with the same number of Gallies, they had before disposed part of them to the guard of the open passage, and therest in circle about the Hauen, to the end they might fall vpon the *Athenians* from all parts at once, and that their Land-forces might withall be neere to aide them, whersoever the Gallies touched. In the *Syracusan* Nauy, commanded *Sicanus*, and *Agatharchus*, each of them ouer a Wing, and *Pylben*, with the *Corinthians*, had **E** the middle Battell. After the *Athenians* were come to the

\* *aperçus*, To speake old or stale Sentences.

He prepareth to fight.

**A** the Locke of the Hauen, at the first charge they ouercame the Gallies placed there to guard it, and endeauoured to breake open the barres thereof. But when afterwards the *Syracusians* and Confederates came vpon them from euery side, they fought not at the Locke only, but also in the Hauen it selfe. And the battell was sharpe, and such as there had neuer before been the like. For the courage wherewith the Mariners on both sides brought vp their Gallies to any part they were bidden, was very great, and great was the plotting and counterplotting, and **B** contention one against another of the Masters. Also the Souldiers, when the Gallies boarded each other, did their vtmost to excell each other in all points of skill that could bevsed from the Decks, and euery man in the place assigned him, put himselfe forth to appeare the formost. But many Gallies falling close together in a narrow compasse (for they were the most Gallies that in any battell they had vsed, and fought in the least roome, being little fewer on the one side and the other, then 200.) they rasine against each other, but seldome, because there was no **C** meanes of retiring, nor of passing by, but made assaults vpon each other oftner, as Gally with Gally, either flying, or pursuing, chanced to fall foule. And as long as a Gally was making vp, they that stood on the Decks, vsed their Darts and Arrowes, and Stones in abundance, but being once come close, the Souldiers at hand-strokes attempted to boord each other. And in many places it so fell out, through want of roome, that they which ran vpon a Gally on one side, were runne vpon themselves on the other, and that two Gallies, or sometimes more, were forced **D** to lye aboard of one, and that the Masters were at once to haue a care, not in one place onely, but in many together, how to defend on the one side, and how to offend on the other. And the great noise of many Gallies fallen foule of one another, both amazed them and tooke away their hearing of what their \* *Directions* directed, for they directed thicke and loud on both sides, not onely as **E** required, but out of their present eagernesse, the *Athenians* crying out to theirs, to force the passage, and now if euery valiantly to lay hold vpon their safe returne to their Countrey; and the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, to theirs, how honourable a thing to euery one of them it would be, to hinder

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

\* *adlocutio*



hinder their escape, and by this Victory to improve, every A man, the honour of his owne Country. Moreover, the Commanders of either side where they saw any man without necessity to row a Steme, would call vnto the Captain of the Gally by his name, & aske him, The Athenians, whether he retired, because he thought the most hostile Land to be more their friend then the Sea, which they had so long bene masters of? The Syracusians theirs, whether when they knew that the Athenians desired earnestly by any meanes to flie, they would neuertheless flie from the Flyers? Whilest the Conflict was vpon the Water, the B Land-men had a Conflict and sided with them in their affections. They of the place, contending for increase of the honours they had already gotten, and the Inuaders fearing a worse estate thē they were already in. For the Athenians, who had their whole fortune at stake in their Gallies, were in such a feare of the euent, as they had neuer been in the like; and were thereby of necessity to behold the fight vpon the Water, with very different passions. For the fight was neere, and not looking all of them vpon one and the same part; he that saw their owne side preuaile, tooke heart, and fell to calling vpon the Gods, that they would not deprive them of their safety; and they that saw them haue the worse, not onely lamented, but striked out-right, and had their minds more subdūed by the sight of what was done, then they, that were present in the battell it selfe. Others that looked on some part where the fight was equall, because the contention continued so, as they could make no iudgment on it, with gesture of body on euery occasion, agreeable to their expectation, passed the time in a miserable perplexity. For they were euer within a little C either of escaping, or of perishing. And one might heare in one and the same Army, as long as the fight vpon the Water was indifferent, at one & the same time, Lamentations, Shouts, That they won. That they lost; and whatsoeuer else a great Army, in great danger is forced differently to vtter. They also that were aboard, suffered the same, till at last the Syracusians and their Confederates; after long resistance of the other side, put them to flight, & manifestly pressing, chased them with great clamor & encouragement of their owne, to the Shoare. And the Sea-forces making to the E Shore, some one way, and some another, except only such as were

The diversity of passion  
of them that beheld the  
fight, from the shoare.

The Athenians flye.

A were lost by being far from it, escaped into the Harbour. And the Army that was vpon the Land, no longer now of different passions, with one and the same vehemence, all with shrikes and sighes, vnable to sustaine what befell, ran part to saue the Gallies, part to the defence of the Campe, and the residue, who were far the greatest number, fell presently to consider euery one of the best way to saue himselfe. And this was the time, wherein of all other they stood in greatest feare, and they suffered now, the like to what they had made others to suffer before at Pylus. For B the Lacedaemonians then, besides the losse of their Fleet, lost the men which they had set ouer into the Iland, and the Athenians now (without some accident not to be expected) were out of all hope to saue themselves by Land. After this cruell battell, and many Gallies and men on either side consumed, the Syracusians and their Confederates hauing the victory, tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of their dead, and returning into the City, erected a Trophy. But the Athenians, in respect of the greatnesse of their present losse, neuer thought vpon asking leaue to take vp their dead or wreck, but fell immediately to consultation how to bee gone the same night. And Demosthenes comming vnto Nicias, deliuered his opinion, for going once againe aboard, and forcing the passage, if it were possible, betimes the next morning, saying that their Gallies which were yet remaining, and seruiceable, were more then those of the Enemy. (for the Athenians had yet left them about 60, and the Syracusians vnder 50.) But when Nicias approved the aduice, and would haue manned out the Gallies, the Mariners refused to goe aboard; as being not onely deiected with their defeat, but also without opinion of euer hauing the vpper hand any more. Whereupon they now resolved all, to make their retreat by Land. But Hermocrates of Syracuse suspecting their purpose, and apprehending it as a matter dangerous, that so great an Army going away by Land, and sitting downe in some part or other of Sicily, should there renew the War, repayed vnto the Magistrates, and admonished them, that it was not fit through negligence, to suffer the Enemy in the night time to goe their wayes, (alledging what he thought best to the purpose) but that E all the Syracusians and their Confederates should goe out and fortifie in their way, and prepossesse all the narrow passages

The stratagem of Hermocrates, to hinder the escape of the Athenians.



passages with a guard. Now they were all of them of the same opinion, no lesse then himselfe, and thought it fit to be done, but they concealed withall, that the Souldier now ioyfull, and taking his ease after a fore battell, being also holiday, (for it was their day of sacrifice to *Hercules*) would not easily be brought to obey. For through exccesse of ioy for the victory, they would most of them, being holiday, be drinking, and looke for any thing, rather then to be perswaded at this time to take Armes againe, and goe out. But seeing the Magistrates vpon this consideration thought it hard to be done, *Hermocrates* not preuailing, of his own head contriued this. Fearing lest the *Athenians* should passe the worst of their way in the night, and so at ease out-goe them, as soone as it grew darke, he sent certaine of his friends, and with them certaine Horsemen, to the *Athenian* Campe, who approaching so neere as to be heard speake, called to some of them to come forth, as if they had beene friends of the *Athenians* (for *Nicias* had some within that vsed to giue him intelligence) and bade them to aduise *Nicias* not to dislodge that night, for that the *Syracusians* had beset the waies, but that the next day, hauing had the leasure to furnish their Armie, they might march away. Vpon this aduertisement they abode that night, supposing it had beene without fraud. And afterwards, because they went not presently, they thought good to stay there that day also; to the end that the Souldiers might packe vp their necessities as commodiously as they could, and be gone, leauing all things else behind them, saue what was necessary for their bodies. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, with their land-forces, went out before them, and not only stopped vp the waies in the Countrey about, by which the *Athenians* were likely to passe, and kept a guard at the foords of brookes and riuers, but also stood embattelled to receiue and stop their Army in such places as they thought convenient. And with their Gallies they rowed to the Harbour of the *Athenians*, and towed their Gallies away from the shore, some few whereof they burnt, as the *Athenians* themselves meant to haue done; but the rest at their leasure, as any of them chanced in any place to driue ashore, they afterwards haled into the City. After this, when euery thing seemed vnto *Nicias* and *Demothenes*, sufficiently prepared, they dislodged, being now the third day from their fight by Sea.

It

*Gylippus* goeth out with his Forces, and besets the way.

The *Athenians* march away from before *Syracuse* by Land.

A It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the losse of their whole Fleet, & that in stead of their great hopes, they had endangered both themselves and the State, but also for the dolorous obiects, which were presented both to the eye and minde of euery of them in particular, in the leauing of their Campe. For their dead lying vnburyed, when any one saw his friend on the ground, it strooke him at once, both with feare and griefe. But the liuing that were sicke or wounded, both grieved them more then the dead, and were more miserable. For with intreaties and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to bee taken along by whomsoever they saw of their fellowes or familiars, and hanging on the neckes of their Camerades, and following as farre as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed, that they could goe no further, with Ay-meas and imprecations, were there left. Insomuch as the whole Armie filled with teares, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the future, more then with teares could bee expressed, but hung downe their heads, and generally blamed themselves. For they seemed nothing else, but euen the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched, were no lesse, one with another, then 40000. men. Of which, not onely the ordinary sort carried euery one what he thought he should haue occasion to vse; but also the men of Armes & Horsemen, contrary to their custome, carried their victuals vnder their Armes, partly for want, & partly for distrust of their seruants, who from time to time ran ouer to the enemy, but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried, was not enough to serue the turne. For not a iot more provision was left remaining in the Campe. Neither were the sufferings of others, and that equal diuision of misery, which neuerthelesse is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many, at this time so much as thought light in it selfe. And the rather, because they considered from what splendor and glory which they enjoyed before, into how low an estate they were now fallen. For neuer *Grecian* Army, so differed from it selfe. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslave others, they departed in greater feare of being

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being made slaues themselves, and in stead of Prayers A and Hymnes, with which they put to Sea, they went backe againe with the contrary maledictions; and whereas they came out Sea-men, they departed Land-men, and relyed not vpon their Nauall forces, but vpon their men of Armes. Neuerthelesse, in respect of the great danger yet hanging ouer them, these miseries seemed all but tolerable. Nicias perceiuing the Armie to be deiect, and the great change that was in it, came vp to the Rankes, and encouraged and comforted them, as far as for the present meanes he was able. And as he went from part to part, B he exalted his voyce more then euer before, both as being earnest in his exhortation, and because also he desired that the benefit or his words might reach as farre as might be.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his afflicted Army.

A Thenians, and Confederates, we must hope still, even in our present estate. Men haue bene saved ere now from greater dangers then these are. Nor ought you too much to accuse your selues, either for your losses past, or the undeserued C miseries we are now in. Euen I my selfe, that haue the advantage of none of you in strength of body, (you see how I am in my sicknesse) nor am thought inferiour to any of you for prosperity past, either in resp. Et of mine owne priuate person, or otherwise, am neuerthelesse now in as much danger as the meanest of you. And yet I haue worshipped the Gods frequently according to the Law, and liued iustly and vblamably towards men. For which cause, my hope is still confident of the future, though these calamities, as being not according to the measure of our desert, doe indeed make me feare. But they may D perhaps cease. For both the Enemies haue already had sufficient fortune, and the Gods if any of them haue bene displeased with our Voyage, haue already sufficiently punished vs. Others haue invaded their neighbours as well as wee, and as their offence, which proceeded of humane infirmity, so their punishment also hath bene tolerable. And we haue reason now, both to hope for more fauour from the Gods, (for our case deserueth their pitty rather then their hatred) and also not to despaire of our selues, seeing how good and how many men of Armes you are, marching together in order of Battell. Make account of this, that where soeuer you please to sit E downe, there presently of your selues you are a City, such as not any other

A other in Sicily can either easily sustaine, if you assault, or remoue. if you be once seated. Now for your March, that it may be safe and orderly, looke to it your selues, making no other account any of you but what place soeuer he shall be forced to fight in, the same, if he win it, must be his Country and his Walles. March you must with diligence, both night and day alike, for our victuall is short; and if we can but reach some amicable Territory of the Siculi, (for these are still firme to vs for feare of the Syracusians,) then you may thinke your selues secure. Let vs therefore send before to them, and bid them meete vs, and bring vs forth some supplies of victuall. In summe, Souldiers, let me tell you, it is necessary that you be valiant; for there is no place neere, where being cowards, you can possibly be saved. Whereas if you escape thorow the Enemies at this time, you may euery one see againe what soeuer any where he most desires, and the Athenians may re-erect the great power of their City, how low soeuer false. For the men, not the Walles, nor the empty Gallies, are the Citie.

Nicias, as he vsed this hortatiue, went withall about the Armie, and where he saw any man straggle and not march in his Ranke, he brought him about, and set him in his place. Demosthenes hauing spoken to the same or like purpose, did as much to those Souldiers vnder him; and they marched forward, those with Nicias in a square Battallion, and then those with Demosthenes in the Rere. And the men of Armes receiued those that carried the Baggage, and the other multitude, within them.

When they were come to the Foord of the Riuer Anapus, they there found certaine of the Syracusians and their Confederates embattelled against them on the banke, but D these they put to flight, and hauing wonne the passage, marched forward. But the Syracusan Horsemen lay still vpon them, and their Light-armed plyed them with their Darts in the flanke. This day the Athenians marched forty Furlongs, and lodged that night at the foot of a certaine Hill. The next day, as soone as it was light, they marched forwards, about 20 Furlongs, and descending into a certaine Champaigne ground, encamped there, with intent both to get victuall at the houses, (for the place was inhabited) and to carry water with them thence; for before E them, in the way they were to passe, for many Furlongs together there was litle to bee had. But the Syracusians

The Athenians march, and the Syracusians assault them alwaies as they goe



*Syracusians* in the meane time got before them, and cut off A their passage with a wall. This was at a steepe Hill, on either side wherof was the Channel of a torrent with steep and rocky banks, and it is called *Acræum Lepas*. The next day the *Athenians* went on. And the Horsemen and Darters of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, being a great number of both, pressed them so with their Horses and Darts, that the *Athenians* after long fight, were compelled to retire againe into the same Campe: But now with lesse victuall then before, because the Horsemen would suffer them no more to straggle abroad. In the morning be- B times they dislodged, and put themselves on their march againe, and forced their way to the Hill which the Enemy had fortified, where they found before them, the *Syracusan* Foot embattelled in great length about the Fortification, on the Hills side (for the place it selfe was but narrow.) The *Athenians*, comming vp assaulted the Wall, but the shot of the Enemy, who were many, and the steep- nesse of the Hill (for they could easily cast home from a- boue) making them vnable to take it, they retired againe and rested. There happed withall some claps of Thun- C der, and a showre of Raine, as vially falleth out at this time of the yeere, being now neere *Autumne*, which fur- ther disheartened the *Athenians*, who thought that also this did tend to their destruction. Whilst they lay still, *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* sent part of their Army, to raise a Wall at their backs, in the way they had come, but this the *Athenians* hindred, by sending against them part of theirs. After this, the *Athenians* retiring with their whole Army into a more Champaigne ground, lodged there that night; and the next day went forward againe. And the *Syracusians* with their Darts from euery part round about, D wounded many of them; and when the *Athenians* charged, they retired, and when they retired, the *Syracusians* charged; and that especially vpon the hindmost, that by putting to flight a few, they might terrifie the whole Army. And for a good while the *Athenians*, in this manner withstood them, and afterwards, being gotten fise or six Furlongs forward, they rested in the Plaine, and the *Syracusians* went from them to their owne Campe.

*Nicias* and *Demothenes* rise in the night, and march a contrary way, *Nicias* foremost, and in order, but *Demothenes* in the Reere, slower and more in disorder.

This night it was concluded by *Nicias* and *Demothenes*, E seeing the miserable estate of their Army, and the want already

A already of all necessities, and that many of their men, in many assaults of the Enemy were wounded, to lead away the Army as farre as they possible could, not the way they purposed before, but toward the Sea, which was the contrary way to that which the *Syracusians* guarded. Now this whole iourney of the Army lay not towards *Catana*, but towards the other side of *Sicily*, *Camarina*, and *Gela*, and the Cities, as well *Grecian*, as *Barbarian*, that way. When they had made many fires accordingly, they marched in the night, and (as vually it falleth out in all Armies, and B most of all in the greatest, to be subiect to affright and ter- rour, especially marching by night, and in hostile ground, and the enemy neere) were in confusion. The Army of *Nicias* leading the way, kept together and got farre afore, but that of *Demothenes*, which was the greater halfe, was both seuered from the rest, and marched more disorderly. Neuerthelesse, by the morning betimes they got to the Sea side, and entring into the *Helorine* way, they went on towards the Riuer *Cacyparis*, to the end when they came thither to march vpwards along the Riuers side, through C the heart of the Countrey. For they hoped that this way, the *Siculi* to whom they had sent, would meet them. When they came to the Riuer; here also they found a certaine guard of the *Syracusians*, stopping their passage with a Wall, and with Pyles. When they had quickly forced this guard, they passed the Riuer, and againe marched on, to another Riuer called *Erincus* for that was the way which the Guides directed them. In the meane time the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, as soone as day ap- peared, and that they knew the *Athenians* were gone, most D of them accusing *Gylippus*, as if he had let them go with his consent, followed them with speed the same way, which they easily vnderstood they were gone, and about dinner time ouertooke them. When they were come vp to those with *Demothenes*, who were the hindmost, and had marched more slowly and disorderly then the other part had done, as hauing been put into disorder in the night, they fell vpon them, and fought. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen hemmed them in, and forced them vp into a narrow compasse, the more easily now, because they were E diuided from the rest. Now the Army of *Nicias* was gone by this time 130 Furlongs further on. For he led away

*Demothenes* ouertaken by the enemy, resteth as long as he can, and is taken.



away the faster, because he thought not that their safety A  
 consisted in staying and fighting voluntarily, but rather in  
 a speedy retreat, and then onely fighting when they could  
 not choose. But *Demosthenes* was both in greater, and in  
 more continuall toyle, in respect that he marched in the  
 Reere, and consequently was pressed by the Enemy. And  
 seeing the *Syracusians* pursuing him, he went not on, but  
 put his men into order to fight, till by his stay he was en-  
 compassed, and reduced, he and the *Athenians* with him in-  
 to great disorder. For being shut vp, within a place en-  
 closed round with a Wall, and which on either side had a B  
 way open, amongst abundance of Oliue trees, they were  
 charged from all sides at once with the Enemies shot.  
 For the *Syracusians* assaulted them in this kind, and not in  
 close battell, vpon very good reason. For to hazzard bat-  
 tell against men desperate, was not so much for theirs, as  
 for the *Athenians* aduantage. Besides, after so manifest suc-  
 cesses, they spared themselves somewhat, because they  
 were loth to weare themselves out before the end of the  
 businesse, and thought by this kind of fight, to subdue and  
 take them alieue. Whereupon, after they had plyed the C  
*Athenians* & their Confederates, all day long from euery side  
 with shot, and saw that with their wounds, and other an-  
 noyance, they were already tired; *Gylippus*, and the *Syracu-  
 sians*, and their Confederates, first made Proclamation, that  
 if any of the Ilanders would come ouer to them, they  
 should be at liberty; And the men of some few Cities  
 went ouer. And by and by after they made agreement  
 with all the rest, that were with *Demosthenes*, That they  
 should deliuer vpon their Armes, and none of them be put to death,  
 neither violently, nor by bonds, nor by want of the necessities D  
 of life. And they all yeelded, to the number of 6000 men,  
 and the siluer they had, they laid it all downe, casting  
 it into the hollow of Targets, and filled with the same,  
 foure Targets. And these men, they carried presently in-  
 to the Citie.

*Nicias* and those that were with him attained the same  
 day to the Riuer *Erineus*, which passing, he caused his  
 Armie to sit downe vpon a certaine ground more eleuate  
 then the rest; where the *Syracusians* the next day ouertooke  
 and told him, That those with *Demosthenes* had yeelded E  
 themselves, and willed him, to do the like. But he, not  
 beleueing

*Demosthenes* yeeldeth.

A beleueing it, tooke *Truce* for a Horseman to enquire the  
 truth. Vpon returne of the Horseman, and word that they  
 had yeelded, he sent a Herald to *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*,  
 saying, That he was content to compound on the part of  
 the *Athenians*, to repay whatsoeuer money the *Syracusians*  
 had laid out, so that his Army might be suffered to de-  
 part. And that till payment of the money were made, he  
 would deliuer them Hostages; *Athenians*, euery Hostage  
 rated at a Talent. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* refusing  
 the condition, charged them, and hauing hemmed them in,  
 B plyed them with shot, as they had done the other Army,  
 from euery side, till euening. This part of the Armie  
 was also pinched with the want both of victuall and other  
 necessities. Neuertheless observing the quiet of the night,  
 they were about to march. But no sooner tooke they  
 their Armes vp, then the *Syracusians* perceiuing it, gaue  
 the Alarme. Whereupon the *Athenians* finding them-  
 selves discouered, sate downe againe; all but 300, who  
 breaking by force through the guards, marched as fast as  
 they could that night. And *Nicias* when it was day, led  
 C his Army forward, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates  
 still pressing them in the same manner, shooting and dar-  
 ting at them from euery side. The *Athenians* halted to get  
 the Riuer *Aspnarus*, not onely because they were vrged on  
 euery side by the assault of the many Horsemen, and other  
 multitude, and thought to be more at ease when they were  
 ouer the Riuer, but out of wearinesse also, and desire to  
 drinke. When they were come vnto the Riuer, they rush-  
 ed in without any order, euery man striting who should  
 first get ouer. But the pressing of the Enemy, made the  
 D passage now more difficult. For being forced to take the  
 Riuer in heaps, they fell vpon and trampled one another  
 vnder their feet, and falling amongst the Speares, and v-  
 tensiles of the Armie, some perished presently; and others  
 catching hold one of another, were carried away together  
 downe the streame. And not only the *Syracusians* standing  
 along the farther banke being a steepe one, killed the *Athe-  
 nians* with their shot from aboue; as they were many of  
 them greedily drinking, and troubling one another in the  
 hollow of the Riuer, but the *Peloponnesians* came also  
 E downe, and slew them with their Swords, and those es-  
 specially that were in the Riuer. And suddenly the  
 Ooo water

The offer of *Nicias* to re-  
 deeme his army, not ac-  
 cepted.



water was corrupted. Neuertheless they drunke it, foule A  
as it was, with blood and mire, and many also fought for  
it. In the end, when many dead lay heaped in the Riuer,  
and the Armie was utterly defeated, part at the Riuer, and  
part (if any gat away) by the Horsmen, *Nicias* yeelded  
himselfe vnto *Gylippus*, (hauiug more confidence in him  
then in the *Syracusians*) To be for his owne person at the discre-  
tion of him and the *Lacedæmonians*, and no further slaughter to  
be made of the Souldiers. *Gylippus* from thenceforth com-  
manded to take prisoners. So the residue, except such as were  
hidden from them (which were many) they carried aliue B  
into the Citie. They sent also to pursue the 300. which  
brake through their guards in the night, and tooke them.  
That which was left together of this Armie, to the pub-  
like, was not much; but they that were conueyed away  
by stealth were very many: and all *Sicily* was filled with  
them, because they were not taken, as those with *Demo-  
sthenes* were, by composition. Besides, a great part of these  
were slaine; for the slaughter at this time was exceeding  
great, none greater in all the *Sicilian* Warre. They were  
also not a few that dyed in those other assaults in their C  
March. Neuertheless many also escaped, some then pre-  
sently, and some by running away after seruitude, the Ren-  
dez-vous of whom was *Catanæ*.

The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being come to-  
gether, returned with their prisoners, all they could get,  
and with the spoile, into the Citie. As for all other the  
prisoners of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, they put  
them into the \* *Quarries*, as the safest custodie. But *Nicias*  
and *Demosthenes* they killed, against *Gylippus* his will. For  
*Gylippus* thought the victory would be very honourable, if D  
ouer and aboue all his other successe, he could carry home  
both the Generals of the Enemy to *Lacedæmon*. And it  
fell out, that the one of them, *Demosthenes*, was their grea-  
test Enemy, for the things he had done in the \* *Iland*; and  
at *Pylus*; and the other, vpon the same occasion, their grea-  
test friend; For *Nicias* had earnestly laboured to haue  
those prisoners which were taken in the *Iland*, to bee set at  
liberty, by perswading the *Athenians* to the Peace. For  
which cause the *Lacedæmonians* were inclined to loue him.  
And it was principally in confidence of that, that he ren-  
dered himselfe to *Gylippus*. But certaine *Syracusians*, (as it is  
repor-

A reported) some of them for feare (because they had beene  
tampering with him) left being put to the torture, hee  
might bring them into trouble, whereas now they were  
well enough; and others (especially the *Corinthians*) fea-  
ring he might get away by corruption of one or other, (be-  
ing wealthy) and worke them some mischief afresh, ha-  
uiug perswaded their Confederates to the same, killed him.  
For these, or for causes neere vnto these, was hee put to  
death, being the man that of all the *Grecians* of my time,  
had least deserued to be brought to so great a degree of mi-  
B fery. As for those in the *Quarries*, the *Syracusians* handled  
them at first but vngently. For in this hollow place, first  
the Sunne and suffocating ayre (being without rooffe) an-  
noyed them one way: and on the other side, the nights  
comming vpon that heate, autumnall and cold, put them,  
by reason of the alteration, into strange diseases. Especi-  
ally, doing all things for want of roome, in one and the  
same place, and the Carkasses of such as dyed of their  
wounds, or change of ayre, or other like accident, lying to-  
gether there on heaps. Also the smell was intollerable.  
C besides that they were afflicted with hunger and thirst.  
For for eight moneths together, they allowed them no  
more but to euery man a \* *Cotyle* of water by the day, and  
two *Cotiles* of Corne. And whatsoeuer misery is probable  
that men in such a place may suffer, they suffered. Some  
70 dayes they liued thus thronged. Afterwards, retaining  
the *Athenians*, and such *Sicilians* and *Italians* as were of the  
Army with them, they sold the rest. How many were  
taken in all, it is hard to say exactly; but they were 7000  
at the fewest. And this was the greatest action that hap-  
D ned in all this Warre, or at all, that we haue heard of a-  
mongst the *Grecians*, being to the Victors most glorious,  
and most calamitous to the vanquished. For being whol-  
ly overcome, in euery kinde, and receiuing small losse in  
nothing, their Army, and Fleet, and all that euer they had,  
perished (as they vse to say) with an vniuersall de-  
struction. Few of many returned home. And  
thus passed the businesse concer-  
ning *Sicily*.

\* A small measure, about  
half our Pint.

E

O o o r

THE



A



THE  
EIGHTH BOOK  
OF THE HISTORIE  
OF THUCYDIDES.

B

The principall Contents.

The Revolt of the Athenian Confederates, and the Offers made by  
Tisaphernes, and Pharnabazus, the Kings Lieutenants of  
the lower Asia; draw the Lacedæmonians to the Warre in I-  
onia, and Hellespont: First in Ionia, and the Provinces of  
Tisaphernes, who by the Councell of Alcibiades, and con-  
tinuance of Altyochus, bindereth their proceedings. Alcibi-  
ades in the meane while to make way for his returne into his coun-  
try, giveth occasion of sedition about the government, whence en-  
sued the authority of the 400, vnder the pretext of the 5000; the  
recalling of Alcibiades by the Army; and at length by his coun-  
tenance the deposing againe of the 400, and end of the Sedition.

But in the meane time they lose Eubœa. Mindarus, Successor  
of Altyochus, finding himselfe abused by Tisaphernes, carri-  
eth the Warre to Pharnabazus, into Hellespont, and there  
presently loseth a Battell to the Athenians before Abydus, be-  
ing then Summer, and the 21 yeere of the Warre.

P



When the newes was told at Athens, they  
believed not a long time, though it were  
plainly related, and by those very Soul-  
diers that escaped from the defeat it selfe,  
that all was so vtterly lost, as it was.  
When they knew it, they were mighti-  
ly offended with the Orators that furthered the Voyage,  
as if they themselves had neuer decreed it. They were an-  
gry also with those that gaue out Propheties, and with the

Soothsayers,

The feare and sorrow of  
the Athenians vpon the  
hearing of the newes.



Soothsayers, and with whosoever else had at first by any A divination put them into hope that *Sicily* should be subdued. Every thing, from every place, grieved them; and feare and astonishment, the greatest that euer they were in, beset them round. For they were not onely grieved for the losse which both every man in particular, and the whole City sustained, of so many men of Armes, Horsemen, and seruiceable men, the like whereof they saw was not left, but seeing they had neither Gallies in their Har- uen, nor money in their Treasure, nor furniture in their Gallies, were euen desperate at that present of their B safety, and thought the Enemy out of *Sicily*, would come forthwith with their Fleet into *Piræus*, (especially after the vanquishing of so great a Navy) and that the Enemy here would surely now, with double preparation in every kinde, presse them to the utmost, both by Sea and Land, and be aided therein by their revolting Confederates. Ne- uertheless, as farre as their means would stretch, it was thought best to stand it out, and getting materials and mo- ney where they could haue it, to make ready a Nauie, and to make sure of their Confederates, especially those of C *Eubœa*; and to introduce a greater frugality in the Citie, and to erect a Magistracie of the elder sort, as occasion should be offered, to præconsult of the businesse that pas- sed. And they were ready, in respect of their present feare, (as is the Peoples fashion) to order every thing a- right. And as they resolved this, so they did it. And the Summer ended.

The Winter following, vpon the great ouerthrow of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, all the *Grecians* were presently vp a- gainst them. Those who before were Confederates of D neither side, thought fit no longer, though vncalled, to abstaine from the Warre, but to goe against the *Athenians* of their owne accord, as hauing not onely enery one feue- rally this thought, that had the *Athenians* prospered in *Si- cily*, they would afterwards haue come vpon them also, but imagined withall, that the rest of the Warre would be but short, whereof it would be an honour to participate. And such of them as were Confederates of the *Lacedæmo- nians*, longed now more then euer, to be freed as soone as might be of their great toyle. But aboue all, the Cities E subiect to the *Athenians*, were ready, euen beyond their a- bility,

The *Athenians* resolve to stand it out.

The end of the nine- teenth Summer.

The *Grecians* take part all of them against the *A- thenians*.

A bility, to revolt, as they that iudged according to their pas- sion, without admitting reason in the matter, that the next Summer they were to remaine with victory. But the *Lacedæmonians* themselves tooke heart, not onely from all this, but also principally from that, that their Confede- rates in *Sicily*, with great power, hauing another Navy now necessarily added to their owne, would in all likeli- hood be with them in the beginning of the Spring. And being every way full of hopes, they purposed without de- lay to fall close to the Warre, making account, if this B were well ended, both to be free hereafter from any more such dangers as the *Athenians*; if they had gotten *Sicily*, would haue put them into, and also hauing pulled them downe, to haue the principality of all *Greece*, now secure vnto themselves.

Whereupon *Agis* their King went out with a part of his Armie the same Winter from *Dicaea*, and leuied mo- ney amongst the Confederates, for the building of a Navy. And turning into the *Melian* Gulfe vpon an old grudge, tooke a great Booty from the *Oreans*, which hee made C money of, and forced those of *Phiotis*, being *Achaians*, and others in those parts, Subiects to the *Thesians*, (the *Thes- salians* complaining, and vnwilling) to giue him Hostages, and Money. The Hostages he put into *Corinth*, and en- deuoured to draw them into the League.

And the *Lacedæmonians* imposed vpon the States confe- derate, the charge of building 100 Gallies, [that is to say] on their owne State, and on the *Bœotians*, each 25. On the *Phœceans* and *Eubœians*, 15. On the *Corinthians*, 15. On the *Arcadians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Pellenians*, 10. And on the *Mega- reans*, *Træzenians*, and *Hermionians*, 10. And put all things D else in readinesse, presently with the Spring to beginne the Warre.

The *Athenians* also made their preparations, as they had designed, hauing gotten Timber, and built their Nauie this same Winter, and fortified the Promontory of *Sunium*, that their Corne-boats might come about in safety. Also they abandoned the Fort in *Laconia*, which they had built as they went by for *Sicily*. And generally where there appeared expence vpon any thing vnusefull, they con- E tracted their charge.

Whilest they were on both sides doing thus, there came vnto

The hopes of the *Lacedæ- monians*.

*Agis* leuieth money.

The *Lacedæmonians* ap- point a Fleet of 100. Gallies, to be made re- dy amongst the Cities of League.

The *Athenians* build their Navy, and contract their charges.

The *Eubœans* offer to re- volt to *Agis*.



The Lesbians offer to revolt to Agis.

The Chians and Erythraeans desire to revolt.

Tissaphernes Lieutenant of the lower Asia, laboureth to haue the Lacedemonians come vnto him.

Pharnabazus Lieutenant of the Hellespont, laboureth the like for himselfe.

vnto Agis, about their revolt from the Athenians, first the Ambassadors of the Eubaeans. Accepting the motion, he sent for Alcamenes the sonne of Sibenelaidas, and for Melanthon, from Lacedemon, to goe Commanders into Eubaea. Whom, when he was come to him, with about 300 freedmen, he was now about to send ouer. But in the meane time came the Lesbians, they also desiring to revolt, and by the meanes of the Boeotians, Agis changed his former resolution, and prepared for the revolt of Lesbos, deferring that of Eubaea, and assigned them Alcamenes, the same that should haue gone into Eubaea, for their Gouernour. And the Boeotians promised them tenne Gallies, and Agis other tenne. Now this was done, without acquainting therewith the State of Lacedemon. For Agis, as long as he was about Declea with the power he had, had the Law in his owne hands, to send what Armie, and whither he listed, and to leuy men and mony at his pleasure. And at this time, the Confederates of him (as I may call them) did better obey him, then the Confederates of the Lacedemonians did them at home. For hauing the power in his hands, he was terrible wherefoeuer he came. And he was now for the Lesbians. But the Chians and Erythraeans, they also desiring to revolt, went not to Agis, but to the Lacedemonians in the City, and with them went also an Ambassadors from Tissaphernes, Lieutenant to King Darius in the low Countries of Asia. For Tissaphernes also instigated the Peloponnesians, and promised to pay their Fleet. For he had lately begged of the King the Tribute accruing in his owne Prouince, for which he was in arreage, because he could receiue nothing out of any of the Greeke Cities, by reason of the Athenians. And therefore he thought by weakning the Athenians, to receiue his Tribute the better, and withall to draw the Lacedemonians into a League with the King, and thereby, as the King had commanded, to kill or take aliue Amorges, Pisthobus his bastard sonne, who was in rebellion against him about Caria. The Chians therefore and Tissaphernes, followed this businesse ioyntly.

Caligetus the sonne of Laopbon, a Magarean, and Timagoras the sonne of Athenagoras, a Cyzicene, both banished their owne Cities, and abiding with Pharnabazus the sonne of Pharnaces came also about the same time to Lacedemon, sent by

A by Pharnabazus, to procure a Fleet for the Hellespont, that he also, if he could, might cause the Athenian Cities in his Prouince to revolt for his Tributes sake, and be the first to draw the Lacedemonians into league with the King. Inst the same things that were desired before by Tissaphernes. Now Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes treating apart, there was great canuassing at Lacedemon, betweene the one side, that perswaded to send to Ionia and Chius, and the other, that would haue the Armie and Fleet goe first into the Hellespont. But the Lacedemonians indeed approued best by much of the businesse of the Chians, and of Tissaphernes. For with these cooperated Alcibiades, hereditary Guest and friend of Endius, the Ephore of that yeere, in the highest degree, in so much as in respect of that guesthood, Alcibiades his family received a Laconique name. For Endius was called Endius \* Alcibiadis. Neuerthelesse the Lacedemonians sent first one Phrynus, a man of those parts, to Chius, to see if the Gallies they had, were so many as they reported, and whether the Citie were otherwise so sufficient as it was said to be. And when the messenger brought backe word that all that had bene said, was true, they receiued both the Chians and the Erythraeans presently into their League. and decreed to send them forty Gallies, there being at Chius, from such places as the Chians named, no lesse then 60 already. And of these at first they were about to send out tenne, with Melanctidas for Admirall; but afterwards, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, for Melanctidas they sent Chalcidus, and in stead of tenne Gallies, they went about the making ready of fise onely, in Laconia. So the Winter ended, and nineteenth yeere of this Warre, written by Thucydides.

In the beginning of the next Summer, because the Chians pressed to haue the Gallies sent away, and feared lest the Athenians should get notice what they were doing, (for all their Ambassadors went out by stealth) the Lacedemonians send away to Corinth three Spartans, to will them with all speed to transport their Gallies ouer the Isthmus, to the other Sea towards Athens, and to goe all to Chius, as well those which Agis had made ready to goe to Lesbos, as the rest. The number of the Gallies of the League, which were then there, being forty wanting one.

But Caligetus and Timagoras, who came from Pharnabazus,

P p p

bazus,

\* The name of Endius his father was Alcibiades, to whom Clinias being Guest, for that cause got the name of Alcibiades to his sonne, this Alcibiades Clinias.

THE TWENTIETH YEERE.  
The Lacedemonians send to Corinth, to hasten away the Fleet to Chius.



\* 4687 pounds 10 Shillings Sterling.

The Confederates in councell at Corinth set downe an order for the Warre following, with which to beginne, and which to follow.

*bazus*, would haue no part in this Fleet that went for *A Chius*, nor would deliuer the Money, \* twenty five Talents, which they had brought with them to pay for their setting forth, but made account to goe out with another Fleet afterwards by themselves.

When *Agiu* saw that the *Lacedemonians* meant to send first to *Chiu*, he resolued not of any other course himselfe, but the Confederates assembling at *Corinth*, went to councell vpon the matter, and concluded thus, That they should goe first to *Chiu*, vnder the command of *Chalcideu* who was making ready the five Gallies in *Laconia*; And then, *B* to *Lesbos*, vnder the charge of *Alcamenes*, intended also to be sent thither by *Agiu*; and lastly into *Hellepont*, in which voyage they ordained that *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias* should haue the Command; and concluded to carry ouer the *Isthmus*, first the one halfe of their Gallies, and that those should presently put to Sea, that the *Athenians* might haue their mindes more vpon those, then on the other halfe to bee transported afterwards. For they determined to passe that Sea openly, contemning the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, in respect they had not any Navy of importance yet appearing. As they resolued, so presently they carried ouer one and twenty Gallies. But when the rest vrged to put to Sea, the *Corinthians* were vnwilling to goe along, before they should haue ended the celebration of the *Isthmian* Holidayes, then come. Heerevpon *Agiu* was content that they for their parts should obserue the *Isthmian* Truce; and he therefore to take the Fleet vpon himselfe as his owne.

But the *Corinthians* not agreeing to that, and the time passing away, the *Athenians* got intelligence the easilier of the practice of the *Chians*, and sent thither *Aristocrates*, *D* one of their Generals, to accuse them of it. The *Chians* denying the matter, hee commanded them, for their better credit, to send along with him some Gallies for their ayde, due by the League; and they sent seuen. The cause why they sent these Gallies, was the *Many* not acquainted with the practice, and the *Few* and conscious not willing to vndergoe the enmity of the multitude, without hauing strength first, and their not expecting any longer the comming of the *Lacedemonians*, because they had so long delayed them. *E*

In

The *Athenians* vnderstand the purpose of the *Chians* to reuolt.

*A* In the meane time, the *Isthmian* Games were celebrating, and the *Athenians* (for they had word sent them of it) came and saw; and the businesse of the *Chians* grew more apparent. After they went thence, they tooke order presently, that the Fleet might not passe from *Cenchreae* vndiscouered. And after the Holidayes were ouer, the *Corinthians* put to Sea for *Chiu*, vnder the conduct of *Alcamenes*. And the *Athenians* at first, with equall number came vp to them, and endeouored to draw them out into the maine Sea. But seeing the *Peloponnesians* followed not farre, but *B* turned another way, the *Athenians* went also from them. For the seuen Gallies of *Chiu*, which were part of this number, they durst not trust. But afterwards hauing manned thirty seuen others, they gaue chase to the Enemy by the shore, and draue them into *Piræus*, in the Territorie of *Corinth*, (this *Piræus* is a desert Hauen, and the vmolt vpon the Confines of *Epidauria*.) One Gallie that was farre from Land, the *Peloponnesians* lost, the rest they brought together into the Hauen. But the *Athenians* charging them by Sea with their Gallies, and withall setting their men aland, mightily troubled and disordered them, *C* brake their Gallies vpon the shore, and slew *Alcamenes* their Commander. And some they lost of their owne.

The fight being ended, they assigned a sufficient number of Gallies to lye opposite to those of the Enemy, and the rest to lye vnder a little Island, not farre off, in which also they encamped, and sent to *Athens* for supply. For the *Peloponnesians* had with them for ayde of their Gallies, the *Corinthians* the next day, and not long after, diuers others of the Inhabitants thereof. But when they considered that the guarding of them in a desert place would be painefull, they knew not what course to take, and once they thought to haue set the Gallies on fire; but it was concluded afterwards to draw them to the Land, and guard them with their Land-men, till some good occasion should bee offered for their escape. And *Agiu* also, when he heard the newes, sent vnto them *Thermon*, a *Spartan*.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing beene aduertised of the departure of these Gallies from the *Isthmus*, (for the *Ephores* had commanded *Alcamenes*, when he put to Sea, to send him

The *Athenians* driue the *Peloponnesian* Gallies into *Piræus*, a desert Hauen, and there besiege them.

The voyage of *Chalcidius* and *Alcibiades* to *Chiu*.



word by a Horseman) were minded presently to haue sent away the five Gallies also that were in *Laconia*, and *Chalcidius* the Commander of them, and with him *Alcibiades*; but afterwards, as they were ready to goe out, came the newes of the Gallies chased into *Peiræus*: which so much discouraged them, in respect they stumbled in the very entrance of the *Ionique* Warre, that they purposed now, not onely not to send away those Gallies of their owne, but also to call backe againe some of those that were already at Sea.

When *Alcibiades* saw this, he dealt with *Endius*, and the rest of the *Ephores* againe, not to feare the Voyage, alleaging that they would make haste, and be there before the *Chians* should haue heard of the misfortune of the Fleet. And that as soone as he should arrive in *Ionia* himselfe, he could easily make the Cities there to revolt, by declaring vnto them the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, and the diligence of the *Lacedemonians*, wherein he should be thought more worthy to bee believed then any other. Moreouer to *Endius* hee said, that it would be an honour in particular to him, that *Ionia* should revolt, and the King be made Confederate to the *Lacedemonians*, by his owne meanes, and not to haue it the mastery of *Agis*, for he was at difference with *Agis*. So, hauing preuailed with *Endius* and the other *Ephores*, he tooke Sea with 5 Gallies, together with *Chalcideus* of *Lacedemon*, and made haste.

About the same time, came backe from *Sicily* those 16 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, which hauing ayded *Gylippus* in that Warre, were intercepted by the way, about *Leucadia*, and euill intreated by twenty seuen Gallies of *Athenians*, that watched thereabouts, vnder the command of *Hippocles* the sonne of *Menippus*, for such Gallies as should returne out of *Sicily*. For all the rest, sauing one, auoyding the *Athenians*, were arrived in *Corinth* before.

*Chalcideus* and *Alcibiades*, as they sayled, kept prisoner euery man they met with by the way, to the end that notice might not be giuen of their passage, and touching first at *Corycus* in the Continent, where they also dismissed those whom they had apprehended, after conference there with some of the Conspirators of the *Chians*, that aduised them to goe to the Citie, without sending them word before, they came vpon the *Chians* suddenly and vnexpected. It

put

A put the *Commons* into much wonder and astonishment, but the *Few* had so ordered the matter beforehand, that an Assembly chanced to be holden at the same time. And when *Chalcideus*, and *Alcibiades* had spoken in the same, and told them that many Gallies were comming to them, but not that those other Gallies were besieged in *Peiræus*, the *Chians* first, and afterwards the *Erythraeans*, revolted from the *Athenians*.

After this, they went with three Gallies to *Clazomene*, and made that City to revolt also. And the *Clazomenians* presently crossed ouer to the Continent, and there fortified *Policbna*, least they should need a retrying place, from the little Iland wherein they dwelt. The rest also, all that had revolted, fell to fortifying, and making of preparation for the Warre.

This newes of *Chius* was quickly brought to the *Athenians*, who conceiuing themselves to be now beset with great and euident danger, and that the rest of the Confederates, seeing so great a City to revolt, would be no longer quiet, in this their present feare, decreed that those \* 1000 Talents, which through all this Warre, they had affected to keepe vntouched, forthwith abrogating the punishment ordained for such as spake or gaue their suffrages to stirre it, should now be vsed, and therewith Gallies, not a few, manned. They decreed also to send thither out of hand, vnder the command of *Strombichides* the sonne of *Diostimus*, 8 Gallies, of the number of those that besieged the Enemy at *Peiræus*, the which, hauing forsaken their charge to giue chase to the Gallies that went with *Chalcideus*, and and not able to ouertake them, were now returned, and D shortly after also to send *Thrasycles* to help the with 12 Gallies more, which also had departed from the same guard vpon the Enemy. And those 7 Gallies of *Chius*, which likewise kept watch at *Peiræus* with the rest, they fetched from thence, and gaue the bondmen that serued in them their liberty, and the chaynes to those that were free. And in stead of all those Gallies, that kept guard vpon the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, they made ready other with all speed in their places, besides 30 more which they intended to furnish out afterwards. Great was their diligence, E and nothing was of light importance, that they went about for the recovery of *Chius*.

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Strom-

Chius and Erythraa revolt.

Clazomenians revolted.

The Athenians abrogate the decree touching the 1000 Talents reserved for the extremities of State, and furnish out a Fleet with the money. \* 107500 pounds sterling.

Sixteene Gallies of Peloponnesians intercepted, and hardly handled, in their returne from Sicily, by the Athenians, arrive in Corinth.



*Strombichides* in the meane time arriued at *Samos*, and taking into his company, one *Samian* Gally, went thence to *Teus*, and entreated them not to stirre. But towards *Teus*, was *Chalcideus* also comming with 23 Gallies from *Chius*, and with him also the Land-forces of the *Clazomenians*, and *Erythraens*, whereof *Strombichides* hauing been aduertized, he put forth againe, before his arriuall, and standing off at Sea, when he saw the many Gallies that came from *Chius*, he fled towards *Samos*, they following him. The Land-forces, the *Teans* would not at the first admit, but after this flight of the *Athenians*, they brought them in. And these for the most part held their hands for a while, expecting the returne of *Chalcideus* from the chase; but when he stayed somewhat long, they fell of themselues to the demolishing of the wall built about the Citie of *Teus*, by the *Athenians*, towards the Continent, wherein they were also helped by some few *Barbarians* that came downe thither, vnder the leading of *Tages*, Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*.

*Chalcideus*, and *Alcibiades*, when they had chased *Strombichides* into *Samos*, armed the Mariners that were in the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and left them in *Chius*, in stead of whom they manned with Mariners of *Chius*, both those, and 20 Gallies more, and with this Fleet they went to *Miletus*, with intent to cause it to reuolt. For the intention of *Alcibiades*, that was acquainted with the principall *Milesians*, was to preuent the Fleet which was to come from *Peloponnesus*, and to turne these Cities first, that the honour of it might be ascribed to the *Chians*, to himselfe, to *Chalcideus*, and (as he had promised) to *Endius*, that set them out, as hauing brought most of the Cities to reuolt, with the Forces of the *Chians* onely, and of those Gallies that came with *Chalcideus*. So these, for the greatest part of their way vndiscovered, and arriuing, not much sooner then *Strombichides*, and *Thraſycles*, (who now chancing to be present with those 12 Gallies from *Athens*, followed them with *Strombichides*) caused the *Milesians* to reuolt. The *Athenians* following them at the heeles with 19 Gallies, being shut out by the *Milesians*, lay at Anchor at *Lada*, an Iland ouer against the City.

Presently vpon the reuolt of *Miletus*, was made the first League

A League betweene the King, and the *Lacedæmonians* by *Tissaphernes* and *Chalcideus*, as followeth.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, haue made a League with the King and *Tissaphernes*, on these Articles.

Whatsoeuer Territory or Cities the King possesseth, and his Ancestors haue possessed, the same are to remaine the Kings.

Whatsoeuer money or other profit redounded to the *Athenians* from their Cities, the King, and the *Lacedæmonians* are ioynly to binder, so as the *Athenians* may receiue nothing from thence, neither money nor other thing.

The King and the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, are to make ioynnt Warre against the *Athenians*. And without consent of both parts, it shall not be lawfull to lay downe the Warre against the *Athenians*, neither for the King, nor for the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates.

If any shall reuolt from the King, they shall be enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates. And if any shall reuolt from the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, they shall in like manner be enemies to the King.

C This was the League.

Presently after this, the *Chians* set out ten Gallies more, and went to *Anaa*, both to hearken what became of the businesse at *Miletus*, and also to cause the Cities there, abouts to reuolt. But word being sent them from *Chalcideus*, to goe backe, and that *Amorges* was at hand with his Army, they went thence to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Being therethey descryed 16 Gallies more, which had beene sent out by the *Athenians* vnder the charge of *Diomedon*, after the putting to Sea of those with *Thraſycles*, vpon sight of whom they fled, one Gally to *Ephesus*, the rest towards *Teos*. Foure of them, the *Athenians* tooke, but empty, the men being gotten on Shore, the rest escaped into the City of *Teos*. And the *Athenians* went away againe towards *Samos*.

The *Chians* putting to Sea againe, with the remainder of their Fleet, and with the Land-forces, caused first *Lebedus* to reuolt, and then *Ere*. And afterwards returned, both with their Fleet and Land-men, euery one to his owne.

E About the same time, the twenty Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which the *Athenians* had formerly chased into *Peireus*, and

League betweene *Tissaphernes* and the *Lacedæmonians*.

*Lebedus* and *Ere* reuolt.

The *Peloponnesians* in *Peireus* escape.



*Astyocheus* Admirall of the  
*Peloponnesians*.

*Tissaphernes* razeth the re-  
mainder of the *Athenian*  
Wall at *Teos*.

and against whom they now lay with a like number, sud-  
denly forced their passage, and having the victory in fight,  
tooke foure of the *Athenian* Gallies, and going to *Cenchree*,  
prepared afresh for their voyage to *Chius* and *Ionis*. At  
which time there came also vnto them from *Lacedemon*,  
for Commander, *Astyocheus*, who was now Admirall of the  
whole Navy.

When the Land-men were gone from *Teos*, *Tissaphernes*  
himselfe came thither with his Forces, and he also demo-  
lished the Wall, as much as was left standing, and went  
his way againe.

Not long after the going away of him, came thither  
*Diomedon* with tenne Gallies of *Athens*, and having made  
a Truce with the *Teians*, that he might also bee receiued,  
he put to Sea againe, and kept the shore to *Ere*, and assault-  
ed it, but failing to take it, departed.

It fell out about the same time, that the Commons of  
*Samos*, together with the *Athenians* who were there with  
three Gallies, made an insurrection against the great men,  
and flew of them in all about two hundred. And having  
banished foure hundred more, and distributed amongst  
themselves their Lands and Houses, (the *Athenians* having  
now, as assured of their fidelity, decreed them their liber-  
ty) they administrated the affaires of the Citie from that  
time forward, by themselves, no more communicating  
with the \* *Geomori*, nor permitting any of the Common  
people to marry with them.

After this, the same Summer, the *Chians*, as they had  
begunne, perseuering in their earnestnesse to bring the Ci-  
ties to revolt, even without the *Lacedemonians*, with their  
single forces, and desiring to make as many followes of  
their danger, as they were able, made Warre by themselves  
with thirteene Gallies, against *Lesbos*, (which was accord-  
ing to what was concluded by the *Lacedemonians*, namely  
to goe thither in the second place, and thence into the *Hel-  
lespont*.) And withall, the Land-forces, both of such *Pe-  
loponnesians* as were present, and of their Confederates  
thereabouts, went along by them to *Clazomena* and *Cyme*.  
These vnder the command of *Eualas* a *Spartan*, and the  
Gallies, of *Demias*, a man of the parts thereabouts. The  
Gallies putting in at *Methymna*, caused that Citie to re-  
volt first. \*\*\*\*\*

The

\* The Nobility of *Samos*, so  
called, for that they shared  
the Land amongst them.

The *Chians* endeavour to  
turne *Lesbos* from the *A-  
thenians* to the *Lacedemo-  
nians*, with their single po-  
wer, and caule first *Me-  
thymna* then *Mytilene* to  
revolt.

\* It seemeth that some-  
thing is here wanting,  
and supplied thus by  
Fran. Peris. [Then the *Chi-  
ans*, I. using foure Gallies  
here for guard of the place,  
went to *Mytilene* with the  
rest, and caused that Citie also  
to revolt.]

A Now *Astyocheus* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, hauing set  
forth as he intended from *Cenchree*, arrived at *Chius*. The  
third day after his comming thither, came *Leon* and *Di-  
omedon* into *Lesbos*, with 25 Gallies of *Athens*, for *Leon* came  
with a supply of tenne Gallies more, from *Athens* after-  
wards. *Astyocheus* in the euening of the same day, taking  
with him one Gally more of *Chius*, tooke his way toward  
*Lesbos*, to helpe it what he could, and put in at *Pyrreha*,  
and the next day at *Eressus*. Here he heard that *Mytilene*  
was taken by the *Athenians*, even with the shout of their

B voyces. For the *Athenians* comming v unexpected, entred  
the Hauen, and hauing beaten the Gallies of the *Chians*,  
disbarked, and overcame those that made head against  
them, and wonne the Citie. When *Astyocheus* heard this,  
both from the *Eressians*, and from those *Chian* Gallies, that  
came from *Methymna* with *Babylus*, (which hauing beene  
left there before, as soone as *Mytilene* was lost, fled, and  
three of them chanced to meete with him, for one was ta-  
ken by the *Athenians*) he continued his course for *Mytilene*  
no longer, but hauing caused *Eressus* to revolt, and armed

C the Souldiers, he had aboard, made them to march toward  
*Antissa*, and *Methymna* by Land, vnder the conduct of *Ecdemi-  
cus*, and he himselfe with his owne Gallies, and those 3  
of *Chius*, rowed thither along the shore, hoping that the  
*Methymnians*, vpon sight of his Forces, would take heart,  
and continue in their revolt. But when in *Lesbos* all things  
went against him, he imbarqued his Army, and retur-  
ned to *Chios*. And the Landmen that were aboard, and  
should haue gone into *Hallepont*, went againe into their  
Cities. After this came to them sixe Gallies to *Chius*, of

D those of the Confederate Fleet at *Cenchree*. The *Athenians*,  
when they had reestablished the State of *Lesbos*, thence  
thence, and tooke *Polichna*, which the *Clazomenians* had  
fortified in the Continent, and brought them all backe a-  
gaine into the Citie, which is in the Island, ouerly the  
authors of the revolt, (for these got away to *Daphnia* and  
*Clazomena* returned to the obedience of the *Athenians*.)

The same Summer, those *Athenians* that with twenty  
Gallies lay in the Ile of *Lada*, before *Mytilene*, landing in  
the Territory of *Milene*, at *Panormus*, from *Chalcidians* the  
E *Lacedemonian* Commander, that came on against him  
with a few, and set vp a Troopie; and the third  
day

The *Athenians* recover *My-  
tilene*.

*Astyocheus* seeing hee could  
doe no good at *Lesbos* re-  
turned to *Chios*.

The *Athenians* recover  
*Clazomena*.

*Chalcidians* layne.

Q q q



day after departed. But the *Milefians* pulled downe A the *Trophie*, as erected where the *Athenians* were not Masters.

The *Athenians* make  
sharp war vpon *Chius*.

*Leon* and *Diomedon*, with the *Athenian* Gallies that were at *Lesbos*, made Warre vpon the *Chians* by Sea, from the Iles called *Oinussa*, which lye before *Chius*, and from *Sidusa*, and *Pteleum* (Forts they held in *Erythraea*) and from *Lesbos*. They that were aboard, were men of Armes of the Roll, compelled to serue in the Fleet. With these they landed at *Cardamyle*; and hauing ouerthrowne the *Chians* that made head, in a Battell at *Bolissus*, and slaine many of them, they recovered from the Enemy all the places of that quarter. And againe they ouercame them in another Battell at *Phana*, and in a third at *Leuconium*. After this, the *Chians* went out no more to fight; by which meanes the *Athenians* made spoile of their Territory, excellently well furnished. For except it were the *Lacedaemonians*, the *Chians* were the onely men that I haue heard of, that had joy-  
ned aduisednesse to prosperity, and the more their Citie increased, had carried the more respect in the administration thereof to assure it. Nor ventured they now to reuolt (lest any man should thinke, that in this act at least they regarded not what was the safest) till they had many and strong Confederates, with whose helpe to try their fortune; nor till such time as they perceiued the People of *Athens* (as they themselves could not deny) to haue their estate, after the defeat in *Sicily*, reduced to extreme weaknesse.

Praise of the *Chians*.

And if through humane misreckoning, they miscarried in ought, they erred with many others, who in like manner had an opinion, that the State of the *Athenians* would quickly haue bene ouerthrowne.

Being therefore shut vp by Sea, and hauing their Lands spoyled, some within vnderooke to make the Citie returne vnto the *Athenians*. Which though the Magistrates perceiued, yet they themselves stirred not, but hauing receiued *Aphyochus* into the City, with foure Gallies that were with him from *Erythraea*, they tooke aduice together, how by taking Hostages, or some other gentle way, to make them giue ouer the Conspiracy. Thus stood the businesse with the *Chians*.

In the end of this Summer (a thousand five hundred men

A men of Armes of *Athens*, and a thousand of *Argos* (for the *Athenians* had put Armour vpon five hundred Light-armed of the *Argiues*) and of other Confederates a thousand more, with forty eight Gallies, reckoning those which were for transportation of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Phrynichus*, *Onomacles*, and *Scironidas*, came in to *Samos*, and crossing ouer to *Miletus*, encamped before it. And the *Milefians* issued forth with eight hundred men of Armes of their owne, besides the *Peloponnesians* that came with *Chalcideus*, and some auxiliar strangers with *Tissaphernes*, (*Tissaphernes*

B himselte being also there with his Caualtery) and fought with the *Athenians* and their Confederates. The *Argiues*, who made one Wing of themselves, aduancing before the rest, and in some disorder in contempt of the enemy, as being *Ionians*, and not likely to sustaine their charge, were by the *Milefians* ouercome, and lost no lesse then 300 of their men. But the *Athenians*, when they had first ouerthrowne the *Peloponnesians*, and then beaten backe the *Barbarians* and other multitude, and not fought with the *Milefians* at all, (for they, after they were come from the chase of the

C *Argiues*, and saw their other Wing defeated, went into the Towne) sat downe with their Armes, as being now masters of the Field, close vnder the Wall of the Citie. It fell out in this Battell, that on both sides, the *Ioniques* had the better of the *Doriques*. For the *Athenians* ouercame the opposite *Peloponnesians*, and the *Milefians* the *Argiues*. The *Athenians*, after they had erected their Trophy, the place being an *Isthmus*, prepared to take in the Towne with a Wall, supposing if they got *Miletus*, the other Citie would easily come in. In the meane time it was told them a-

D bout twi light, that the five and fifty Gallies from *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily* were hard by, and onely not already come. For there came into *Peloponnesus* out of *Sicily*, by the instigation of *Hermocrates*, to helpe to consummate the subuersion of the *Athenian* State, twenty Gallies of *Syracusa*, and two of *Selinus*. And the Gallies that had bene preparing in *Peloponnesus* being then also ready, they were, both these and the other, committed to the charge of *Theramenes*, to bee conducted by him to *Aphyochus*, the Admirall. And they put in first at *Eleus*, E an Island ouer against *Athens*, and being aduertised there, that the *Athenians* lay before the Towne,

more

Q 9 9 2

they

The *Athenians* fight with  
the *Milefians*, and beginne  
to besiege the Citie.

The *Athenians* rise from  
*Miletus*, vpon the coming  
of 55 Gallies from  
*Peloponnesus*.



they went from thence into the Gulfe of *Iasus*, to learne A how the affaires of the *Milefians* stood. *Alcibiades* comming a horsebacke to *Teichussa*, of the Territory of *Miletus*, in which part of the Gulfe the *Peloponnesian* Gallies lay at Anchor, they were informed by him of the Battell; for *Alcibiades* was with the *Milefians*, and with *Tissaphernes* present in it. And he exhorted them (vnlesse they meant to lose what they had in *Ionis*, and the whole businesse) to succour *Miletus* with all speed, and not to suffer it to be taken in with a Wall. According to this they concluded to goe the next morning and relieue it. *Phrynichus*, when hee B had certaine word from *Derus*, of the arriuall of those Gallies, his Colleagues aduising to stay, and fight it out with their Fleet, said, that he would neither do it himselfe, nor suffer them to doe it, or any other, as long as he could hinder it. For seeing he might fight with the hereafter, when they should know against how many Gallies of the Enemy, & with what addition to their owne, sufficiently, and at leisure made ready, they might do it; he would neuer, he said, for feare of being vpbraid with basenesse, (for it was no basenesse for the *Athenians* to let their Navy giue way C vpon occasion; but by what meanes soeuer it should fall out, it would be a great basenesse to be beaten) be swayed to hazard battell against reason, and not only to dishonour the State, but also to cast it into extreme danger. Seeing that since their late losses, it hath scarce beene fit, with their strongest preparation, willingly, no nor vrged by precedent necessity, to undertake, how then without constraint to seeke out voluntary dangers? Therefore he commanded them with all speede to take aboard those that were wounded, and their Land-men; and whatsoeuer V-D tentiles they brought with them but to leaue behind whatsoeuer they had taken in the territory of the Enemy, to the end that their Gallies might be the lighter, and to put off for *Samos*, and thence, when they had all their Fleet together to make out against the Enemy, as occasion should be offered.

As *Phrynichus* aduised this, so he put it in execution, and was esteemed a wise man, not then onely; but afterwards, nor in this onely, but in whatsoeuer else he had the ordering of. Thus the *Athenians* presently in the euening, with E their victory vnperfect, dislodged from before *Miletus*.

From

A From *Samos*, the *Argines* in haste, and in anger for their ouerthrow, went home.

The *Peloponnesians* setting forth betimes in the morning from *Teichussa*, put in at *Miletus*, and stayed there one day. The next day they tooke with them those Gallies of *Chius*, which had formerly been chased together with *Chalcidens*, and meant to haue returned to *Teichussa*, to take aboard such necessities as they had left a Shore; But as they were going, *Tissaphernes* came to them with his Land-men, and perswaded them to set vpon *Iasus*, where *Amorges* the Kings Enemy then lay. Whereupon they assailed *Iasus* vpon a sodaine, and (they within not thinking but they had been the Fleet of the *Athenians*) tooke it. The greatest praise in this action was giuen to the *Syracussians*. Having taken *Amorges*, the bastard sonne of *Pissuthnes*, but a Rebelle to the King, the *Peloponnesians* deliuered him to *Tissaphernes*, to carry him, if he would, to the King, as he had order to doe. The City they pillaged, wherein, as being a place of ancient riches, the Army got a very great quantity of money. The auxiliary Souldiers of C *Amorges*, they receiued, without doing them hurt, into their owne Army, being for the most part *Peloponnesians*. The Towne it selfe they deliuered to *Tissaphernes*, with all the prisoners, as well free, as bond, vpon composition with him, at a Darique stater by the poll. And so they returned to *Miletus*. And from thence they sent *Podaritus* the sonne of *Leob*, whom the *Lacedaemonians* had sent hither to be Gouverneur of *Chius*, to *Erythra*, and with him the bands that had ayded *Amorges*, by Land, and made *Philip* Gouverneur there, in *Miletus*. And so this Summer D ended.

The next Winter *Tissaphernes*, after he had put a Garrison into *Iasus*, came to *Miletus*, and for one moneths pay, (as was promised on his part at *Lacedaemon*) he gaue vnto the Souldiers through the whole Fleet after an Attique Drachme a man by the day; But for the rest of the time he would pay but 7 obols, till he had asked the King's pleasure; and if the King commanded it, then he said he would pay them the full Drachma. Nevertheless vpon the contradiction of *Hermocrates* Generall of the *Syracussians* E and (for *Themistocles* was but slacke in exacting pay, as not being Generall, but onely to deliuer the Gallies that came

The *Peloponnesians* and *Tissaphernes*, take *Iasus*, wherein was *Amorges*, Rebelle to the King, whom they take prisoner.

The end of the 50 Summer.

\* 7 pence halfpenny of our money.  
\* 3 pence halfpenny farthing. This distribution of their spend, proceeded from the counsel of *Themistocles*, who was then *Tissaphernes* as is hereafter declared.



If they had been five Gallies less, that is, but so they were 55, their pay is then 4 obols a man, at Talents to the 50 Gallies for a moneth. Qu. how many men paid in a Gallie? five men but 10.

The Athenians send part of the Fleet, against Chius, and part against Miletus.

Aflyochus goeth from Chius to Clazomenae, thence to Phocaea and Cyne.

The Lesbians offer to curate to Asflyochus.

came with him, to *Aflyochus*. It was agreed that but for A the\* five Gallies that were ouer and aboue, they should haue more then 3 oboles a man. For to 55 Gallies, he allowed three Talents a moneth, and to as many, as should be more then that number, after the same proportion.

The same Winter the Athenians that were at *Samos*, (for there were now come in 35 Gallies more from home, with *Charminus*, *Strombichides*, and *Euctemon*, their Commanders) having gathered together their Gallies, as well those that had been at *Chius*, as all the rest, concluded, distributing to euery one his charge by Lot, to goe ly before *Miletus* with B a Fleet; but against *Chius*, to send out both a Fleet, and an Army of Landmen. And they did so. For *Strombichides*, *Onomacles*, and *Euctemon*, with thirty Gallies, and part of those 1000 men of Armes that went to *Miletus*, which they caried along with them in vessels for transportation of Souldiers, according to their Lot, went to *Chius*, and the rest remaining at *Samos* with 74 Gallies, were Masters of the Sea, and went to *Miletus*.

*Aflyochus*, who was now in *Chius*, requiring Hostages in respect of the Treason, after he heard of the Fleet that was come with *Theramenes*, and that the Articles of the League with *Tissaphernes* were mended, gaue ouer that business, and with 10 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and 10 of *Chius*, went thence, and assaulted *Pteleum*, but not being able to take it, he kept by the Shore to *Clazomenae*. There he summoned those within to yeeld, with offer to such of them as fauoured the Athenians, that they might go vp and dwell at *Daphnus*. And *Samos* the Deputy Lieutenant of *Ionia* offered them the same. But they not hearkning thereunto, he made an assault vpon the Citie being vnyal- D led, but when he could not take it, he put to Sea againe, and with a mighty Wind, was himselfe carried to *Phocaea*, and *Cyme*, but the rest of the Fleet put in at *Marathusa*, *Pele*, and *Ormyssa*, lands that ly ouer against *Clazomenae*. After they had stayed there 8 dayes in regard of the Winds, spoiling and destroying, and partly taking aboard whatsoever goods of the *Clazomenians* lay without, they went afterwards to *Phocaea*, and *Cyme*, to *Aflyochus*. While *Aflyochus* was there, the Ambassadors of the Lesbians came vnto him, desiring to reuolt from the Athenians, and as for E him, they preualled with him, but seeing the *Corinthians* and

A and the other Confederates were vnwilling, in respect of their former ill successe there, hee put to Sea for *Chius*. Whicher, after a great Tempest, his Gallies, some from one place, and some from another, at length arrived all.

After this, *Pedaritus*, who was now at *Erythrae*, whither he was come from *Miletus* by Land, came ouer with his Forces into *Chius*. Besides those Forces hee brought ouer with him, he had the Souldiers which were of the five Gallies that came thither with *Chalcideus*, and were left there to the number of five hundred, and Armour to Armethem.

Now some of the Lesbians hauing promised to reuolt, *Aflyochus* communicated the matter with *Pedaritus* and the *Chians*, alleaging how meete it would be to goe with a Fleet, and make *Lesbos* to reuolt; for that they should eyther get more Confederates, or sayling, they should at least weaken the Athenians. But they gaue him no care; and for the *Chian* Gallies, *Pedaritus* told him plainly, he should haue none of them. Whereupon *Aflyochus* taking with C him five Gallies of *Corinth*, a sixth of *Megara*, one of *Hermione*, and those of *Laconia* which he brought with him, went towards *Miletus* to his Charge; mightily threatening the *Chians*, in case they should neede him, not to helpe them.

When he was come to *Corycus* in *Erythrae*, hee stayed there; and the Athenians from *Samos* lay on the other side of the point, the one not knowing that the other was so neere. *Aflyochus*, vpon a Letter sent him from *Pedaritus*, signifying that there were come certaine *Erythraean* Cap- D taines dismissed from *Samos*, with designe to betray *Erythrae*, went presently backe to *Erythrae*, so little he mist of falling into the hands of the Athenians. *Pedaritus* also went ouer to him, and hauing narrowly enquired touching those seeming Traytors, and found that the whole matter was but a pretence, which the men had vsed for their escape from *Samos*, they acquitted them, and departed, one to *Chius*, the other, as hee was going before, towards *Miletus*.

In the meane time, the Army of the Athenians being E come about by Sea from *Corycus*, to *Argenum*, lighted on three long Boats of the *Chians*, which when they saw, they presently

*Aflyochus*, and *Pedaritus* the Gouernour of *Chius* disagree.

The Athenian Gallies tossed with Tempest.



presently chased. But there arose a great Tempest, and the long Boats of *Chius* with much adoe recovered the Harbour. But of the *Athenian* Gallies, especially such as followed them furthest, there perished three, driuen ashore at the Citie of *Chius*; and the men that were aboard them, were part taken, and part slaine; the rest of the Fleet escaped into a Haven called *Phonicius*, vnder the Hill *Mimas*, from whence they got afterwards to *Lesbos*, and there fortified.

The *Athenians* take the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, sent to visit in the Ships of *Corne* from *Aegypt* to *Cnidus*.

The same Winter, *Hippocrates* setting out from *Peloponnesus* with tenne Gallies of *Thurium*, commanded by *Dorion* the sonne of *Diagoras*, with two others, and with one Gallie of *Laconia*, and one of *Syracuse*, went to *Cnidus*. This City was now revolted from *Tissaphernes*: and the *Peloponnesians* that lay at *Miletus* hearing of it, commanded that (the one halfe of their Gallies remaining for the guard of *Cnidus*) the other halfe should goe about *Triopium*, and help to bring in the Ships which were to come from *Aegypt*. This *Triopium* is a Promontory of the Territory of *Cnidus*, lying out in the Sea, and consecrated to *Apollo*. The *Athenians* vpon aduertisement hereof, setting forth from *Samos*, tooke those Gallies that kept guard at *Triopium*, but the men that were in them escaped to Land. After this they went to *Cnidus*, which they assaulted, and had almost taken, being without Wall, and the next day they assaulted it againe; but being lesse able to hurt it now then before, because they had fenced it better this night, and the men also were gotten into it, that fled from their Gallies vnder *Triopium*, they inuaded and wasted the *Cnidian* Territory, and so went backe to *Samos*.

They assault the City of *Cnidus*, but cannot win it.

About the same time, *Astyocheus* being come to the Navy at *Miletus*, the *Peloponnesians* had plenty of all things for the Army. For they had not onely sufficient pay, but the Souldiers also had store of money yet remaining of the pillage of *Iasus*. And the *Milesians* vnderwent the Warre with a good will. Neuertheless the former Articles of the League made by *Chalcideus* with *Tissaphernes* seemed defectiue, and not so aduantageous to them as to him. Whereupon they agreed to new ones, in the presence of *Tissaphernes*, which were these.

The

A The Agreement of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, with King *Darius* and his children, and with *Tissaphernes*, for league and amity, according to the Articles following.

The second League betwene the *Lacedæmonians* and the King of *Persia*

Whatsoever Territories or Cities doe belong vnto King *Darius*, or were his Fathers, or his Ancestours, Against those shall neither the *Lacedæmonians* goe to make Warre, nor any way to annoy them. Neither shall the *Lacedæmonians*, nor their Confederates, exact Tribute of any of those Cities. Neither shall King *Darius*, nor any vnder his Dominion, make Warre vpon, or any way annoy the *Lacedæmonians*, or any of the *Lacedæmonian* Confederates.

If the *Lacedæmonians* or their Confederates shall neede any thing of the King, or the King of the *Lacedæmonians*, or of their Confederates, what they shall perswade each other to doe, that if they doe it, shall be good.

They shall, both of them, make Warre ioyntly against the *Athenians* and their Confederates; And when they shall giue ouer the Warre, they shall also doe it ioyntly.

Whatsoever Army shall be in the Kings Countrey, sent for by the King, the King shall destroy.

C If any of the Cities comprehended in the League made with the King, shall inuade the Kings Territories, the rest shall oppose them, and defend the King to the utmost of their power.

If any Citie of the Kings, or vnder his Dominion, shall inuade the *Lacedæmonians*, or their Confederates, the King shall make opposition, and defend them, to the utmost of his power.

After this accord made, *Theramenes* deliuered his Gallies into the hands of *Astyocheus*, and putting to Sea in a Light-horseman, is no more seene.

*Theramenes* goeth to Sea in a Light-horseman, and is cast away.

The *Athenians* that were now come with their Armie from *Lesbos* to *Chius*, and were Masters of the Field, and of the Sea; fortified *Delphinium*, a place both strong to the Land-ward, and that had also a Harbour for Shipping, and was not farre from the Citie it selfe of *Chius*. And the *Chians*, as hauing beene disheartned in diuers former Battels, and otherwise, not onely, not mutually well affected, but iealous one of another, (for *Tydeus* and his Complices, had bin put to death by *Pedarithus* for *Articijme*, and the rest of the City was kept in awe, but by force,

The *Chians* in distresse, send for ayde to *Astyocheus*.

R r r



force, and for a time) stirred not against them. And for the causes mentioned, not conceiving themselves, neither with their owne strength, nor with the helpe of those that *Pedarius* had with him, sufficient to giue them battell, they sent to *Miletus*, to require aide from *Astyocheus*. Which when he denyed them, *Pedarius* sent Letters to *Lacedæmon*, complaining of the wrong. Thus proceeded the affaires of the *Athenians* at *Chius*. Also their Fleet at *Samos* went often out, against the Fleet of the Enemy at *Miletus*; but when theirs would neuer come out of the Harbour to encounter them, they returned to *Samos*, and lay still. B

The same Winter, about the Solstice, went out from *Peloponnesus* towards *Ionis*, those 27 Gallies, which at the procurement of *Calligetus* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of *Cyzicus*, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Pharnabazus*. The Commander of them was *Antisthenes* a *Spartan*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* sent eleuen *Spartans* more, to bee of counsell with *Astyocheus*, whereof *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilas* was one. These had Commission, that when they should bee arriued at *Miletus*, besides their generall care to order euery thing to the best, they should send away these Gallies, eyther the same, or more, or fewer, into the *Hellestus* to *Pharnabazus*, if they so thought fit, and and to appoint *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias*, that went along in them, for Commander. And that the same eleuen, if they thought it meete, should put *Astyocheus* from his Charge, and ordaine *Antisthenes* in his place: for they had him in suspition for the Letters of *Pedarius*.

These Gallies holding their course from *Malea* through the maine Sea, and arriuing at *Melos*, lighted on tenne Gallies of the *Athenians*, whereof three they tooke, but without the men, and fired them.

After this, because they feared lest those *Athenian* Gallies that escaped from *Melos*, should giue notice of their comming, to those in *Samos*, (as also it fell out) they changed their course, and went towards *Crete*; and hauing made their Voyage the longer, that it might be the safer, they put in at *Caunus* in *Asia*. Now from thence, as being in a place of safety, they sent a Messenger to the Fleet at *Miletus* for a Conuoy. E

*Astyocheus* refuseth to ayde them, and is complained on by *Pedarius* his Letters to the State.

The Gallies that were provided for *Pharnabazus* set forth towards *Asia*.

*Antisthenes* and 11 other *Spartans* sent with absolute authority into *Ionis*.

They arrive at *Caunus* in *Asia*.

A The *Chians* and *Pedarius* about the same time, notwithstanding their former repulse, and that *Astyocheus* was still backward, sent messengers to him, desiring him to come with his whole Fleet, to helpe them being besieged, and not to suffer the greatest of their Confederate Cities in all *Ionis*, to be thus shut vp by Sea, and rauaged by Land, as it was. For the *Chians* hauing many Naues, more then any one State, except that of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom for their offences they the more vngently punished because of their number, many of them, as soone as the *Athenians* appeared to be settled in their fortifications, ran ouer presently to them; and were they, that knowing the territory so well, did it the greatest spoile. Therefore the *Chians* said he must helpe them, whilst there was hope and possibility to do it. *Delphinium* being still in fortifying, and vnfurnished, and greater fences being in making, both about their Campe and Fleet. *Astyocheus* though he meant it not before, because he would haue made good his threats; yet when he saw the Confederates were willing, he was bent to haue relieued them.

But in the meane time came the messenger from the 27 Gallies, and from the *Lacedæmonian* Counsellours, that were come to *Caunus*. *Astyocheus* therefore esteeming the waiting in of these Gallies, whereby they might the more freely command the Sea, and the safe comming in of those *Lacedæmonians*, who were to looke into his actions, a businesse that ought to be preferred before all other, presently gaue ouer his iourney for *Chius*; and went towards *Caunus*.

As he went by the Coast, he landed at *Cor*; *Meropidis*, being vnwalled, and throwne downe by an Earth-quake, which had happed there, the greatest verily in *Ionians* memorie, and rifled it, the Inhabitants being fled into the Mountaines; and ouerrunning the Countrey, made bootie of all that came in his way, sauing of freemen, and those he dismissed. From *Cor* he went by night to *Cnidus*; but found it necessary, by the aduice of the *Cnidians*, not to land his men there, but to follow, as he was after those 20 Gallies of *Athens*, wherewith *Charminus* one of the *Athenian* Generals gone out frō *Samos*, stood watching for those 27 Gallies that were come from *Peloponnesus*, the same that *Astyocheus* himselfe was going to conuoy. For, they at *Samos* had had intelligence from *Miletus* of their comming, and

Rrr 2

*Charminus*

The *Chians* desire helpe of *Astyocheus*.

*Astyocheus* is diuerted from helping the *Chians*, and goeth to wait in the 27 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, that lay at *Caunus*.



*Charminus* was lying for them about *Syme*, *Chalce*, *Rhodes*, A and the Coast of *Lycia*: For by this time hee knew that they were at *Camus*. *Astyocheus* therefore desiring to outgoe the report of his coming, went as he was, to *Syme*, hoping to finde those Gallies out from the shore. But a shoure of raine, together with the cloudiness of the Skie, made his Gallies to misse their course in the darke, and disordered them.

A fight betweene the Peloponnesian and Athenian Fleets, wherein the Athenians had the worke.

The next morning, the Fleet being scattered, the left Wing was manifestly discried by the *Athenians*, whilst the rest wandred yet about the Island: And thereupon B *Charminus* and the *Athenians* put forth against them with twenty Gallies, supposing they had bene the same Gallies they were watching for, from *Camus*. And presently charging, sunke three of them, and hurt others, and were superiour in the fight, till such time as, contrary to their expectation, the greater part of the Fleet came in fight, and enclozed them about. Then they betooke themselves to flight, and with the losse of fixe Gallies, the rest escaped into the Island of *Tenaglossa*; and from thence to *Halicarnassus*.

After this the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Cnidus*, and C ioyning with those seven and twenty Gallies that came from *Camus*, went all together to *Syme*, and hauing there erected a Trophie, returned againe, and lay at *Cnidus*.

The *Athenians*, when they vnderstood what had passed in this battell went from *Samos* with their whole Nauie to *Syme*. But neither went they out against the Nauie in *Cnidus*, nor the Nauty there, against them. Whereupon they tooke vp the furniture of their Gallies at *Syme*; and assailed *Loryma*, a Towne in the Continent, and so returned to *Samos*. D

The whole Nauy of the *Peloponnesians* being at *Cnidus*, was now in repaying, and refurbishing with such things as it wanted; and withall, those eleuen *Lacedaemonians* conferred with *Tissaphernes* (for hee also was present) touching such things as they disliked in the Articles before agreed on, and concerning the Warre, how it might bee carried for the future, in the best and most aduantagious manner for them both. But *Lycheas* was he that considered the business most neerely, and said, that neither the first League, E nor yet the later by *Theramenes*, was made as it ought to haue

*Tissaphernes* and the *Lacedaemonians* disagree about the Articles of their League.

A haue bene. And that it would be a very hard Condition, that whatsoever Territories the King and his Ancestours possessed before, he should possess the same now: for so he might bring againe into subiectiō all the Ilands, and the Sea, and the *Locrians*, and all as farre as *Boeotia*; and the *Lacedaemonians*, in stead of restoring the *Grecians* into liberty, should put them into subiectiō to the rule of the *Medes*. Therefore he required other and better Articles to bee drawne, and not to stand to these. As for pay, in the new Articles they would require none. But *Tissaphernes* chafing at this, went his way in choler, and nothing was done.

The *Peloponnesians* solicited by Messengers from the great men of *Rhodes*, resolved to goe thither, because they hoped it would not proue impossible, with their number of Seamen, and Army of Land-Souldiers, to bring that Island into their power; and withall supposed themselves able, with their present Confederates to maintaine their Fleet, without asking money any more of *Tissaphernes*. Presently therefore, the same Winter, they put forth from C *Cnidus*, and arriuing in the Territory of *Rhodes*, at *Cameirus*, first frightened the Commons out of it; that knew not of the business; and they fled. Then the *Lacedaemonians* called together both these, and the \* *Rhodians* of the two Cities, *Lindus* and *Ielysus*, and perswaded them to revolt from the *Athenians*. And *Rhodes* turned to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Athenians* at the same time hearing of their designe, put forth with their Fleet from *Samos*, desiring to haue arriued before them, and were seene in the maine Sea, too late, though not much. For the present they went away to D *Chalce*, and thence backe to *Samos*, but afterwards they came forth with their Gallies diuers times, and made Warre against *Rhodes*, from *Chalce*, *Cors*, and *Samos*. Now the *Peloponnesians* did no more to the *Rhodians*, but leaue money amongst them, to the summe of \* thirty two Talents; and otherwise for fourescore dayes that they lay there; hauing their Gallies haled ashore, they meddled not;

*Rhodes* revolteth to the *Peloponnesians*.

\* The City of *Rhodes* was not then built.

\* Deep penne, *Reynolds* the old sailing time

In this time, as also before the going of the *Peloponnesians* to *Rhodes*, came to passe the things that follow.

E \* *Alcibiades*, after the death of *Chalcideus*, and Battell at *Miletus*, being suspected by the *Peloponnesians*; and *Astyocheus* hauing

*Alcibiades* flyeth to *Tissaphernes*, and crosseth the business of the *Peloponnesians*.



having receiued letters from them from *Lacedemon*, to put A him to death (for he was an enemy to *Agis*, and also otherwise not well trusted) retired to *Tissaphernes*, first for feare, and afterwards to his power hindred the affaires of the *Peloponnesians*. And being in every thing his instructor, he not only cut shorter their pay, inasmuch as from a \* *Drachma*, he brought it to 3 \* oboles, and those also not continually paid; advising *Tissaphernes* to tel them, how that the *Athenians*, men of a long continued skill in Nauall affaires, allowed but three oboles to their owne, not so much for want of money, but lest the Mariners, some of them growing B insolent, by superfluity, should disable their bodies, by spending their money on such things as would weaken them, and others should quit the Gallies, with the arreare of their pay in their Captaines hands for a pawne; but also gaue counsell to *Tissaphernes*, to giue money to the Captaines of the Gallies, and to the Generals of the seuerall Cities (saue onely those of *Syracuse*) to giue way vnto it. For *Hermocrates*, the Generall of the *Syracusians* was the onely man, that in the name of the whole League stood against it. And for the Cities that came to require money, he would put them backe himselfe, and C answer them in *Tissaphernes* his name, and say; namely to the *Chians*, that they were impudent men, being the richest of the *Grecian* States, and preferred by Strangers; to expect neuertheless, that others, for their liberty, should not only venture their persons, but maintaine them with their purses. And to other States, that they did vniustly, having laid out their mony before they revolted, that they might serue the *Athenians*, not to bestow as much, or more now vpon themselves. And told them, that *Tissaphernes*, D now he made Warre at his owne owne charges, had reason to be sparing, but when money should come downe from the *King*, he would then giue them their full pay, and assill the Cities as should be fit. Moreover, he advised *Tissaphernes* not to be too hasty to make an end of the Warre, nor to fetch in the *Phenician* Fleet which was making ready, nor take more men into pay, whereby to put the whole power both by Sea and Land, into the hands of one. But to let the Dominion remaine diuided into two, that the *King*, when one side troubled him, might set vpon E it with the other. Whereas the Dominion both by Sea and

\* 7 pence halfe penny.

\* 3 pence halfe penny for biding.

He aduisech *Tissaphernes* to shorten their pay.

And to corrupt the Captaines.

The integrity of *Hermocrates*.*Alcibiades* answereth in *Tissaphernes* name, to the Cities that call vpon him for money, and puts them off.He counselleth *Tissaphernes* to prolong the War, and assill both sides.

A and Land being in one, he will want, by whom to pull downe those that hold it, vntill with great danger and cost, he should come and try it out himselfe. But thus the danger would be lesse chargeable (he being but at a small part of the cost,) and he should weare out the *Grecians* one against another, and himselfe in the meane time remaine in safety.

He said further, that the *Athenians* were fitter to partake dominion with him then the other, for that they were lesse ambitious of power by Land; and that their speeches B and actions tended more to the *Kings* purpose: For that they would ioyn with him to subdue the *Grecians*, that is to say, for themselves, as touching the dominion by Sea, and for the *King*, as touching the *Grecians* in the *Kings* Territories. Whereas the *Lacedemonians* on the contrary, were come to set them free. And it was not likely but that they that were come to deliuer the *Grecians* from the *Grecians*, will (if they overcome the *Athenians*) deliuer them also from the *Barbarians*.

He gaue counsell therefore, first to weare them out C both, and then, when he had clipped, as neere as he could, the wings of the *Athenians*, to dismisse the *Peloponnesians* out of his Countrey. And *Tissaphernes* had a purpose to doe accordingly, as farre as by his actions can be coniectured: For hereupon he gaue himselfe to beleuee *Alcibiades*, as his best Counsellour in these affaires, and neither paid the *Peloponnesians* their wages, nor would suffer them to fight by Sea, but pretending the coming of the *Phenician* Fleete, whereby they might afterwards fight with oddes, he ouerthrew their proceedings, and abated the D vigour of their Nauy, before very puissant, and was in all things else more backward, then hee could possibly dissemble.

Now *Alcibiades* aduised the *King* and *Tissaphernes* to this, whilest he was with them, partly, because he thought the same to be inded the best course, but partly also, to make way for his owne returne into his Countrey: knowing, that if he destroyed it not, the time would one day come, that he might perswade the *Athenians* to recall him. And the best way to perswade them to it, he thought was this, E to make it appeare vnto them, that he was powerfull with *Tissaphernes*. Which also came to passe. For after the

He aduisech him, of the two, to fauour the *Athenians*, the rather, as fitter to helpe subdue the *Grecians*.*Tissaphernes* guided by the counsell of *Alcibiades*, hindred the successe of the *Peloponnesians*.*Alcibiades* asymeth at his returne to *Athen*, by making shew of his power with *Tissaphernes*.*Athenian*



Motion made for the recalling of Alcibiades, & deposing of the People.

Athenian Souldiers at Samos saw what power he had with A him, the Captaines of Gallies, and principall men there, partly vpon Alcibiades his owne motion, who had sent to the greatest amongst them, that they should remember him to the best sort, and say, that he desired to come home, so the gouernment might bee in the hands of a Few, not of euill persons, nor yet of the Multitude that cast him out; and that he would bring Tissaphernes to be their friend, and to warre on their side; but chiefly of their owne accords had their mindes enclined to the deposing of the popular gouernment.

This businesse was set on foot first in the Campe, and from thence proceeded afterwards into the Citie. And certaine persons went ouer to Alcibiades out of Samos, and had conference with him. And when he had vndertaken to bring to their friendship, first Tissaphernes, and then the King, in case the Gouernment were taken from the People, (for then, he said, the King might the better rely vpon them) they that were of most power in the City, who also were the most toyled out, entred into great hope, both to haue the ordering of the State at home themselves, and victory also ouer the enemy. And when they came backe to Samos, they drew all such as were for their purpose into an Oath of Conspiracie with themselves, and to the Multitude gaue it out openly, that if Alcibiades might be recalled, and the People put from the Gouernment, the King would turne their friend, and furnish them with Money. Though the Multitude were grieved with this proceeding for the present, yet for the great hope they had of the Kings pay, they surred not.

Conspiracy in the Army at Samos, against the Democracy of Athens.

But they that were setting vp the Oligarchy, when they had communicated thus much to the Multitude, fell to consideration anew, and with more of their Conspiracies, of the things spoken by Alcibiades. And the rest thought the matter easie, and worthy to be beleued: but Phrynichus, who yet was Generall of the Army, liked it not, but thought (as the truth was) that Alcibiades cared no more for the Oligarchy then the Democracie, nor had any other ayme in it, but onely by altering the Gouernment that then was, to be called home by his associates. And said, they were especially to looke to this, that they did not mutiny for the King, who could not very easily be induced (the Pelopon-

Phrynichus is against the recalling of Alcibiades.

A nesians being now as much masters at Sea as themselves, and ha-  
uing no small Cities within his Dominions) to ioyne with the Athe-  
nians, whom he trusted not; and to trouble himselfe; when he might  
haue the friendship of the Peloponnesians, that neuer did him  
hurt.

As for the Confederate Cities to whom they promise Oligar-  
chy, in that they themselves doe put downe the Democracie, he  
said, he knew full well, that neyther those which were already re-  
uolted would the sooner returne to, nor those that remained, be euer  
the more confirmed in their obedience thereby. For they would  
B neuer bee so willing to be in subiection, either to the Few, or to the  
People, as they would be to haue their liberty, which side soeuer it  
were that should giue it them. But would thinke, that euen those  
which are termed the \* Good men, if they had the Gouernment,  
would giue them as much to doe, as the People, being Contriuers  
and authors to the People, of doing those mischiefs against them,  
out of which they make most profit vnto themselves. And that if  
the Few had the rule, then they should be put to death vnrheard,  
and more violently then by the former, whereas the People is their  
refuge, and moderator of the others insolence. This he said, he  
C was certaine that the Cities thought, in that they had learned the  
same by the actions themselves. And that therefore what was yet  
propounded by Alcibiades, he by no means approved.

\* εὐνοεῖται. The best men, or Aristocracy, a difference from the Oligarchy, which was of the richest sort only. For the Good then who in the Democracie are the Peoples minis-  
ters, and put the People vpon all they doe, will doe the same things themselves, when they haue the Souerainety in their hands.

But those of the Conspiracy there assembled, not onely  
approved the present proposition, but also made prepara-  
tion to send Pisander and others Ambassadors to Athens,  
to negotiate concerning the reduction of Alcibiades, the dis-  
solution of the Democracie, and the procuring vnto the Athe-  
nians the friendship of Tissaphernes.

D Now Phrynichus knowing that an ouerture was to bee  
made at Athens for the restoring of Alcibiades, and that the  
Athenians would embrace it; and fearing lest being recalled  
he should doe him a mischiefe (in regard hee had spoken  
against it) as one that would hate hindred the same, be-  
tooke himselfe to this course. He sends secret Letters to A-  
styoebus, the Lacedaemonian Generall, who was yet about Mi-  
lerus, and aduertised him, that Alcibiades vndid their affaires,  
and was procuring the friendship of Tissaphernes for the A-  
E thenians, writing in plaine termes the whole busi-  
nesse, and desiring to bee excused, if hee rendered euill  
S f f to

The treason of Phrynichus against the State, set  
teare of Alcibiades.

He writes secret Letters  
to Astyoebus.



*Astyochoe appeareth him to Alcibiades.*

*Phrynichus sends to Astyochoe againe, and offers to put the whole army into his hands.*

*The device of Phrynichus to auoyd the danger.*

to his enemy, with some disadvantage to his Countrey. *Astyochoe* had before this, laid by the purpose of reuenge against *Alcibiades*, especially when he was not in his owne hands. And going to him to *Magnesia*, and to *Tissaphernes*, related vnto them, what aduertisement he had receiued from *Samos*, and made himselfe the appeacher. For he adhered (as was said) to *Tissaphernes* for his priuate lucre, both in this, and in diuers other matters; which was also the cause, that concerning the pay, when the abatement was made, hee was not to stout in opposing it, as hee ought to haue bene. Hereupon *Alcibiades* sendeth Letters presently to those that were in office at *Samos* accusing *Phrynichus* of what hee had done, and requiring to haue him put to death. *Phrynichus*, perplexed with this discouery, &c brought into danger indeed, sends againe to *Astyochoe*, blaming what was past, as not well concealed and promised now, to be ready to deliuer vnto him the whole Armie at *Samos*, to be destroyed; writing from point to point, (*Samos* being vnwalled) in what manner he would doe it, and sayings that since his life was brought in danger, they could not blame him, though he did this, or any other thing, rather then be destroyed by his most deadly enemies. This also *Astyochoe* reuealed vnto *Alcibiades*.

But *Phrynichus* hauing had notice betimes how he abused him, and that Letters of this from *Alcibiades* were in a manner come, he anticipates the newes himselfe, and tels the Armie, That whereas *Samos* was unwalled, and the Gallies rid not all within, the Enemy meant to come and assault the Harbour, That hee had sure intelligence hereof; and that they ought therefore with all speed to raise a Wall about the Citie, and to put Garrisons into other places thereabouts. Now *Phrynichus* was Generall himselfe, and it was in his owne power to see it done. They then fell to walling, wherby *Samos* (which they meant to haue done how soeuer) was so much the sooner walled in. Not long after came Letters from *Alcibiades*, that the Army was betrayed by *Phrynichus*, and that the Enemy purposed to invade the Harbour where they lay. But now, they thought not *Alcibiades* worthy to be beleued, but rather that hauing foreseene the designe of the enemy, he went about out of malice, to fasten it vpon *Phrynichus*, as conscious of it likewise. So that he did him no hurt by telling it, but bare witness

A nesse rather of that which *Phrynichus* had told them of before.

After this *Alcibiades* endeouored to encline and perswade *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the Athenians; for though *Tissaphernes* feared the Peloponnesians, because their Fleete was greater then that of the Athenians, yet if hee had bene able, he had a good will to haue bene perswaded by him, especially in his anger against the Peloponnesians, after the dissension at *Cnidus*, about the League made by *Theramenes*, (for they were already falne out, the Peloponnesians being about this time in *Rhodes*) wherein that which had bene before spoken by *Alcibiades*, how that the coming of the Lacedemonians was to restore all the Cities to their liberty, was now verified by *Lichas*, in that he said, it was an Article not to be suffered, that the King should hold those Cities, which he and his Ancestors then or before had holden. *Alcibiades* therefore, as one that laboured for no trifle, with all his might applied himselfe to *Tissaphernes*.

The Arabian Ambassadors sent from *Samos* with *Pisander*, being arrived at *Athens*, were making their propositions to the People. And related vnto them summarily the points of their business, and principally this, That if they would call home *Alcibiades*, and not suffer the Government to remaine in the hands of the People, in such manner as it did, they might haue the King for their Confederate, and get the victory of the Peloponnesians. Now when many opposed that point touching the Democracie, and the enemies of *Alcibiades* clamoured withall, that it would bee a horrible thing hee should return by forcing the Governmēt, when the \**Eumolpidae*, and \**Ceryces* bare witness against him concerning the *Mysteries*, for which he fled, and prohibited his returne vnder their curse. *Pisander*, at this great opposition and querimony, stood out, and going amongst them, tooke out one by one those that were against it, and asked them, Whether now that the Peloponnesians had as many Gallies at Sea to oppose them, as they themselves had, and Confederate Cities, more then they, and were furnished with money by the King and *Tissaphernes*, the Athenians being without, they had any other hope to saue their State, but by perswading the King to come about to their side? And they that were asked hauing nothing to answer, then in plaine termes hee said vnto them, This you cannot now obtaine, except wee administer the State with

*Alcibiades* edinburgh. to the same Chap. 1785 to the part of the amission.

*Pisander* getteth the Athenians to be content with the Oligarchy, and to giue him and others Commission to treat with *Alcibiades*.

\* *Eumolpidae*, a Family descended from *Eumolpus*, the author at *Athens* of the *Mysteries* of *Ceres*. This Familie had the chiefe authority in matter that concerned these Rites.  
\* *Ceryces*, *Heralds* in War, Ambassadors in peace, Suidas. They pronounced all formal words in the Ceremonies of their Religion, and were a Family descended from *Ceryx* the sonne of *Mercury*.



with more moderation, and bring the power into the hands of a Few, that the King may rely vpon vs. And wee deliberate at this time, not so much about the forme, as about the preseruation of the State; for if you mislike the forme, you may change it againe hereafter. And let vs recall Alcibiades, who is the onely man that can bring this to passe.

The People hearing of the Oligarchy, tooke it very haynously at first; But when Pisander had proued euidently, that there was no other way of safety, in the end, partly for feare, and partly because they hoped agame to change the Gouvernement, they yeelded thereunto. So B they ordered, that Pisander, and tenne others, should goe, and treat, both with Tissaphernes, and with Alcibiades, as to them should seeme best. Withall, vpon the accusation of Pisander against Phrynichus, they discharged both Phrynichus, and Scironidas, his fellow-Commissioner, of their Command, and made Diomedon and Leon Generals of the Fleet in their places.

Now the cause why Pisander accused Phrynichus, and said he had betrayed Iasus and Amorges, was onely this, hee thought him a man vnfit for the businesse now in hand with Alcibiades.

Pisander, after he had gone about to all those Combinations (which were in the Citie before, for obtaining of places of Iudicature, and of Command) exhorting them to stand together, and aduise about deposing the Democracie; and when he had dispatched the rest of his businesse, so as there should be no more cause for him to stay there, tooke Sea with those other tenne, to goe to Tissaphernes.

Leon and Diomedon arriuing the same Winter at the Athenian Fleet, made a Voyage against Rhodes, and finding there the Peloponnesian Gallies drawne vp to Land, disbarke, and ouercame in battell such of the Rhodians as made head; and then put to Sea againe, and went to Chalee. After this they made sharper Warre vpon them from Cos. For from thence they could better obserue the Peloponnesian Navy, when it should put off from the Land.

In this while, there arriued at Rhodes, Xenophontidas a Laconian, sent out of Chius from Pedaritus, to aduertise them, that the Fortification of the Athenians there, was now finished, and that vnlesse they came and relieued them E with their whole Fleet, the State of Chius must vtterly be

Phrynichus accused by Pisander, and discharged of his command.

Leon and Diomedon warre vpon the Peloponnesian Navy at Rhodes.

Chius distressed, and Pedaritus the Captaine flaine.

A be lost. And it was resolu'd to relieue them. But Pedaritus in the meane time, with the whole power both of his owne auxiliar Forces, and of the Chians, made an assault vpon the Fortification which the Athenians had made about their Nauy, part whereof he wonne, and had gotten some Gallies that were drawne aland. But the Athenians issuing out vpon them, first put to flight the Chians, and then ouercame also the rest of the Army about Pedaritus, and slew Pedaritus himselfe, and tooke many of the Chians prisoners, and much Armour. After this the Chians were besieged both by Sea and Land more narrowly, and great famine was in the City.

Pisander, and the other Athenian Ambassadors that went with him, when they came to Tissaphernes, began to conferre about the agreement. But Alcibiades (for he was not sure of Tissaphernes, because he stood in feare too much of the Peloponnesians, and had a purpose besides, as Alcibiades himselfe had taught him, to weaken both sides yet more) betooke himselfe to this shift; that Tissaphernes should breake off the Treaty, by making to the Athenians C exorbitant demands. And it seemed that Tissaphernes and hee ayimed at the same thing; Tissaphernes for feare; and Alcibiades, for that when he saw Tissaphernes not desirous to agree; though the offers were neuer so great, he was vnwilling to haue the Athenians thinke hee could not perswade him to it; but rather that he was already perswaded and willing, and that the Athenians came not to him with sufficient offers. For Alcibiades being the man that spake for Tissaphernes, though he were also present, made vnto them such excessiue demands, that though the Athenians D should haue yeelded to the greatest part of them, yet it must haue bene attributed to them, that the Treaty went not on. For they demanded first, That all Ionia should be rendred. Then againe The adiacent Ilands, and other things, which the Athenians stood not against. In fine, at the third meeting, when he feared now plainly to be found vnable to make good his word, he required, That they should suffer the King to build a Navy, and sayle vp and downe by their Coast, where soeuer, and with what number soeuer of Gallies hee himselfe should thinke good.

E Vpon this, the Athenians would treat no longer, esteeming the Conditions intolerable, and that Alcibiades had

Alcibiades vnable to make good his word, in bringing Tissaphernes to the Athenians side, demandeth excessive conditions, to make the breach appeare to proceed from the Athenians, and to saue his own credit.



had abused them; and so went away in a chafeto Sa-A mos.

*Tissaphernes* hearkeneth againe to the Peloponnesians.

Presently after this the same Winter, *Tissaphernes* went to *Caunus*, with intent both to bring the *Peloponnesians* backe to *Miletus*, and also, (as soone as he should haue agreed vnto new Articles such as he could get) to giue the Fleet their pay; and not to fall directly out with them, for feare, lest so many Gallies wanting maintenance, should either bee forced by the *Athenians* to fight, and so bee ouercome, or empied of men, the businesse might succeed with the *Athenians* according to their owne desire, without him. Besides, he was afraid, lest looking out for maintenance, they should make spoile in the Continent. In consideration, and foresight of all which things, he desired to counterpoise the *Grecians*. And sending for the *Peloponnesians*, hee gaue them their pay, and now made the third League, as followeth.

The third League betwene *Tissaphernes* and the *Peloponnesians*.

In the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, *Alexippidas* being Ephore in *Lacedæmon*, Agreement was made in the *Plaine of Mæander*, betwene the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates on one part, and *Tissaphernes*, and *Hieramenes*, and the *sons of Pharnaces* on the other part; concerning the affaires of the King, and of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates.

That whatsoeuer Countrey in *Asia* belongeth to the King, shall be the Kings still. And that concerning his owne Countreies, it shall bee lawfull for the King to doe whatsoeuer hee shall thinke meete.

That the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall not invade any the Territories of the King, to harme them; nor the King, the Territories of the *Lacedæmonians* or their Confederates.

If any of the *Lacedæmonians* or their Confederates shall invade the Kings Countrey to doe it hurt, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall oppose it. And if any of the Kings Countrey shall invade the *Lacedæmonians*, or their Confederates, to doe them hurt, the King shall oppose it.

That *Tissaphernes* shall, according to the rates agreed on, maintaine the present Fleet, till the Kings Fleet arrive.

That when the Kings Navy shall be come, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall maintaine their owne Naue themselves,

A selves, if they please; or if they will haue *Tissaphernes* to maintaine it, he shall doe it: And that the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, at the end of the Warre, repay *Tissaphernes* what soeuer money they shall haue receiued of him. And when the Kings Gallies shall be arrived, both they, and the Gallies of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, shall make the Warre ioyntly, according to the *Tissaphernes*, and the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall seeme good. And if they will give over the Warre against the *Athenians*, they shall give it over in the same manner.

B Such were the Articles.

After this *Tissaphernes* prepared for the fetching in of the *Phœnician Fleet*, according to the Agreement, and to doe whatsoeuer else hee had vnderaken, desiring to haue it done, at least, that he went about it.

In the end of this Winter, the *Bœotians* took *Oropus* by Treason. It had in it a Garrison of *Athenians*. They that plotted it, were certaine *Bœotians* and some of *Oropus* itselfe, who were then continuing the reuolt of *Eubœa*.

C The place being built to keepe *Bœotia* in subiection, it was impossible, as long as the *Athenians* held it; but that it would much annoy both *Eubœa*, and the rest of *Eubœa*. Having *Oropus* in their hands already, they came to *Rebodes* to call the *Peloponnesians* into *Eubœa*. But the *Peloponnesians* had a greater inclination to relieue *Chius* now distressed, and putting to Sea, departed out of *Rebodes* with their whole Fleet. When they were come about *Trochus*, they discovered the *Athenian Fleet* in the maine Sea, going from *Chius*. And neither side assailing other, they put in the one Fleet at *Samos*, the other at *Miletus*. For the *Peloponnesians* saw they could not passe to relieue *Chius*, without a Battell. Thus ended this Winter, and the twentieth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, in the beginning of the Spring, *Alexippidas* a Spartan, was sent by Land into *Hellepont*, with a small Army, to worke the reuolt of *Abdus*, a Colonie of the *Milidsians*. And the *Chians* at the same time, whilst *Astyocheus* was at a stand how to helpe them, were compelled by the pressure of the Siege, to hazard a Battell by Sea.

E Now whilst *Astyocheus* lay in *Rebodes*, they had receiued into

Orpus taken by Treason.

THE ONE AND TWENTIETH YEERE.

The Chians fight against the Athenians that besieged them.

The Chians fight against the Athenians that besieged them.



into the Citie of *Chiu*, after the death of *Pedagium*, one *Le* A  
on a *Sparian*, that came along with *Antisthenes* as a private  
Souldier, and with him twelue Gallies that lay at the  
guard of *Miletus*, whereof five were *Thurians*, foure *Syrac*  
*cusians*, one of *Anea*, one of *Miletus*, and one of *Leons* owne.  
whereupon the *Chians* issuing forth with the whole force  
of the City, seized a certain place of strength, and put forth  
thirty six Gallies against thirty two of the *Athenians*, and  
fought. After a sharpe fight, wherein the *Chians* and their  
associates had not the worst; and when it beganne to bee  
darke, they retired againe into the City.

*Abydos* and *Lampacus*  
reuoit.

Presently after this, *Dercylidas* being arriued now in *Hel* B  
*lespont* from *Miletus*, by Land, *Abydos* reuolted, to him, and  
to *Pharnabazus*. And two dayes after, reuolted also *Lamp*  
*sacus*.

*Sirombichides* recouereth  
*Lampacus*.

*Sirombichides* hauing intelligence of this, made haste  
thither from *Chiu*, with foure and twenty Sayle of *Atheni*  
*ans*, (those being also of that number, which transported  
his men of Armes.) And when hee had overcome the  
*Lampacens* that came out against him, and taken *Lampacus*,  
being an open Towne, at the first shout of their voyces; C  
and made Prize of all the goods they found, and of the  
Slaves, he placed the Free-men there againe, and went a  
gainst *Abydos*. But when that Citie neither yeelded, nor  
could be taken by assault, he crossed ouer from *Abydos* to  
the opposite shore, and in *Sestus*, a Citie of *Chersonesus*,  
(possessed heretofore by the *Modes*) he placed a Garrison,  
for the custody of the whole *Hellepont*.

In the meane time, not onely the *Chians* had the Sea at  
more command, but *Astyocheus* also, and the Army at *Mi* D  
*letus*, hauing bene aduertised what past in the fight by  
Sea, and that *Sirombichides* and those Gallies with him  
were gone away, tooke heart. And *Astyocheus* going to *Chi*  
*us*, with two Gallies fetched away the Gallies that were  
there, and with the whole Fleet now together, went a  
gainst *Samos*. But seeing they of *Samos*, by reason of their  
zealousie one towards another, came not against him, hee  
went backe againe to *Miletus*. For it was about this time,  
that the *Democracie* was put downe at *Athens*.

The Democracy at *Athens*  
put downe by *Pisander*  
and his fellowes.

For after that *Pisander* and his fellow-Ambassadors  
that had bene with *Tissaphernes*, were come to *Samos*, they E  
both assured their affaires yet better in the Army, and also  
pro-

A prouoked the principall men of the *Samians* to attempt  
with them the erecting of the *Oligarchy*; though there  
were then an insurrection amongst them against the *Oligar*  
*chy*. And withall the *Athenians* at *Samos*, in a conference a-  
mongst themselves, deliberated, how, since *Alcibiades* would  
not, to let him alone, (for indeed they thought him no fit  
man to come into an *Oligarchy*) but for themselves, seeing  
they were already engaged in the danger, to take care, both  
to keepe the businesse from a relapse, and withall to  
sustaine the Warre, and to contribute money, and whatsoe  
B euer else was needfull, with alacrity, out of their private  
estates, and no more to toyle for other then themselves!  
Hauing thus aduised, they sent *Pisander* with halfe the  
Ambassadors presently home, to follow the businesse  
there, with command to set vp the *Oligarchy* in all Cities  
they were to touch at by the way; the other halfe they sent  
about, some to one part of the State, and some to another.  
And they sent away *Diotrephes* to his Charge, who was  
now about *Chiu*, chosen to goe Gouvernour of the Cities  
vpon *Thrace*.

C Hee, when he came to *Thasus*, deposed the People. And  
within two moneths at most, after he was gone, the *Tha*  
*sians* fortified their Citie, as needing no longer an *Aristocracy*  
with the *Athenians*, but expecting liberty every day by the  
helpe of the *Lacedaemonians*. For there were also certaine  
of them with the *Peloponnesians*, driuen out by the *Atheni*  
*ans*; and these practised with such in the City as were for  
their purpose, to receiue Gallies into it, and to cause it to  
reuoit. So that it fell out for them iust as they would haue  
it, that that estate of theirs, was set vp without their dan  
D ger, and that the People was deposed, that would haue  
withstood it. Insomuch as at *Thasus* it fell out contrary to  
what those *Athenians* thought, which erected the *Oligarchy*;  
and so, in my opinion, it did in many other places of their  
Dominion. For the Cities now growne wise, and withall  
resolute in their proceedings, sought a direct liberty, and  
preferred not before it, that outside of a well-ordered Go  
uernment, introduced by the *Athenians*.

The authors of the *Oligar*  
*chy* resolute to leaue out  
*Alcibiades*, and to gouerne  
the State with their pri  
uate means for them  
selves.

The *Athenians* hauing set  
vp the *Oligarchy* in *Thasus*,  
it presently reuolteth  
from them.

They with *Pisander*, according to the order giuen  
E them, entering into the Cities, as they went by, dissolued  
the *Democracies*, & hauing in some places obtained also an

The proceeding of *Pisa*  
*nder* in setting vs the *Oli*  
*garchy*.

T t t

ayde



ayde of men of Armes, they came to Athens, and found the A  
 businesse for the greatest part dispatched to their hands, by  
 their Complices, before their comming. For certaine  
 yong men combining themselues, had not onely murdered  
*Androckes* priuily, a principall Patron of the Popular go-  
 uernment, and one that had his hand the farthest in the  
 banishment of *Alcibiades*; whom they slew for two cau-  
 ses: for the sway hee bare amongst the People, and to  
 gratifie *Alcibiades*, who they thought would returne, and  
 get them the friendship of *Tissaphernes*; but had also made  
 away diuers men vsit for their Designe, in the same man- B  
 ner. They had withall an Oration ready made, which  
 they deliuered in publike, wherein they said, *That there*  
*ought none to receiue wages, but such as serued in the Warres, nor*  
*to participate of the Gouernment, more then 5000, and those, such*  
*as by their purges and persons were best able to serue the Common-*  
*Wealth.*

And this with the most carried a good shew, because  
 they that would set forward the alteration of the State, C  
 were to haue the manning of the same. Yet the People  
 and the \* *Councell of the Beane*, met still, but debated no-  
 thing, saue what the Conspirators thought fit. Nay, all  
 that spake were of that number, and had considered before  
 what they were to say. Nor would any of the rest speake  
 against them, for feare, and because they saw the Combina-  
 tion was great; and if any man did, he was quickly made  
 away by one conuenient meanes or other, and no enquire  
 made after the deed-doers, nor Iustice prosecuted against  
 any that was suspected.

But the People were so quiet, and so afraid, that every D  
 man thought it gain to escape violence, though he said  
 neuer a word. Their hearts failed them, because they  
 thought the Conspirators more then indeed they were:  
 and to learne their number, in respect of the greatnesse of  
 the Citie, and for that they knew not one another, they  
 were vnable.

For the same cause also was it impossible for any man  
 that was angry at it, to be none himselfe, whereby to be re-  
 uenged on them that conspired. For he must haue told his  
 mind, either to one he knew not, or to one he knew & trust- E  
 ed not. For the *Populares* approached each other, every one  
 with

\* The Senate or Council of  
500.

A with ieaousie, as if they thought him of the plot. For  
 indeed there were such amongst them, as no man would  
 haue thought would euer haue turned to the *Oligarchy*; and  
 those were they that caused in the *Many* that diffidence,  
 and by strengthening the ieaousie of the *populares* one against  
 another, conferred most to the security of the *Few*. Du-  
 ring this opportunity, *Pisander*, and they that were with  
 him comming in, fell in hand presently with the remain-  
 der of the businesse. And first they assembled the *People*,  
 and deliuered their opinion, for tenne men to bee chosen  
 B with power absolute, to make a draught of Lawes, and  
 (hauing drawne them) to deliuer their opinion at a day  
 appointed, before the *People*, touching the best forme of  
 government for the Citie.

Afterwards, when that day came, they summoned the  
 Assembly to *Colonus*, (which is a place consecrated to *Nep-*  
*tune*, without the City, about two Furlongs off) And they  
 that were appointed to write the Lawes, presented this,  
 and onely this, *That it should be lawfull for any Athenian to*  
*deliuer whatsoever opinion hee pleased*, imposing of great  
 C punishments vpon whosoever should eyther accuse any  
 that so spake, of violating the Lawes, or otherwise do him  
 hurt. Now here indeed it was in plaine termes propoun-  
 ded, *That not any Magistracy of the forme before vsed, might any*  
*longer be in force, nor any Fee belong vnto it, but that five Pry-*  
*tanes might be elected, and these five choose a hundred, and every*  
*one of this hundred take vnto him three others. And these 400*  
*entring into the Councell-house, might haue absolute authority to*  
*gouerne the State as they thought best, and to summon the 5000, as*  
*oft as to them should seeme good.* He that deliuered this opi-  
 D nion was *Pisander*, who was also otherwise, openly the  
 forwardest to put downe the *Democracie*. But he that con-  
 truiued the whole businesse, how to bring it to this passe,  
 and had long thought vpon it, was *Aniphon*, a man for ver-  
 tue not inferiour to any *Athenian* of his time, and the a-  
 blest of any man, both to deuise well, and also to expresse  
 well, what he had deuised. And though he came not into  
 the assemblies of the *People*, nor willingly to any other de-  
 batings, because the *Multiitude* had him in ieaousie for the  
 opinion they had of the power of his eloquence, yet  
 E when any man that had occasion of suite, eyther in  
 the Courts of Iustice, or in the Assembly of the *People*,  
 came

The forme of the new O-  
ligarchy.

*Pisander* a principall man  
of the *Oligarchs*.

*Aniphon* another setter  
vp of the *Few*.

The praise of *Aniphon*.



came to him for his counsell, this one man was able to help A him most. The same man, when afterwards the government of the Four hundred went downe, and was vexed of the People, was heard pleade for himselfe, when his life was in question for that businesse, the best of any man to this day.

*Phrynichus* another author of the *Oligarchy*.

*Phrynichus* also shewed himselfe an earnest man for the *Oligarchy*, and that more eminently then any other, because he feared *Alcibiades*, and knew him to be acquainted with all his practices at *Samos* with *Astyocheus*; and thought in all probability, that he would neuer returne, to liue vnder B the government of the Few. And this man in any matter of weight, appeared the most sufficient to bee relyed on.

Also *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, an able man both for elocution and vnderstanding, was another of the Principall of those that ouerthrew the *Democracie*. So that it is no maruell if the businesse tooke effect, being by many and wise men conducted, though it were a hard one. For it went fore with the *Athenian People*, almost a hundred yeeres after the expulsion of the *Tyrants*, to be now C depriued of their liberty, hauing not onely not bene subiect to any, but also for the halfe of this time, bene enured to dominion ouer others.

The 400 enter vpon the Senate, and dismisst the Senate of 500, called the Council of the Beane.

When the Assembly (after it had passed these things, no man contradicting) was dissolued, then afterwards they brought the Four hundred into the Councell-house, in this manner. The *Athenians* were euermore partly on the Walles, and partly at their Armes in the Campe, in regard of the Enemie that lay at *Declelea*. Therefore on the day appointed, they suffered such as knew not their intent, to goe forth, as they were wont. But to such as were D of the Conspiracy, they quietly gaue order, not to goe to the Campe it selfe, but to lagge behind at a certaine distance, and if any man should oppose what was in doing, to take Armes and keepe them backe. They to whom this charge was giuen, were the *Andrians*, *Tenians*, three hundred *Carystians*, and such of the Colonie of *Agina* which the *Athenians* had sent thither to inhabite, as came on purpose to this action with their owne Armes. These things thus ordered, the Four hundred, with euery man a secret E Dagger, accompanied with one hundred and twenty yong men

A men of Greece, (whom they vsed for occasions of shedding blood) came in vpon the \**Counsellors of the Beane*, as they sat in the *Councell-house*, and commanded them to take their salary, and be gone, which also they brought ready with them, for the whole time they were behind, and payed it to them as they went out. And the rest of the Citizens mutined not, but rested quiet.

\*The Senate or Councell of 500 made by lot, in which lot they vsed Beanes, white and blacke.

The 400 being now entred into the *Councell-house*, created \**Prytanes* amongst themselves by lot, and made their prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, all that were before vsuall at the entrance vpon the Government. And afterwards, receding farre from that course, which in the administration of the State, was vsed by the People, saying that for *Alcibiades* his sake, they recalled not the Outlawes, in other things they gouerned the Common-wealth imperiously. And not onely slew some, though not many, such as they thought fit to be made away, and imprisoned some, and confined others to places abroad, but also sent Heralds to *Agis*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, who was then at *Declelea*, signifying that they would come to composition with him, and that now he might better treat with them, then he might before with the vnconstant People.

\*These were presidents in the Councell of the 500, in number 50, and in turnes moderated and put the question in that Councell, and also in the Assemblies of the People.

But he, not imagining that the Citie was yet in quiet, not willing, so soone, to deliuer vp their ancient liberty, but rather, that, if they saw him approach with great forces, they would be in tumult, not yet beleeuing fully, but that some stirre or other would arise amongst them, gaue no answer at all to those that came from the Four hundred, touching the composition; but hauing sent for new, and great forces out of *Peloponnesus*, came downe himselfe not long after, both with the Army at *Declelea*, and those new commers, to the *Athenian* Walles. Hoping that they would fall into his hands according to his desire, at least the more easily for their confusion, or perhaps at the very first shout of their voyces, in respect of the tumult that in all likelihood was to happen both within and without the Citie. For, as for the *Long-walles*, in regard of the few Defendants likely to be found vpon them, he thought he could not faile to take them. But when he came neere, E and the *Athenians* were without any the least alteration within, and had with their Horsemen which they sent out,

*Agis*, in hope that the Citie was in sedition, cometh to assault it, but is repulst.



out, and a part of their men of Armes, and of their Light-A armed, and of their Archers, ouerthrowne some of his men that approached too neere, and gotten some armes and bodies of the slaine; rectified thus, he with drew his Armie againe, and himselfe, and such as were with him before stayed in their place at *Declea*; but, as for those that came last, after they had stayed a while in the Countrey, he sent them home againe. After this, the 400, notwithstanding their former repulse, sent Ambassadors vnto *Agis* anew, and he now receiuing them better, by his aduice they sent Ambassadors also to *Lacedemon*, about an agreement, being desirous of Peace.

They likewise sent 10 men to *Samos*, to satisfie the Army, and to tell them, *That the Oligarchy was not set vp, to any preiudice of the Citie, or Citizens, but for the safety of the whole State. And that they which had their hands in it, were 5000, and not 400 onely. Notwithstanding that the Athenians by reason of warfare, and employment abroad, neuer assembled, of how great consequence soeuer was the matter to be handled, so frequent, as to be 5000 there at once.* And hauing in other things instructed them how to make the best of the matter, they sent them away immediately after the government was changed, fearing (as also it fell out) lest the Seafaring multitude, would not onely not continue in this *Oligarchical* forme themselves, but (the mischief beginning there) would depose them also.

For in *Samos* there was a commotion about the *Oligarchy* already. And this that followeth, happened about the same time that the 400 were set vp in *Athens*. Those *Samians* that had risen against the Nobility, and were of the Peoples side, turning when *Pisander* came thither, at the perswasion of him and of those *Athenians* in *Samos* that were his Complices, conspired together to the number of 300, and were to haue assaulted the rest as *Populars*; and one *Hyperbolus*, a lewd fellow, who, not for any feare of his power, or for any dignity, but for wickednesse of life, and dishonour he did the Citie, had beene banished by *Ostracisme*, they slew; abetted therein both by *Charminus*, one of the Commanders, and by other *Athenians* that were amongst them, who had giuen them their faith; and together with these they committed other facts of the same kind, and were fully bent to haue assaulted the *Popular* side,

The 400. send to *Lacedemon* to procure a Peace.

They sent to *Samos*, to excuse their doings to the army.

The Oligarchy assaulted at *Samos* by the *Populars*.

A side, but they hauing gotten notice thereof, made knowne the designe both to the Generals, *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, (for these being honoured by the People, endured the *Oligarchy* vnwillingly) and also to *Thrasybulus*, and *Thrastillus*, whereof one was Captaine of a Gally, and the other Captaine of a Band of a men of Armes, and to such others continually as they thought stood in greatest opposition to the Conspirators; and required of them, that they would not see them destroyed, and *Samos* alienated from the *Athenians*, by the only means of which their Dominion had till this time kept it selfe in the state it is in. They hearing it, went to the Souldiers, and exhorted them one by one, not to suffer it, especially to the *Paralians*, (who were all *Athenians* and Freemen, come thither in the Gally called *Paralus*, and had alwayes before been enemies to the *Oligarchy*. And *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, whensoever they went forth any whither, left them certaine Gallies for their guard.) So that when the 300 assaulted them, the Common of the *Samians*, with the helpe of all these, and especially of the *Paralians*, had the vpper hand, and of the 300, slew 30. Three of the chiefe authors, they banished, and burying in obliuion the fault of the rest, governed the State from that time forward as a *Democratie*.

The *Paralus*, and it (whereas the sonne of *Archestratus*, a man of *Athens*, one that had been forward in the making of this change, the *Samians*, and the Souldiers dispatched presently away to *Athens*, to aduertise them of what was done; for they knew not yet that the government was in the hands of the 400. When they arrived, the 400 cast some two or three of these of the *Paralus* into prison; the rest after they had taken the Gally from them, and put them aboard another Military Gally, they commanded to keepe guard about *Eubœa*. But *Chœreas*, by some meanes or other, getting presently away, seeing how things went, came backe to *Samos*, and related to the Army all that the *Athensians* had done, aggravating it to the utmost; As that they punished euery man with stripes, to the end that none should contradict the doings of those that bore rule; and that their wiues and children at home were abused, and that they had an intention further to take and imprison all that were of kinne to any of the Army which was not of their faction, to the intent to kill them, if they of *Samos* would not submit to their authority. And many

The Army sent to *Athens* to signifye their doings against the *Oligarchy* at *Samos*, not knowing that the *Oligarchy* was then in authority at *Athens*.



The Democracy re-established in the Army.

many other things he told them, adding Lyes of his owne. A

When they heard this, they were ready at first to have fallen vpon the chiefe authors of the Oligarchy, and vpon such of the rest as were partakers of it. Yet afterwards, being hindred by such as came betweene, and aduised them not to ouerthrow the State, the enemy lying so nere with their Gallies to assault them, they gaue it ouer. After this, *Thrasybulus* the sonne of *Lycas*, and *Thrasyllus*, (for these were the principall authors of the change) determining now openly to reduce the State at *Samos* to a Democracy, tooke oathes of all the Souldiers, especially of the Oligarchicals, the greatest they could deuise, both that they should be subiect to the Democracy, and agree together, and also that they should zealously prosecute the Warre against the Peloponnesians, and withall be enemies to the 400, and not haue to doe with them by Ambassadors. The same oath was taken by all the Samians that were of age, and the Athenian Souldiers communicated with them their whole affaires, together with whatsoeuer should succeed of their dangers. For whom and for themselves, they made account there was no refuge of safety, but that, if either the 400, or the enemy, at *Mileus*, ouercame them, they must needs perish. C

So there was a contention at this time, one side compelling the Citie to a Democracy; the other, the Army to an Oligarchy. And presently there was an Assembly of the Souldiers called, wherein they depriued the former Commanders, and such Captaines of Gallies as they had in suspension, of their charge, and chose others, both Captaines of Gallies, and Commanders in their places, of which *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus* were two. And they stood vp and encouraged one another, both otherwise, and with this, D  
That they had no cause to be deiected for the Cities revolting from them; For they at Athens, being the lesser part, had forsaken them, who were not onely the greater part, but also euery way the better provided. For they hauing the whole Navy could compell the rest of the cities subiect vnto them, to pay in their money, as well now, as if they were to set out from Athens it selfe. And that they also had a Citie, namely *Samos*, no weake one, but euen such a one, as when they were enemies, wanted little of taking the Dominion of the Sea from the Athenians. That the seat of the Warre, was the same it was before; and that they should be better able to provide themselves of things necessary, hauing the Nauie, then they (should

The Army encourageth it selfe against the City and State at home, by comparison of their strength.

A (should be that were at home in the City. And that they at Athens were Masters of the entrance of *Piræus* both formerly by the fauour of them at *Samos*, and that now also, vntlesse they restore them the Gouernment, they shall againe bee brought to that passe, that those at *Samos* shall bee better able to barre them the use of the Sea, then they shall bee to barre it them of *Samos*. That it was a wise and worth nothing which was conferred to the ouercomming of the Enemy by the Citie, and a small matter it would be to lose it, seeing they had neither any more Siluer to send them (for the Souldiers shifted for themselves) nor yet good direction B which is the thing for which the Citie hath the command of the Armies. Nay that in this point they erred which were at Athens, in that they had abrogated the Lawes of their Countrey, whereas they at *Samos* did both obserue the same themselves, and endeavour to constrain the other to doe so likewise. So that such of them in the Campe as should giue good counsell, were as good as they in the Citie. And that *Alcibiades*, if they would decrea his security and his returne, would with all his heart procure the King to bee their Confederate. And that which is the maine thing, if they sayled of all other helpes, yet with so great a Fleet, they could not faile C of many places to retire to, in which they might finde both Citie and Territorie.

When they had thus debated the matter in the Assembly, and encouraged one another, they made ready, as at other times, whatsoeuer was necessary for the Warre. And the tenne Ambassadors which were sent to *Samos* from the *Four hundred*, hearing of this by the way, at *Delos*, whither they were come already, stayed still there.

D About the same time also, the Souldiers of the Peloponnesian Fleet at *Mileus* murmured amongst themselves, that *Astyochnus* and *Tissaphernes* ouerthrew the state of their Affaires. *Astyochnus*, in refusing to fight, both before, when their owne Fleet was stronger, and that of the Athenians but small, and also now, whilst they were said to bee in sedition, and their Fleet diuided, and in expecting the Phœnician Fleet, in fame, not in fact to come from *Tissaphernes*. And *Tissaphernes*, in that hee not onely brought not in that Fleet of his, E but also impaired theirs, by not paying them their pay, neither fully nor continually. And that they therefore ought

Vpon the murmur of the Souldiers against Astyochnus, he goeth to Samos to offer the Athenian bidell, who refuseth it.

Vuu



ought no longer to delay time, but to hazard battell. This A  
was vrged principally by the *Syracusians*.

*Astyocheus* and the Confederates, when they heard of the  
murmur, and had in Counsell resolved to fight, especially  
after they were informed that *Samos* was in a tumult, put-  
ting forth with their whole Fleet, to the number of  
121 Sayle, with order giuen to the *Milesians* to march  
by Land to the same place, went to *Mycale*. But the *A-*  
*thenians* being come out from *Samos* with their Fleet of 82  
Gallies, and riding now at Glance of the Territory of *My-*  
*cale*, (for in this part toward *Mycale*, *Samos* is but a litle B  
way from the Continent) when they descryed the *Pelopon-*  
*nesian* Fleet comming against them, put in againe to *Sa-*  
*mos* as not esteeming themselves a sufficient number to ha-  
zard their whole fortune on the Battell. Besides, they  
stayed for the comming of *Strombichides* from *Hellepont* to  
their ayde, (for they saw that they of *Miletus* had a desire  
to fight) with those Gallies that went from *Chius* against  
*Abydus*; for they had sent vnto him before. So these re-  
turned into *Samos*. And the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *My-*  
*cale*, there encamped, as also did the Land-forces of the *Mi-*  
*lesians*, and others of the Countrey thereabouts. The next C  
day, when they meant to haue gone against *Samos*, they  
receiued newes that *Strombichides* with his Gallies was ar-  
riued out of *Hellepont*, and thereupon returned presently  
to *Miletus*. Then the *Athenians* on the other side, with  
the addition of these Gallies, went to *Miletus*, being now  
one hundred and eight Sayle, intending to fight: but  
when no body came out against them, they likewise went  
backe to *Samos*.

The *Athenians* offer battell  
to the *Peloponnesians* and  
they refuse it.

The *Peloponnesians* send  
part of their Fleet to-  
wards the *Hellepont*, but  
there went through but  
onely tenne Gallies.

Immediately after this, the same Summer, the *Pelopon-*  
*nesians*, who refused to come out against the Enemy, as  
holding themselves with their whole Fleete too weak  
to giue them Battell, and were now at a stand how  
to get Money for the maintenance of so great a num-  
ber of Gallies, sent *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias*  
with fortie Gallies (according to the order at first from  
*Peloponnesus*) to *Pharnabazus*. For not onely *Phar-*  
*nabazus* himselfe had sent for, and promised to pay them,  
but they were aduertised besides, by Ambassadors, that  
*Byzantium* had a purpose to reuolt. Hereupon these *Pelo-*  
*ponnesian* Gallies hauing put out into the maine Sea, to the  
end

B

C

D

E

And that they might not be secue, as they passed by, and  
tossed with Tempests, part of them (which were the  
greatest number) and *Clearchus* with them, got into *Delos*,  
and came afterwards to *Miletus* againe; (but *Clearchus* went  
thence againe into the *Hellepont* by Land, and had the com-  
mand there,) and part vnder the charge of *Elixus* a *Megara-*  
*an* (which were tenne Sayle, went safely through into the  
*Hellepont*, and caused *Byzantium* to reuolt. And after this,  
when they of *Samos* heard of it, they sent certaine Gallies  
into *Hellepont*, to oppose them, and to be a guard to the Ci-  
ties thereabouts; and there followed a small fight be-  
tweene them, of eight Gallies to eight, before *Byzanti-*  
*um*.

In the meane time, they that were in authority at *Samos*,  
and especially *Thrasylus*, who after the forme of Go-  
uernment changed, was still of the minde to haue *Alcibi-*  
*ades* recalled, at length in an Assembly perswaded the  
Souldiers to the same. And when they had decreed for  
*Alcibiades*, both his returne, and his security, he went to  
*Tissaphernes*, and fetched *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, accounting it  
C their onely meanes of safety, to winne *Tissaphernes* from  
the *Peloponnesians* to themselves. An Assembly being  
called, *Alcibiades* complained of, and lamented, the calami-  
ty of his owne exile, and speaking much of the businesse of  
the State, gaue them no small hopes of the future time,  
hyperbolically magnifying his owne power with *Tissapher-*  
*nes*, to the end that both they which held the *Oligarchy* at  
home, might the more feare him, and so the Conspi-  
racies dissolue, and also those at *Samos* the more honour  
him, and take better heart vnto themselves: and with-  
D all, that the Enemy might object the same to the vtmost  
to *Tissaphernes*, and fall from their present hopes. *Alcibiades*  
therefore, with the greatest boast that could bee, affirmed  
that *Tissaphernes* had vndertaken to him, that as long as he  
had any thing left, if hee might but trust the *Athenians*,  
they should neuer want for maintenance, no, though  
hee should bee constrained to make Money of his  
owne bed, and that he would fetch the *Phenician* Fleet  
now at *Aspendus*, not to the *Peloponnesians*, but to the *A-*  
*thenians*. And that then onely, hee would rely vpon the  
E *Athenians*, when *Alcibiades* called home, should vndertake  
for them.

*Alcibiades* is recalled, and  
cometh to *Samos*.

He manifesteth his po-  
wer with *Tissaphernes*.

Vuu 2

Hearing



*Alcibiades* Generall of the  
Athenian army.

Hearing this and much more, they chose him presently A  
for Generall, together with those that were before; and  
committed vnto them the whole gouernment of their af-  
fares. And now there was not a man that would haue  
sold his present hopes, both of subsisting themselves, and  
being reuenged of the *Four-hundred*, for any good in the  
world; and were ready euen then, vpon those words of  
his, contemning the *Enemie* there present, to set sayle for  
*Piræus*. But he, though many pressed it, by all meanes  
forbade their going against *Piræus*, being to leaue their E-  
nemies so neere, but since they had chosen him Generall, B  
he was, he said, to goe to *Tissaphernes* first, and to dispatch  
such businesse with him as concerned the Warre. And  
as soone as the Assembly brake vp, he tooke his iourney  
accordingly, to the end that he might seeme to communi-  
cate euery thing with him, and for that he desired also to  
bee in more honour with him, and to shew that hee was  
Generall; and a man capable to doe him good or hurt.  
And it happened to *Alcibiades*, that he awed the *Athenians*  
with *Tissaphernes*, and *Tissaphernes* with the *Athenians*.

The *Peloponnesians* mur-  
der against *Tissaphernes*  
and *Astyocheus*.

When the *Peloponnesians* that were at *Miletus* heard that  
*Alcibiades* was gone home, whereas they mistrusted *Tissa-*  
*phernes* before, now they much more accused him. For it  
fell out, that when at the coming of the *Athenians* with  
their Fleet before *Miletus*, they refused to giue them Bat-  
tell, *Tissaphernes* became thereby a great deale slacke in his  
payment, & besides that he was hated by them before this,  
for *Alcibiades* sake, the Souldiers now, meeting in Com-  
panies apart, reckoned vp one to another, the same matters  
which they had noted before, and some also, men of va- D  
lue, and not the common Souldier alone, recounted this  
withall, how they had neuer had their full stipend, that  
the allowance was but small, and yet not continually paid,  
and that vnlesse they either fought, or went to some other  
place where they might haue maintenance, their men  
would abandon the Fleet, and that the cause of all this  
was in *Astyocheus*, who for priuate lucre gaue way to the  
humour of *Tissaphernes*. Whilest these were vpon this con-  
sideration, there happened also a certaine tumult about *A-*  
*styocheus*. For the Mariners of the *Syracusians* and *Thurians*, E  
by how much they were a multitude, that had greater li-  
berty

A berty then the rest, with so much the flouter importuni-  
ty, they demanded their pay. And he not onely gaud  
them somewhat an insolent answer, but also threatened Do-  
rius, that amongst the rest spake for the Souldiers vnder  
himselfe, and lift vp his Raffe against him. When the  
Souldiers saw that they tooke vp a cry like Seamen in-  
deed, all at once, and were running vpon *Astyocheus*, to haue  
stricken him. But foreseeing it, he fled to an Altar; and  
was not stricken, but they were parted againe.

Mutiny against *Astyocheus*.

The *Milesians* also tooke in, a certaine Fort in *Miletus*,  
B built by *Tissaphernes*, hauing priuily assaulted it, and cast  
out the Garrison that was within it. These things were  
by the rest of the Confederates, and especially by the *Syra-*  
*cusians*, well approued of, but *Lichas* liked them not; say-  
ing, it behoued the *Milesians*, and the rest dwelling within  
the Kings Dominion, to haue obeyed *Tissaphernes* in all mo-  
derate things, and till such time as the Warre should haue  
been well dispatched, to haue courted him. And the *Mi-*  
*lesians*, for this and other things of this kind were offended  
with *Lichas*, and afterwards when hee dyed of sick-  
C nesse, would not permit him to bee buried in that place,  
where the *Lacedæmonians* then present, would haue had  
him.

The *Milesians* take in  
the Fort made in their  
City by *Tissaphernes*.

Whilest they were quarrelling about their businesse  
with *Astyocheus* and *Tissaphernes*, *Mindarus* commeth in from  
*Lacedæmon* to succede *Astyocheus* in his charge of the Fleet.  
And as soone as he had taken the Command vpon him,  
*Astyocheus* departed. But with him *Tissaphernes* sent a Ca-  
rian, named *Gaulæus*, one that spake both the Languages,

*Mindarus* receiues  
*Astyocheus*, takeeth charge  
of the Army, and *Astyo-*  
*cheus* goeth home.

D an Apologie for himselfe. Knowing that the *Milesians*  
went principally to exclaime vpon him, and that *Hermo-*  
*crates* went with them, and would bewray how *Tissapher-*  
*nes* vndid the businesse of the *Peloponnesians*, with *Alcibiades*,  
and dealt on both hands. For he was continually at enimi-  
ty with him, about the payment of the Souldiers wages;  
and in the end, when *Hermoerates* was banished from *Syra-*  
*cuse*, and other Commanders of the *Syracusan* Fleet; name-  
ly, *Potamis*, *Mison*, and *Dimarchus*, were arrived at *Miletus*,  
*Tissaphernes* lay more heauy vpon him, being an Outlaw  
E then before, and accused him amongst other things, that he  
had asked him mony, and because he could not haue it, be-  
came

\* Both Greeke and Per-  
sian.



The Ambassadors  
from the 400 to excuse  
the change at Athens.

came his Enemy. So *Aphyochus* and *Hermocrates* and the *A*  
*Milefians* went their way to *Lacedæmon*.

*Alcibiades* by this time was come backe from *Tissaphernes*, to *Samos*. And those Ambassadors of the *Four*-  
*hundred*, which had beene sent out before to mollifie and  
to informe those of *Samos*, came from *Delos*, now; whilst  
*Alcibiades* was present.

An Assembly being called, they were offering to speake,  
but the Souldiers at first would not heare them, but cryed  
out to haue them put to death, for that they had deposed  
the People; yet afterwards with much adoe they were  
calmed, and gaue them hearing. They declared, That the  
change had beene made for the preservation of the City, not to de-  
stroy it, nor to deliuer it to the Enemy; for they could haue done  
that before now, when the Enemy during their government assaul-  
ted it. That every one of the 5000 was to participate of the Go-  
uernment in their turnes. And their friends were not (as *Chares*  
as had laid to their charge) abused, nor had any wrong at all, but  
remained every one quietly vpon his owne.

*Alcibiades* finisheth the  
Athenian Speech.

Though they deliuered this and much more; yet the  
Souldiers beleued them nor, but raged still, and declared  
their opinions, some in one sort, some in another, most a-  
greing in this to goe against *Piræus*. And now *Alcibiades*  
appeared to be the first and principall man in doing ser-  
uice to the Common-wealth. For when the Athenians at  
*Samos* were carried headlong to invade themselves, (in  
which case most manifestly the Enemy had presently pos-  
sessed himselfe of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*) it was thought that  
hee was the man that kept them from it. Nor was there  
any man at that time able to haue held in the Multitude,  
but himselfe. He both made them to desist from the voy-  
age, and rated off from the Ambassadors, those that were  
in their owne particular incensed against them; whom al-  
so he sent away, giuing them their answer himselfe. That  
he opposed not the government of the 5000; but willed them to re-  
moue the 400, and to establish the Councell that was before of 500.  
That if they had frugally cut off any expence, so that such as were  
employed in the Warres might be the better maintained, he did much  
commend them for it. And withall hee exhorted them to  
stand out, and giue no ground to their Enemies; for that as long as  
the City held out, there was great hope for them to compound; but

if

if either part miscarry once, either this at *Samos*, or the other at  
*Athens*, there would none be left for the Enemy to compound with  
all.

There chanced to be present also the Ambassadors of the  
*Argives*, sent vnto the Popular faction of the *Athenians* in  
*Samos*, to assise them. These *Alcibiades* commended, and  
appointed to be ready when they should be called for, and  
so dismissed them. These *Argives* came in with those of  
the *Paralus*, that had beene bestowed formerly in the mili-  
tary Gally by the *Four-hundred*, to goe about *Eubœa*, and  
to conuoy *Lepodias*, *Aristophon*, and *Melesias*, Ambassadors  
from the *Four-hundred*, to *Lacedæmon*. These as they say-  
led by *Argos*, seized on the Ambassadors, and deliuered  
them as principall men in deposing of the People, to the  
*Argives*, and returned no more to *Athens*; but came with the  
Gallie they then were in, to *Samos*; and brought with  
them these Ambassadors from the *Argives*.

The same Summer, *Tissaphernes*, at the time that the  
*Peloponnesians* were offended with him most, both for the  
going home of *Alcibiades*, and diuers other things, as now  
manifestly *Anticizing*, with purpose, as indeed it seemed,  
to cleere himselfe to them; concerning his accusations,  
made ready for his iourney to *Aspendus* for the *Phœnician*  
Fleet, and willed *Lichas* to goe along with him, saying  
that he would substitute *Tamos* his Deputy Lieutenant o-  
uer the Army, to pay the Fleet whilst himselfe was ab-  
sent.

This matter is diuersly reported, and it is hard to know  
with what purpose he went to *Aspendus*, and yet brought  
not the Fleet away with him. For it is knowne that the  
Sailors of *Phœnicians* were come forward as far as *Aspendus*,  
but why they came not thorow, the conjectures are vari-  
ous. Some thinke it was vpon designe (as hee formerly inter-  
ded) to weare out the *Peloponnesian* Forces, (for which  
cause also, *Tamos*, who had that charge, made no better,  
but rather worse payment then himselfe.) Others, that  
hating brought the *Phœnicians* as far as *Aspendus*, he might  
dismiss them for money, (for he neuer meant to wile their  
seruice.) Some againe said, it was because they exclaim-  
ed so against it at *Lacedæmon*, and that it might not bee  
E said he abused them, but that hee went openly to a Fleet  
really set out.

*Tissaphernes* goeth to the  
Phœnician Fleet at *Aspen-*  
*dus*.

Conjectures of diuers  
vpon his going.

Some say hee went  
to weare out the  
Fleet, as hee  
did formerly.

For



The opinion of the  
Author.

For my owne part, I thinke it most cleare, that it was A  
to the end to consume, and to ballance the *Grecians*, that he  
brought not those Gallies in. Consuming them, in that  
he went thither, and delayed the time; and equalizing  
them, in that bringing them to neither, he made neither  
party the stronger. For if he had had a mind to end the  
Warre, it is manifest hee might have bene sure to have  
done it. For if he had brought them to the *Lacedæmoni-  
ans*, in all reason he had giuen them the victory, who had  
a Naue already, rather equall then inferiour to that of their  
Enemies.

But that which hurt them most, was the pretence hee B  
alleged for not bringing the Fleet in, for he said they  
were not so many sayle as the King had ordained to be got-  
ten together. But sure he might have ingratiated himselfe  
more in this businesse, by dispatching it with lesse of the  
Kings Money, then by spending more. But whatsoeuer was  
his purpose, *Tissaphernes* went to *Aspendus*; and was with  
the *Phœnicians*, and by his owne appointment, the *Pelopon-  
nesians* sent *Philip* a *Lacedæmonian* with him with two Gal-  
lies, as to take charge of the Fleet.

*Alcibiades*, knowing that  
*Tissaphernes* would neuer  
bring on the Fleet, goeth  
after him, to make the  
*Peloponnesians* thinke, the  
Fleet was staid for his &  
the *Athenians* saies.

*Alcibiades*, when he heard that *Tissaphernes* was gone to C  
*Aspendus*, goes after him with thirtene Gallies, promi-  
sing to those at *Samos*, a safe and great benefite, which was,  
that he would either bring those *Phœnicians* Gallies to the  
seruice of the *Athenians*, or at least hinder their coming  
to the *Peloponnesians*; knowing, as is likely, the minde of  
*Tissaphernes*, by long acquaintance, that hee meant not to  
bring them on, and desiring, as much as he could, to pro-  
cure him the ill will of the *Peloponnesians*, for the friendship  
shewne to himselfe and to the *Athenians*, that hee might D  
thereby the better engage him to take their part. So hee  
presently put to Sea, holding his course for *Phœlis* and  
*Camus* upwards.

Sedition at *Athen*, about  
the change of the *Oligar-  
chy* into *Democracy* againe.

The Ambassadors of the *Four-hundred* being returned  
from *Samos* to *Athen*, and having related what they had  
in charge from *Alcibiades*, how that he exhorted them to hold  
out, and not give ground to the Enemy, and that he had great hopes  
to reconcile them to the army, and to overcome the *Peloponnesi-  
ans*; whereas many of the sharers in the *Oligarchy*, were  
formerly discontented, and would gladly, if they could E  
haue done it safely, haue quitted the businesse; they were  
now

Now a great deale more confirmed in that minde. And  
already they had their meetings apart, and did cast aspersi-  
ons on the Government, and had for their ring-leaders,  
some of the heads of the *Oligarchies*, and such as bare Of-  
fice amongst them; as *Theramenes* the sonne of *Apheon*, and  
*Aristocrates* the sonne of *Sicelias*, and others, who though  
they were partakers with the foremost in the affaires of  
State, yet feared, as they said, *Alcibiades*, and the Armie  
at *Samos*; and ioyned in the sending of Ambassadors to  
B *Lacedæmon*, because they were loth, by singling themselves  
from the greater number, to hurt the State, not that they  
dismissed the State into the hands of a very few. But said,  
that the *3000* ought in fact to be assigned, and not in voice  
only; and the Government to be reduced to a greater e-  
quality. And this was indeede the forme pretended in  
words by the *400*. But the most of them, through private  
ambition, fell vpon that, by which an *Oligarchy* made out  
of a *Democracy*, is chiefly ouerthrowne. For at once they  
claimeed every one, not to be equal, but to bee farre the  
choise. Whereas in a *Democracie*, when election is made,  
C because a man is not overcome by his equals, he can better  
brooke it. But the great power of *Alcibiades* at *Samos*, and  
the opinion they had that the *Oligarchy* was not like to last,  
was it that most evidently encouraged them; and there-  
vpon they euery one contended, who should most emi-  
nently become the Patron of the People.

Ambition of the *Oligar-  
chies* amongst them-  
selves, ouerthroweth  
their Government.

But those of the *Four-hundred* that were most opposite  
to such a forme of Government, and the principall of  
them, both *Phrynichus*, (who had bene General at *Samos*,  
and was euer since at difference with *Alcibiades*) and *Ar-  
istocrates*, a man that had bene an adversary to the People,  
D both in the greatest manner, and for the longest time; and  
*Pisander* and *Anisophon*, and others of the greatest power, not  
only formerly, as soone as they came into authority, and  
afterward when the State at *Samos* resorted to the People,  
sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and bound themselves  
for the *Oligarchy*, and build a wall in the place called *Pericleia*,  
but though more afterwards, when their Ambassadors  
were come from *Samos*, and that they saw not onely the  
Populars; but also some others of their own party thought  
E thus before, to bee now changed. And to *Lacedæmon*  
they sent *Anisophon* and *Phrynichus*, with some others; with

X x x

all



The Oligarchs fortifie  
the mouth of the Haven  
of Piræus.

all possible speed, as fearing their aduersaries, both at home **A**  
and at Samos, with Commission to make a Peace with the  
Lacedæmonians on any tolerable conditions, whatsoeuer, or  
howsoeuer, and in this time went on with the building of  
the Wall in Ectoneia with greater diligence then before.  
The scope they had in this Wall, as it was given out by  
Themenes the sonne of Agnon was not so much to keepe out  
those of Samos, in case they should attempt by force to en-  
ter into Piræus, as at their pleasure to be able to let in both  
the Gallies, and the Land-forces of the Enemies. For this  
Ectoneia is the Peere of the Piræus, close vnto which is **B**  
the mouth of the Haven, and therefore they built this Wall,  
so to another Wall, that was built before to the Continent,  
that a few men lying within it, might command the en-  
trance. For the end of each Wall was brought to the  
Tower vpon the very mouth of the Haven, as well of the  
old Wall towards the Continent, as of the new which was  
built within it to the water. They built also an open  
\* ground-gallery, an exceeding great one, and close to their  
new Wall within Piræus, and were Masters of it, and con-  
strained all men as well to bring thither their corne, which **C**  
they had already come in, as to vnload there whatsoeuer  
should come in afterward, and to take & sell it from thence.

Themenes murmureth a-  
gainst their fortifying in  
Ectoneia.

These things Themenes murmured at long before, and  
when the Ambassadors returned from Lacedæmon, with-  
out compounding for them all in generall, he gaue out that  
this Wall would endanger the vndoing of the Citie. For  
at this very instant, there happened to be riding on the Coast  
of Laconia, 42 Gallies, (amongst which were some of Ta-  
rentum, some of Locri, some Italians, and some Sicilians) set  
out from Peloponnesus, at the instance of the Eubæans, bound **D**  
for Eubæa, and commanded by Hegesandrides the sonne of He-  
gesander, a Spartan. And these Themenes said were com-  
ming not so much towards Eubæa, as towards those that  
fortified in Ectoneia, and that if they were not looked to,  
they would surprize the Citie. Now some matter might  
indeed be gathered also from those that were accused, so  
that it was not a meere slander. For their principall de-  
signe was, to retaine the Oligarchs with dominion ouer  
their Confederates, but if they failed of that, yet  
being masters of the Gallies and of the fortification, to haue **E**  
subsisted free themselves, if barred of that, then rather  
then

The scope of the Oligar-  
chicals.

A then to bee the onely men to suffer death vnder the re-  
stored Democracie, to let in the Enemy, and without ei-  
ther Navy or Fortification, to haue let what would haue  
become of the Citie, and to haue compounded for the safe-  
ty of their owne persons.

Therefore they went diligently on with the fortifica-  
tion, wherein were Wickets and Entries, and backe-  
wayes for the Enemy, and desired to haue it finished in  
time. And though these things were spoken but amongst  
a few before, and in secret, yet when Phrynichus, after his  
**B** returne from his Lacedæmonian Ambassage, was by a cer-  
taine Watchman wounded treacherously in the Market-  
place, when it was full, as he went from the Councell-  
house, and not farr from it, fell instantly dead, and the  
murtherer gone, and that one of his Complices, an Argiue,  
taken by the Four hundred, and put to the torture, would  
confesse no man of those named to him; nor any thing else,  
sauius this, that many men vsed to assemble at the house  
of the Captaine of the Watch, and at other houses;  
then at length, because this accident bred no alteration;  
**C** Themenes, and Aristocrates, and as many other, either of  
the 400, or out of that number, as were of the same facti-  
on, proceeded more boldly to assault the Government.  
For now also the Fleet being come about from Laconia,  
and lying vpon the Coast of Epidaurus, had made incursi-  
ons vpon Egina. And Themenes thereupon alledged, that  
it was improbable that those Gallies holding their course  
for Eubæa, would haue put in at Egina, and then haue  
gone backe againe to lye at Epidaurus, vlesse they had  
beene sent for by such men as he had neuer accused of the  
**D** same; and that therefore there was no reason any longer  
to sit still. And in the end, after many seditious and  
suspicious speeches, they fell vpon the State in good ear-  
nest. For the Souldiers that were in Piræus, employed in  
fortifying Pelionia, (amongst whom was also Aristocra-  
tes, Captaine of a Band of men, and his Band with him),  
seized on Alexicles, principall Commander of the Souldi-  
ers vnder the Four hundred, an eminent man of the other  
side, and carrying him into a house, kept him in hold.  
As soone as the newes hereof was brought vnto the  
**E** Four hundred, who chanced at the same time to be sitting  
in the Councell-house, they were ready at of them presently

Phrynichus murdered.

Themenes and his Parti-  
on set themselves against  
the rest of the 400. It was  
the first of the war.

X x x

to



to haue taken Armes, threatening *Theramenes* and his Faction.

He to purge himselfe was ready to goe with them, and to helpe to rescue *Alexicles*, and taking with him one of the Commanders, who was also of his Faction, went downe into *Piræus*. To helpe him went also *Aristarchus*, and certaine Horse-men of the younger fort.

Great and terrible was the tumult. For in the Citie they thought *Piræus* was already taken, and him that was laid in hold, slaine. And in *Piræus* they expected every houre the power of the City to come vpon them. At last the ancient men, stopping them that ranne vp and downe the City to arme themselves, and *Thucydides* of *Pharalus*, the Cities \* Host, being then there, going boldly and close vp to every one he met, and crying out vnto them, not to destroy their Countrey, when the Enemy lay so neere waiting for an aduantage, with much adoe, quieted them, and held their hands from spilling their owne blood. *Theramenes* comming into *Piræus*, for he also had command ouer the Souldiers, made a shew by his exclaiming, of being angry with them; but *Aristarchus* and those that were of the contrary side, were extremely angry in good earnest. Nevertheless the Souldiers went on with their busines, and repented not a jot of what they had done. Then they asked *Theramenes*, if hee thought this Fortification were made to any good end, and whether it were not better to haue it demolished. And he answered, that if they thought good to demolish it, he also thought the same. At which word they presently got vp, both the Souldiers, and also many others, of *Piræus*, and fell a digging downe of the Wall.

Now the prouocation that they vsed to the Multitude, was in these words: That whosoever desired that the Souerainety should be in the 5000 instead of the 400, ought also to set himselfe to the worke in hand. For notwithstanding all this, they thought fit as yet to vayne the Democracie with the name of the *Five-thousand*, and not to say plainly, Whosoever will haue the Souerainety in the People, lett the 5000. should haue bin extant indeed, and so a man by speaking to some or other of them, might doe hurt to the businesse, through ignorance. And for this cause it was, that the

Four-

epit. G. He that lodged the Athenians, when any of them came to Piræus.

The Souldiers pull downe the Wall they had built in Ectonia.

A *Four-hundred* would neither let the *Five-thousand* bee extant, nor yet let it bee knowne that they were not. For to make so many participant of the affaires of State, they thought was a direct Democracie, but to haue it doubtful, would make them afraid of one another. The next day, the *Four-hundred*, though out of order, yet met together in the Councell-house, and the Souldiers in *Piræus* hauing enlarged *Alexicles*, whom they had before imprisoned, and quite razed the Fortification, came into the Theater of *Bacchus*, neere to *Munychia*, and there sat downe with their

B Armes, and presently, according as they had resolved in an Assembly then holden, marched into the City, and there sat downe againe in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. To this place came vnto them certaine men elected by the *Four-hundred*, and man to man reasoned and perswaded with such as they saw to be of the mildest temper, both to be quiet themselves, & to restraints the rest, saying, that not onely the *Five-thousand* should be made knowne, who they were, but that out of these, such should be chosen in turnes, to be of the *Four-hundred*, as the *Five-thousand* should thinke good, and entreating them by all meanes, that they would not in the meane time ouerthrow the City, and force it into the hand of the Enemy. Hereupon the whole number of the men of Armes, after many reasons, alledged to many men, grew calmer, and feared moche the losse of the whole City. And it was agreed betwixt them, that an Assembly should be held, for making of accord, in the Temple of *Bacchus* at a day assigned.

When they came to the Temple of *Bacchus*, and wanted but a little of a full Assembly, came newes that *Hegesandridas* with his 42 Gallies, came from *Megara*, along the Coast towards *Salamis*. And now there was not a Souldier, but thought it the very same thing that *Theramenes* and his party had before told them, That those Gallies were to come to the Fortification, and that it was now demolished to good purpose. But *Hegesandridas*, perhaps vpon appointment, hovered vpon the Coast of *Epidaure*, and thereabouts, but it is likely, that in respect of the sedition of the Athenians, he staid in those parts, with hope to take hold of some good aduantage. Howsoever it was, the Athenians as soone as it was told them, ran presently with all the power

A day appointed for an assembly, wherein to treat of agreement.

the Athenians



wer of the City, downe to *Piræus*; lesse esteeming their domestic Warre, then that of the Common Enemy, which was not now farre off, but even in the *Hauen*. And some went aboard the Gallies that were then ready; some launched the rest, and others ranne to defend the *Wall*, and mouth of the *Hauen*.

But the *Peloponnesian* Gallies being now gone by, and gotten about the Promontory of *Sunium*, cast Anchor betwene *Thorium* and *Prasæ*, and put in afterwards at *Oropus*. The *Athenians* with all speede, constrained to make use of tumultuary Forces, such as a Citie in time of sedition might afford, and desirous with all haste to make good their greatest stake, (for *Eubæa*, since they were shut out of *Attica*, was all they had) sent a Fleet under the command of *Timocharis*, to *Eretria*. Which arriving, with those Gallies that were in *Eubæa* before, made up the number of fixe and thirty Sayle; and they were presently constrained to hazard Battell. For *Hegesandrilas* brought out his Gallies from *Oropus*, when hee had first there dined.

Now *Oropus* is from *Eretria* about threescore Furlongs of Sea. Whereupon the *Athenians* also, as the Enemy came towards them, beganne to embarke, supposing that their Souldiers had bene some where neere unto the Gallies; but it fell out, that they were gone abroad to get their dinner, not in the Market (for by set purpose of the *Eretrians*, to the end that the Enemy might fall upon the *Athenians* that embarked slowly; before they were ready, and force them to come out and fight nothing was there to bee sold) but in the utmost Houses of the Citie. There was besides a signe set up at *Eretria*, to give them notice at *Oropus*, at what time to set forward.

The *Athenians* drawne out by this device, and fighting before the *Hauen* of *Eretria*, made resistance neuertheless for a while, but afterwards they turned their backs, and were chased ashore. Such as fled to the City of the *Eretrians*, taking it for their friend, were handled most cruelly, and slaughtered by them of the Towne; but such as got to the Fort in *Eretria*, holden by the *Athenians*, saved themselves. And so did so many of their Gallies as got to *Chalcis*.

The

The battell between the  
Athenians and the Fleet of  
Hegesandrilas at Eretria.

The Athenians defeated.

A The *Peloponnesians*, after they had taken twelue *Athenian* Gallies with the men, whereof some they slew, and some they tooke prisoners, erected a *Trophie*; and not long after, having caused all *Eubæa* to revolt, saue onely *Oreum* (which the *Athenians* held with their owne forces) they settled the rest of their businesse there.

When the newes of that which had hapned in *Eubæa*, was brought to *Athens*, it put the *Athenians* into the greatest astonishment that ever they had bene in before. For neither did their losse in *Sicily*, though then thought great, nor any other at any time so much affright them, as this. For now when the Army at *Sapius* was in rebellion, when they had no more Gallies, nor men to put aboard, when they were in Sedition amongst themselves, and in continual expectation of falling together by the eares, then in the necke of all, arrived this great Calamity; wherein they not onely lost their Gallies, but also, which was worst of all, *Eubæa*, by which they had receiued more Commodity then by *Attica*. How then could they choose but be dejected? But most of all they were troubled, and that for the neerenesse, with a feare least upon this victory, the enemy should take courage, and come immediately into *Piræus*; now empty of Shipping, of which they thought nothing wanting, but that they were not there already. And had they bene any thing adventurous, they might easily haue done it, and then, had they stayed there and besieged them; they had not onely increased the Sedition, but also compelled the Fleet to come away from *Ionis*, to the ayde of their kined and of the whole City, though Enemies to the *Oligarchy*; and in the meane time gotten, the *Hellepont*, *Ionia*, the *Ilands* and all places even to *Eubæa*, and as one may say, the whole *Athenian* Empire into their power. But the *Lacedæmonians* not onely in this, but in many other things were most commodious enemies to the *Athenians*, to Warre withall. For being of most different humours, the one swift, the other slow, the one adventurous, the other timorous, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them great advantage, especially when their greatnesse was by Sea. This was euident in the *Syracensians*, who being in condition like vnto them, waited best against them.

The *Athenians* upon this newes, made ready notwithstanding

Eubæa revolteth.

The lamentable estate of  
the Athenians upon the  
losse of Eubæa.

The Lacedæmonians let  
slip the advantage which  
they might haue had,  
if in prosecution of the  
victory, they had come  
to Piræus.

The Lacedæmonians com-  
modious enemies to the  
Athenians.



The Athenians settle their Government, and put an end to the Sedition, by depoling the 400, & setting up the 5000.

standing twenty Gallies, and called an Assembly, one A then presently in the place called *Phryx*, where they were wont to assemble at other times; in which having depoled the *Four-hundred*, they decreed the *Soueraignty* to the *Five-thousand*, of which number were all such to bee, as were charged with *Armes*; and from that time forward to Salariate no man for *Magistracy*, with a penalty on the *Magistrate* receiving the Salary, to be held for an execrable person. There were also diuers other Assemblies held afterwards, wherein they elected Law-makers, and enacted other things concerning the Government. And now first, (at least B in my time) the Athenians seeme to haue ordered their State aright; which consisted now of a moderate temper, both of the Few, and of the Many. And this was the first thing, that after so many misfortunes past, made the City againe to raise her head.

They recall Alcibiades.

They decreed also the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and those that were in exile with him; and sending to him, and to the Army at *Samos*, willed them to fall in hand with their businesse. C

Most of the Oligarchical fly to the enemy.

Aristarchus betrayeth Oenoe.

In this change, *Pisander* and *Alexicles*, and such as were with them, and they that had beene principall in the *Oligarchy*, immediately withdrew themselves to *Decelea*. Onely *Aristarchus* (for it chanced that hee had charge of the Souldiers) tooke with him certaine Archers, of the most Barbarous, and went with all speede to *Oenoe*. This was a Fort of the Athenians in the Counties of *Boeotia*, and (for the losse that the *Corinthians* had received by the Garrison of *Oenoe*) was, by voluntary *Corinthians*, and by some *Boeotians* by them called in to ayde them, now besieged. *Aristarchus* therefore hauing treated with these, deceived those in *Oenoe*, and told them, that the City of *Athens* had compounded with the *Lacedaemonians*, and that they were to render up the place to the *Boeotians*, for that it was so conditioned in the Agreement. Whereupon, beleeuing him, as one that had authority ouer the Souldiers, and knowing nothing because besieged, vpon security for their passe, they gaue up the Fort. So the *Boeotians* receiue *Oenoe*; and the *Oligarchy* and Sedition at *Athens* cease. E

About

A About the same time of this Summer, when none of those, whom *Tissaphernes*, at his going to *Aspendus*, had substituted to pay the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, at *Miletus*, did it; and seeing neither the *Phœnician* Fleet, nor *Tissaphernes* came to them; and seeing *Philip*, that was sent along with him; and also another, one *Hippocrates* a *Spartan*, that was lying in *Phaselis*, had written to *Mindarus* the Generall, That the Fleet was not to come at all, and in euery thing *Tissaphernes* abused them; seeing also that *Pharnabazus* had sent B for them, and was willing, vpon the comming to him of their Fleet, for his owne part also, as well as *Tissaphernes*, to cause the rest of the Cities within his owne Prouince to revolt from the Athenians; Then at length, *Mindarus* hoping for benefit by him, with good order, and sudden warning, that the Athenians at *Samos* might not bee aware of their setting forth, went into the *Hellepont* with seauenty three Gallies, besides sixteene, which the same Summer were gone into the *Hellepont* before, and had ouer-runne part of *Chersonesus*. But tossed with the Winds, hee was forced to put in at *Icarus*, and after hee had staid there through ill weather some fiew or sixe dayes, he arriued at *Chios*.

*Thrasylus* hauing beene aduertised of his departure from *Miletus*, hee also puts to Sea from *Samos*, with fiew and fifty Sayle, hasting to bee in the *Hellepont* before him. But hearing that hee was in *Chios*, and conceiuing that hee would stay there, hee appointed D Spyes to lye in *Lesbos*, and in the Continent ouer against it, that the Fleet of the Enemy might not remoue without his knowledge; and hee himselfe going to *Methymna*, commanded prouision to bee made of Meale, and other necessities, intending, if they stayed there long, to goe from *Lesbos*, and inuade them in *Chios*.

Withall, because *Eressus* was revolted from *Lesbos*, he purposed to goe thither with his Fleet, if hee could, E to take it in. For the most potent of the *Methymnaean* Exiles had gotten into their society, about fifty men of Yyy Armes,

*Mindarus* with the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, seeing *Tissaphernes* and the *Phœnician* Fleet came not, resolves to goe to *Pharnabazus* in the *Hellepont*.

*Mindarus* stayeth by the way at *Chios*, *Thrasylus* in the meane time out-goes him, and watches for his going by at *Leibis*.



Armes, out of *Cyme*, and hired others out of the Continent, and with their whole number, in all three hundred, hauing for their Leader *Anaxarchus* a *Theban*, chosen in respect of their descent from the *Thebans*, first assaulted *Meibymna*, but beaten in the attempt, by the *Athenian* Garrison that came against them from *Mitylene*, and againe in a Skirmish without the Citie, driven quite away, they passed by the way of the Mountaine to *Eressus*, and caused it to revolt. *Thraſyllus* therefore intended to goe thither with his Gallies, and to assault it. At his comming, hee found *Thraſybulus* there also before him, B with siue Gallies from *Samos*: For hee had beene aduertised of the Out-lawes comming ouer, but beeing too late to preuent them, hee went to *Eressus*; and lay before it at Anchor. Hither also came two Gallies of *Meibymna*, that were going home from the *Helleſpont*; so that they were in all threescore and seuen Sayle, out of which they made an Armie, intending with Engines, or any other way they could, to take *Eressus* by assault.

In the meane time, *Mindarus*, and the *Peloponneſian* Fleet that was at *Chius*, when they had spent two dayes in victualling their Gallies, and had received of the *Chians* three *Chian* \* *Tessaracostes* a man, on the third day put speedily off from *Chius*; and kept farre from the shore, that they might not fall amongst the Gallies at *Eressus*. And leaving *Lesbos* on the left hand, went to the Continent side, and putting in at a Hauen in *Crateri*, belonging to the Territory of *Phocaa*, and there dining, passed along the Territory of *Cyme*, and came to *Arginusæ* in the Continent, ouer against *Mitylene*, where they supped. From thence they put forth late in the night, and came to *Harmatus*, a place in the Continent ouer against *Meibymna*, and after dinner going a great pace by *Leſtus*, *Lariſſa*, *Hamaxius*, and other the Townes in those parts, came before midnight to *Rhetium*; this now is in *Helleſpont*. But some of his Gallies put in at *Sigeum*, and other places thereabouts.

The *Athenians* that lay with eighteene Gallies at *Sestus*, knew that the *Peloponneſians* were entering into the *Helleſpont*, by the Fires, both those which their owne Watchmen put vp, & by the many which appeared on the Enemies shore, and therefore the same night, in all haste, E as they were, kept the shore of *Chersonneſus*, towards *Eleus*, desiring

*Mindarus* and his fleet  
fleete by into the *Helle-  
spont* vnten of those that  
watched their going, in  
Leſtus.  
\* a *Tessaracoste*, *sceneli*  
to haue bene a coyne amongst  
the *Chians* and the *fortieth*  
part of some other greater  
coyne.

The *Athenians* at *Sestus*  
with 18 Gallies fleete  
out of the *Helleſpont*, but  
are met by *Mindarus*, and  
4 of them taken.

A desiring to get out into the wide Sea, and to decline the Fleete of the Enemy; and went out vntene of those sixteene Gallies that lay at *Abydus*, (though these had warning before from the Fleete of their friends that came on, to watch them narrowly, that they went not out) but in the morning, beeing in sight of the Fleete with *Mindarus*, and chased by him, they could not all escape, but the most of them got to the Continent, and into *Lemnos*; onely foure of the hindmost were taken neere *Eleus*; whercof the *Peloponneſians* tooke one with the men in her, that had run her selfe a-ground at the Temple of *Proteſilaus*, and two other without the men, and set fire on a fourth, abandoned vpon the shoare of *Imbrus*.

After this they besieged *Eleus* the same day, with those Gallies of *Abydus*, which were with them, and with the rest, being now all together fourescore and sixe Sayle. But seeing it would not yeeld, they went away to *Abydus*.

C The *Athenians*, who had beene deceived by their Spyes, and not imagining that the Enemies Fleete could haue gone by without their knowledge, and attended at leisure the assault of *Eressus*; when now they knew they were gone, immediately left *Eressus*, and hastened to the defence of *Helleſpont*. By the way they tooke two Gallies of the *Peloponneſians*, that hauing ventured into the Maine more boldly in following the Enemy, then the rest had done, chanced to light vpon the Fleet of the *Athenians*.

D The next day they came to *Eleus*, and stayed, and thither, from *Imbrus*, came vnto them those other Gallies that had escaped from the Enemy. Heere they spent siue dayes in preparation for a Battell. After this, they fought in this manner. The *Athenians* went by the shore, ordering their Gallies one by one, towards *Sestus*. The *Peloponneſians* also, when they saw this, brought out their Fleet against them from *Abydus*.

Beeing sure to fight, they drew out their Fleets in E length, the *Athenians* along the shoare of *Chersonneſus*, beginning at *Idacus*, and reaching as farre as *Arbiana*, three-

Yyy 2

The *Athenians* haſt from  
*Lesbos* after the *Peloponne-  
ſians* into *Helleſpont*.

The *Athenians* and *Pelo-  
ponneſians* fight, and the  
*Athenians* get the victory.



threecore and sixe Gallies. And the *Peloponnesians*, A from *Abydus* to *Dardanus*, fourescore and sixe Gallies. In the right Wing of the *Peloponnesians*, were the *Syracusians*; in the other, *Mindarus* himselve, and those Gallies that were nimblest. Amongst the *Athenians*, *Thrasylus* had the left Wing, and *Thrasibulus* the right, and the rest of the Commanders, every one the place assigned him.

Now the *Peloponnesians* laboured to giue the first on- set, and with their left Wing to ouer-reach the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and keepe them from going out, and to driue those in the middle, to the shore which was neere. The *Athenians*, who perceiued it, where the Enemy went about to cut off their way out, put forth the same way that they did, and out-went them.

The left Wing of the *Athenians* was also gone forward by this time, beyond the point called \**Cynos-fema*, by meanes whereof that part of the Fleet which was in the midst, became both weake and diuided, especially when theirs was the lesse Fleet; and the sharpe C and angular figure of the place about *Cynos-fema* tooke away the sight of what passed there, from those that were on the other side.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore charging this middle part, both drayge their Gallies to the dry Land, and beeing farre superiour in fight, went out after them, and assaulted them vpon the shore. And to helpe them, neither was *Thrasibulus* able, who was in the right Wing, for the multitude of the Enemies that pressed him; nor *Thrasylus* in the left Wing, both because hee could D not see what was done for the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and because also hee was kept from it by the *Syracusians* and others, lying vpon his hands, no fewer in number then themselves. Till at last the *Peloponnesians*, bold vpon their victory, chasing some one Gally, some another, fell into some disorder, in a part of their Armie. And then those about *Thrasibulus*, hauing obserued that the opposite Gallies fought now no more to go beyond them, turned vpon them, and fighting, put them presently to flight. And hauing also cut off from the rest of the E Fleet, such Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, of that part that

\* The Sepulchre of Hecuba, Eurip.

A that had the victory, as were scattered abroad, some they assaulted, but the greatest number they put into affright vnfoughten. The *Syracusians* also, whom those about *Thrasylus* had already caused to shrinke, when they saw the rest fly, fled out-right.

This defeat being giuen, and the *Peloponnesians* hauing for the most part escaped, first to the River *Pydus*, and afterwards to *Abydus*; though the *Athenians* tooke but few of their Gallies, (for the narrowness of the B *Hellepont* afforded to the Enemy a short retreat) yet the Victory was the most seasonable to them that could be. For hauing till this day stood in feare of the *Peloponnesian* Naue, both for the losse which they had receiued by little and little, and also for their great losse in *Sicily*, they now ceased eyther to accuse themselves, or to thinke highly any longer of the Nauall power of their Enemies. The Gallies they tooke were these; eight of *Chios*, five of *Corinth*, of *Ambracia* two, of *Leucas*, *Laconia*, *Syracuse*, and *Pellene*, one apiece. Of their owne C they lost fifteene.

When they had set vp a Trophie in the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*; and taken vp the wreckes, and giuen truce to the Enemies to fetch away the bodies of their dead, they presently sent away a Gally with a Messenger, to carry newes of the Victory to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, vpon the comming in of this Gally, hearing of their vnexpected good fortune, were encouraged much, after their losse in *Euboea*, and after their sedition, and conceiued that their estate might yet keepe vp, if they ply- D ed the businesse courageously.

The fourth day after this Battell, the *Athenians* that were in *Sestus*, hauing hastily prepared their Fleet, went to *Cyzicus* which was revolted, and espying as they past by, the eight Gallies come from *Byzantium*, riding vnder *Harpagium* and *Priapus*, set vpon them, and hauing also ouercome those that came to their ayde from the Land, tooke them. Then committing to *Cyzicus*, being an open Towne, they brought it againe into their owne power, E and leaued a summe of Money amongst them.

The courage of the *Athenians* erected with this victory.

The *Athenians* recover *Cyzicus*, and take 8 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*.

The



The Peloponnesians recover some of their Gallies taken, at Eleus.

They send for the Fleet with Hegesarchides out of Euboea.

Alcibiades returneth from Apollonia to Samos.

He fortifieth Cos.

The Antandrians put out the Garrison of Tissaphernes out of their Cittadell.

Tissaphernes goeth toward Hellepont, to recover the favour of the Peloponnesians.

The Peloponnesians in the meane time going from *Abydus* to *Eleus*, recovered as many of their Gallies formerly taken, as remained whole. The rest, the *Eleusians* had burnt. They also sent *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* into *Euboea*, to fetch away the Fleet that was there.

About the same time also, returned *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, with his thirteene Gallies from *Caunus* and *Phaselis*, reporting that he had diuerted the *Phœnician* Fleete from comming to the *Peloponnesians*, and that hee had inclined *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the *Athenians*, more then hee was before. Thence manning out nine Gallies more, hee exacted a great summe of money of the *Halicarnassians*, and fortified *Cos*. Being now almost Autumne, hee returned to *Samos*.

The *Peloponnesians* being now in *Hellepont*, the *Antandrians* (who are *Æolians*) receiued into the City men of Armes from *Abydus* by Land, through Mount *Ida*, vpon injury that had beene done them by *Arfaces*, a Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*. This *Arfaces* hauing fained a certaine Warre, not declared against whom, had formerly called out the chieftest of the *Delians*; (the which in hal-  
lowing of *Delos* by the *Athenians* were turned out, and had planted themselves in *Adramyttium*) to goe with him to this War. And when vnder colour of amity and confederacy hee had drawne them out, he obserued a time when they were at dinner, and hauing hemmed them in with his owne Souldiers murdered them with darts. And therefore, for this acts sake, fearing lest hee might doe some vnlawfull pranke against them also, and for that hee had otherwise done them iniury, they cast his Garrison out of their Cittadell.

*Tissaphernes* hearing of this, (being the act of the *Peloponnesians*, as well as that at *Miletus*, or that at *Enidus*, for in those Cities his Garrisons had also beene cast out in the same manner) and conceiuing that hee was deeply charged to them, and fearing lest they should doe him some other hurt, and withall not enduring that *Pharabazus* should receiue them, and with lesse time and cost, speed better against the *Athenians* then hee had done; resolved to make a journey to them in the *Hellepont*, both to com-

A complaine of what was done at *Antandrus*, and to cleere himselfe of his accusations, the best he could, as well concerning the *Phœnician* Fleet, as other matters. And first he put in at *Ephesus*, and offered Sacrifice to *Diana*.

When the Winter following, this Summer shall be ended, the one and twentieth yeere [of this Warre] shall be compleat.

\* \* \*

FINIS.



The end of the one and twentieth Summer.



## THE TABLE.

<p><b>A</b>  <b>Abydos</b>, revolteth from the Athenians. 504. B.  <b>Acanthus</b> revolteth from the Athenians. 260. C.  <b>Acarnanians</b>, why so called. 143. A.  <b>Theues</b> 4. C. their League with Athens. 119. B. good slingers. 127. D.  <b>Acetina</b>, a River of Sicily. 225. D.  <b>Achaia</b>, Oligarchized. 339. A.  <b>Acbarna</b>, a great part of the Athenian Citie. 94. A. B.  <b>Achelus</b>. 142. B.  <b>Acheron</b>. 26. B.  <b>Acherusa</b>, ibid.  <b>Acre</b>, when and by whom built. 352. D.  <b>Acragante</b>, when and by whom built. 352. A.  <b>Acre</b>. 272. D.  <b>Actium</b>. 18. A.  <b>Aegineta</b>. They incense the Lacedaemonians against the Athenians. 35. C.  <b>Aegina</b>, yielded to the Athenians. 57. A. They are received by the Lacedaemonians into Thyrea. 97. B. and taken by the Athenians, are put to death. 243. C.  <b>Aegitium</b>. 197. E. 198. A.  <b>Egypt</b>. The Athenians in Egypt defeated. 57. D.  <b>Emus</b>. 137. D.  <b>Emus</b>. 228. D.  <b>Eolian Islands</b>. 192. B.  <b>Erma</b>, burnt. 209. B.  <b>Etolia</b>. 196. B.  <b>Agamemnon</b> his power. 6. A.  <b>Argis</b> withdraweth his Army from Argos, and why. 327. B. he lelieth money in Thessaly. 471. B. his power when he was at Decelia. 472. B.  <b>Agrei</b>. 142. B.  <b>Agrius</b>. 201. B.  <b>Arrianes</b>. 13. A.  <b>Alicamones</b> slain. 475. C.</p>	<p><b>Alcibiades</b>, how he crosseth Nicia, and decluing the Lacedaemonian Ambassadors, procureth a League between the Athenians and Argives. 316. C. &amp; sequ. he goeth with charge into Peloponnesus. 323. B. preleth the Sicilian expedition, and why. 358. B. is accused for the defacing of the Mercuries. 365. D. his opinion touching the managing of the Sicilian Warre. 377. A. is called home to his tryall. 379. B. he vnbetrayeth Messana. 392. A. his aduice to the Lacedaemonians, to fortifie Decelia. 403. C. He flyeth to Tissaphernes. 493. E. he counselleth Tissaphernes against the Lacedaemonians. 494. D. seeketh to returne to Athens. 495. D. he deludeth the Athenians, in demaund of intollerable conditions, and why. 501. B. his returne propounded at Athens. 499. C. he is made Generall of the Athenian Army at Samos. 516. A. his returne decreed at Athens. 528. B. he hindereth the Army of the Athenians, from invading the Citie of Athens. 518. C. he goeth after Tissaphernes to Aphidius. B. why. 520. C. Alcidas sent to rescue Mitylene. 158. B. his behaviour in that voyage. 166. C. his returne with his Fleet into Peloponnesus. 182. B. his charge against Coreyra at Sydera. 185. B.  <b>Alcedon</b>. 143. A.  <b>Almopia</b>. 146. B.  <b>Alopi</b>. 67. B.  <b>Alycia</b>. 431. A.  <b>Andrabian Gulf</b>. 18. A. 118. D.  <b>Andrabian Warre</b>, against the Athenians. 135. D. are defeated. 136. D.  <b>Anaxer</b>, a Rebel, against the King of Persia. 485. B.  <b>Anaphipolis</b>, called the Ninewaves. 53. A. taken by Brasidas. 271. A.</p>	<p>refuseth to be rendred to the Athenians. 302. B.  <b>Anastorium</b>. 18. A. 3. B. C. 208. C. 239. E. 431. A.  <b>Anax</b>. A City ouer against Samos. 253. C. the Anaxans were Samians. 160. C.  <b>Anaxus</b>, a River in Acarnania. 128. A. a River neere Syracusa. 387. D. 405. B.  <b>Androsthenes</b>, Victor in the Olympic Games. 321. B.  <b>Anandrus</b>, taken by the Outlawes of Mitylene. 240. E.  <b>Anthemus</b>. 140. B.  <b>Anthesterion</b>. 91. D.  <b>Antiphon</b>. 497. D. 498. A.  <b>Anitane</b>. 126. C.  <b>Aphrodisia</b>. 242. D.  <b>Aphyrus</b>. 34. C.  <b>Apidani</b>. 255. E.  <b>Apodoti</b>. 196. C.  <b>Apollo Malotia</b>. 145. E.  <b>Areadians</b>, borrowed Ships for the Trojan Warre. 6. D.  <b>Archidice</b>, daughter of Hippasus, her Epitaph. 383. A.  <b>Archidamus</b>, King of Lacedaemon, Generall of the Peloponnesians. 87. C. blamed for his delay at Oenoe. 93. A. his purpose in slaying at Acbarna. 94. A. his protestation against Plataea. 122. B.  <b>Archon</b>, the nine Archons. 66. A.  <b>Archurus</b>. 124. C.  <b>An Argilian</b> betrayeth Panopaea. 70. C.  <b>Argunna</b>. 87. E.  <b>Argues</b>. They refuse to renew the Truce with Sparta, and why. 228. B. they repair of League against the Lacedaemonians, with the rest of the Grecians. 306. B. they seek Peace with Sparta. 314. C. they make League with Athens. 319. A. their Army intercepted, betweene the Armies of their enemies. 320. C. they</p>
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